Human Rights Perspective with Culture, Religion, and Power Relations Influence on Digital Activism

Exploring Double-Marginalized Organization Movements in Multilayered Digital Media Landscape in

Indonesia

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#### **Abstract**

**Purpose**: Marginalized people frequently experience structural injustice in the actual and the digital platform. In Indonesia, there are comparable instances where an organization that experiences double marginalization participates in digital activism. This engagement is influenced by the interlocking systems that oppress society, constructed at the intersections outlined by the design justice framework. This study explored this social phenomenon using religion, culture, and power relations as the aspects that influence double marginalized organizations in digital activism that oppressed them in specific ways from the human rights perspective. It also improves the understanding of the theoretical constraints within the context of design justice and the application of human rights in digital activism by the double-marginalized organization. Furthermore, this study contributes to the current literatures by examining the double-marginalized organization when engage in sustainable digital activism while facing several obstacles.

**Method**: The social phenomenon is investigated using qualitative research with a narrative analysis approach. This study methods consist of in-depth interviews and observation to comprehend the dynamic between each factor that affects the organization's way of thinking as an end user when they engage in digital activism. The in-depth interview includes 21 participants, including members of the double-marginalized organization and participants who relate to the organization, so the data will be extensive and relevant to analyze.

**Findings:** The research revealed that culture, religion, and power relations, as the oppresive aspects, shaped the way of thinking of the double-marginalized organizations when using a multilayered digital platform for activism. Participants affirmed that these aspects restrict the organization's rights to express opinions online despite the positive reception from individuals. From a human rights perspective, this study contributes to the practical literature on the influence of oppressive aspects in the digital activism of double-marginalized organizations. Moreover, it provides empirical support for the expanded application of the theory of design justice lens, which incorporates culture, religion, and power relations as significant factors shaping the strategies and practices of organizations own version of Justice designed in digital activism.

Conclusions: To communicate their aims and views, the members of a double-marginalized organization in Indonesia have adapted to the influence of local aspects that oppress the marginalized organization in digital activism, as shown by the findings of this research. The organization refers to its strategy as "playing it safe" from all the aspects that oppresses their human rights to attain their objectives through the design justice lens. Future research is required to support and enrich the literature on the oppresive system and design justice framework, especially regarding thed working progress and the dynamic of aspects that influencing digital activism and the positive acceptance of the oppresive aspects in Indonesia.

**Keyword**: digital-activism, marginalized, cultural, power-relation, stigma, religion, human rights, design justice, intersectionality

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#### 1. Introduction

Individuals in positions of power have intentionally constructed the current societal structure. Costanza-Chock (2020) argues that the prevailing universalist approach often employs a single-axis framework, inadvertently excluding certain groups of people. This single axis has impacted the group that is not one of the people that is mentioned by values and system that has been applied both in the real and digital world. In the other research Mhiripiri and Moyo (2016) provide more evidence that cultural and traditional norms are used in many areas of the globe to legitimize the persecution of persons who identify as gay, lesbian, or transgender.

In Indonesia, for example, there is a double-marginalized community of transgender males to females known as waria who have HIV and are oppressed by the designated system in both the real and digital worlds. In their research, Prabawanti et al. (2014) describe waria as biological males who cross-dress or occupy the social and behavioral roles of women, which are also referred to as gender non-conforming individuals. According to Peacock (1968), the waria terminology has historically been recorded in Indonesia for over two hundred years.

This condition about the acceptance about waria is significantly changed between the late 1950s and late 1960s since they are associated in public as sex workers often engage in receptive oral sex, sometimes hidden from public view behind a bush or tarp including anal receptive sex (Boellstorff, 2004). Their right to be equal as people are threatened that, according to Boellstorff (2004), there is a new marginalization of waria within the new order government, especially around Islamic organization; the waria connected this time of intolerance to places where Muhammadiyah, a modernist Muslim group, was widespread. Waria in Indonesia is a distinct gender, and thus what Mhiripiri & Moyo (2016) said that it built into the overall social system of controlling 'deviant' sexualities in diverse areas such as the organization of goods and services, kinship and family, emotional relationships, and the minutiae of daily life.

In relation to the double-marginalized, since waria regularly engage in unprotected receptive anal intercourse, they are at a high risk of obtaining HIV, according to De Santis (2009), even though HIV is considered taboo in Indonesia. The obstacles are so complex that De Santis (2009) and Clements-Nolle et al. (2008) stated that the waria had become the subject of discrimination and stigmatization, forcing them to engage in the sex trade to earn a living. Thus, according to Ayuningtias's (2017) research, a transgender person (waria) living with HIV/AIDS encounters double stigmatization

In Indonesia, the double stigmatization caused by the intersection aspects in this case, can be including religion, culture values, and power relations that based on Constanza-Chock (2020) created by the universalist that might utilized the single-axis framework. In the research of Crenshaw (1989) asserts that the single-axis framework neglects the presence and experiences of marginalized people (black women) in the analysis, recognition, and resolution of racial and gender discrimination. This framework

restricts examination solely to the encounters of individuals who hold otherwise advantageous positions within the group (Crenshaw, 1989). This is explains the reasons why Indonesia is a member of the United Nations, a worldwide organization that promotes human rights, the authorities still devise a systematic injustice that contradicts this ideal, which applies both in the digital and real worlds.

# 1.1. Double-marginalized organization in Activism

The double stigmatization resulting from the structures in Indonesia that involve cultural, religious, and power dynamics poses a significant challenge for the double-marginalized organization in their societal integration. However, this does not hinder their determination to assert their presence and identity. To fight for their own design justice, which emphasizes design that either reproduces or opposes matrix domination (Costanza-Chock, 2020). Even though they are uncommon, several double-marginalized organization activism movements have been recorded in society who also engage in activism and advocate for their rights as humans in real and digital setting. Human rights perspective is used in this movements as the universal basic principle of human to get free from discrimination and fair to all perspective (Hoskins, 1981). The human rights articles are outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) of the United Nations, and based on Blum (1967), Indonesia is a member of this global organization.

In an offline setting, marginalized activism, one of the earliest examples identified as the waria movement in Indonesia, was reported by the Indonesian news agency Kompas (1968) to combat the marginalization from the oppressive systems. Thus according to Kompas (1968), a waria named Lidya, who claimed to be a representative of the city's 15,000 transgender women (waria), said that they were discriminated against and subjected to abuse by residents. Although Ali Sadikin ( Jakarta's Former Governor) was conscious that the Waria was a religiously deviant community, he used his power as a government official in Jakarta to approve and facilitate the Waria community's meeting to discuss their situation at the time.

Related to the activism from marginalized people in digital setting to challenge single-axis system, according to the book by Costanza-Chock (2020), a non-profit organization called ProPublica seeking justice in social media design. The organization revealed that Facebook's internal content moderation guidelines expressly state that Black children are not a protected category. In contrast, Mark Zuckerberg's congressional testimony that Facebook can combat hate speech and trolls using AI-powered content moderation systems undermines white men (Costanza-Chock, 2020). In that case, ProPublica's activism is in the digital area that challenges the design of social media that the system gave the privilege to the specific category. In contrast, the digital design in the social media platform neglected the other category as this is emphasized by Crenshaw (1989) in the intersectionality concept.

Regarding digital activism from the double-marginalized organization in Indonesia there is Yayasan Kebaya, an acronym for Keluarga Besar Waria Yogyakarta (The Big Family of Yogyakarta Transgenders), is a waria that also suffer from HIV Organization (Ayuningtyas, 2017). This organization utilizes multilayered digital media to fight for their rights as human beings and to challenge the marginalizations caused by the values intersection in Indonesia. The organization engages in digital activism to facilitate their designated movement by utilizing established digital platforms, including an Instagram account, a Facebook account, and the organization's website. As a result of these platforms being accessible to a broad audience, they contribute to the organization's efforts to address the double stigma caused by the intersectionality of oppressive values and systems in society.

This social phenomenon involving a double-stigmatized community's engagement in multilayered social media that can be classified as activism on digital platforms or digital activism, deserves greater attention because of its existence in society. It is fascinating to hear their story to understand their community's digital activism better because, through this social phenomenon, we can see that several factors allow the community to "speak" for itself both in the real world and on the digital platform in Indonesia. Their engagement with social media and digital platforms indicates that they are willing to be exposed to the broader society that will impact their community in the present and future in Indonesia and the world.

However, there is the fact that academic studies on the double marginalized group sustainability activism on the digital platform in Indonesia, are acknowledged very little. There are several pieces of news in the mainstream media that document mainly the activities of the community or organization but not specifically focusing on their sustainability activism on the digital platform. Whereas this community digital activism is marking an advance level to their community and the other marginalized community in Indonesia. Given that the social phenomenon is uncommon, particularly in countries with a Muslim majority of nearly 90 percent of the population according to (Toomistu, 2022). In addition to cultural factors and power relations, the Muslim faith plays a significant role in influencing and shaping double-marginalized organizations. The scholarly investigation of digital activism, mainly through the human rights lens, is the topic of this research

# 1.2 Propositions and research questions

To investigate this phenomenon, the researcher employs the concept of intersectionality derived from the design justice framework. Intersectionality, as highlighted by Carshew (1991), is regarded as a "provisional concept" that illustrates the insufficiency of approaches that treat systems of oppression as separate entities, thereby isolating and concentrating on one while neglecting the others. This approach ultimately leads to the formation of organizations that are double-marginalized. The aspects of religion,

culture values, and the power relation in the multilayered context of digital activism will be then used to explore this phenomenon. It is because those aspects in Indonesia are the social control for double-marginalized community when they carry out their movement as factors of their previous activism, as described in their movement's history.

The main lense that applies to this study is the human rights based on the articles in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) that compare with the influence of culture, religion and power relations concepts that will be explain furthermore in the theoretical framework. The study contributes to the literature and fills the gap in the design justice theory and intersectionality by providing additional evidence and literature that supports the idea as it applies to the social phenomenon in Indonesia. Additionally, this study will contribute to the overall current literature on applying human rights and intersectionality concepts in digital settings.

This research focusing on how it attempts to explain a community or organization that continues to exert effort for something they believe despite multiple obstacles they must overcome on digital platforms. This study aims to give a better understanding of digital activism of the double marginalized organization from the perspective of human rights in the application in the culture, religion and power relations in Indonesia. The methodology for this research will be qualitative that will explore more on the people unique story behind their decisions that can be applied in the similar case that happens in the future.

Furthermore, it will contribute to the current literature and future development on digital activism by examining how double-marginalized groups in Indonesia communicate their activities, values, and ideas using digital media. This research will also contribute to and gain a better understanding of the literature on human rights and concept, particularly on the application to the double marginalized community that engaged in digital activism. From the certain phenomenon, main research question of the study is: "How does the double-marginalized organization do digital activism from the perspective of human rights compare to local influence of cultural, religion and power relation in Indonesia?" sub-question are formulated to answer this question

- 1. What is the dynamic of culture, religion and power relation influence to the double-marginalized organization on the application of human rights on digital activism in Indonesia?
  This question investigate if these factors influence each another from the perspective of individuals who involved in and/or associated with the digital activism of the double-marginalized organization.
- **2.** How the double-marginalized organization overcome present and future challenge of their digital activism?

In the present and future development of the study, the potential obstacle identified by those associated with digital activism will provide insight for mitigating the challenge for the community and other similar communities.

**3.** What is the objectives of the double-marginalized organization on doing digital activism under the influence from religion, culture and power relations factors?

It is understanding and investigating the true motivations of the organization that generates and participates in digital activism.

This study will be focusing on the sustainability of the activism in the digital platform that is performed by the double marginalized organization. In this phenomenon they continue struggling for their existence in digital platform as a marginalized organization under the structural oppression while they have their rights as a human to express their rights. The subsequent chapter will examine the intersection between culture, religion, and power relations within society, specifically through the lens of human rights, concerning their influence on digital activism.

In the next part the structure of the thesis will be presented as follows: Firstly the theoritical frameworks will use intersectionality of oppresive aspect as one of design justice theory concept to be applied from point of view of double marginalized organization when they performing multilayered digital activim in social media. This study will be extended in to the perspective of human rights as the ideal design justice of digital activism and the religion, culture and power relations aspects that give control and influence and creates the dynamic in their sustainable digital activism.

Secondly, the methodology will be in-depth interview to 21 Indonesian from various background that is related to the social phenomenon which the biggest participants are waria from Yayasan Kebaya the marginalized organization as the object of the research. Thirdly the data will be analyzed with the narrative analysis from the participant statements that is relevant with the social phenomenon. Lastly, in the discussion section will provide main findings, theoritical, literature and practical implication of the concept and theory that will lead to the future research direction.

#### 2. Theoretical Framework

Human rights is a universal principle that people must uphold; nonetheless, it is indisputable that its global implementation, including in digital activism, is influenced by various aspects. This circumstance between these aspects generates dynamics that, in this case, the application of human rights concepts and the organization's beliefs and values in all actions, particularly to the double-marginalized digital activisism. This social phenomenon in Indonesia includes the values of culture, religion, and power relations of the authoritarian government and other organizations affecting the thoroughly involved or related organization. The implementation of human rights in Indonesia is influenced by several variables, including establishing digital activism by double-marginalized organizations, the Indonesian government, and opposition organizations. These elements play a significant role in shaping the social phenomena.

This chapter will be focusing on explaining more on the literature review of the research. Firstly, it will primarily focus on the trajectory of activism within double marginalized organizations in Indonesia, examining their real-world and digital platforms. Moreover, this study will primarily focus on the theoretical foundations and conceptual framework utilized to examine the research question. This study will specifically examine the phenomenon of double marginalization within the design justice framework, which occurs when individuals or groups experience several forms of oppression due to the intersectionality of many repressive systems. The subsequent analysis is grounded in the context of human rights, which elucidates the societal dimensions encompassing religion, culture, and power relations that influence the digital activism performed by organizations facing double marginalization.

# 2.1 Double-Marginalized Organization on Activism

The construction of gender difference hence raises discursive implications with the possibility of the dominant power conveniently constructing its other as a repressed and desired difference (Grossberg 1996). As a Muslim-majority nation where nearly 90 percent of Indonesians are Muslim (Boellstorff, 2005), this country considers Waria a nonconformity gender, meaning they cannot be categorized as normal individuals in general. Every effort related to their existence and movements, according to Hegarty (2021), particularly during Governor Ali Sadikin's reign, drew sharp criticism from conservative Islamic groups and those aligned with them. This is because they observed Sadikin's toleration of these new vices and concluded that it indicates a much more systemic problem of moral degradation (Hegarty, 2021).

This might be why Waria in Indonesia rarely makes an open movement or openly shows their expression activism during the time being. In particular situation, Ayuningtias (2017) reports that Mami Vin founded the Kebaya Organization, which has served as a shelter for Waria with HIV/AIDS since 2006 and managed their sustainable existence until recently. Although, Ayuningtias (2017) reports in an

interview with Mami Vin, the Founder of Yayasan Kebaya and activist for thirteen years, that despite being human, they (waria) have been subjected to sufficient harsh treatment and prejudice in society. This organization continues to provide medical check-ups and therapy sessions every Wednesday for residents so that people who have HIV/AIDS — especially in the transgender community — receive proper care (Ayuningtyas, 2017). Furthermore, according to Cita (2022), Yayasan Kebaya also runs errands to raise and create awareness for transgender people (waria) and people with HIV/AIDS (PLWHA) in Indonesia, especially Yogyakarta.

# 2.1.1 Double-Marginalized Organization on Digital Activism

The emergence of the internet era has brought rise to many new social phenomena, which are gradually transforming how people and communities express their ideas. Digital activism encompasses different kinds of hacktivism, denial of service attacks, hashtag activism, and open-source campaigning that involve fixed and mobile devices with Internet connection (Joyce, 2010). It means that all the things that being posted in the social media of the certain organization can be included as the digital activism. The concept of digital activism started in late 1990, according to Karatzogianni (2015), and is divided into four waves; the first started in 1994 with the Zapatista and anti-globalization movements. In their earlier study, Earl and Kimport (2011) classified Internet activism into three categories: e-mobilizations, e-tactics, and e-movements. These categories illustrate how Internet activism might improve traditional movements' reach, information handling, petitioning, and online organizing (Earl & Kimport). It explains the rapid growth of digital activism due to technological and communications advancements, even though ideology, power structure, social consciousness, economics, and culture also contribute to the content of digital activism (Gerbaudo, 2017; Kaun & Uldam, 2018).

According to Hill and Sen (2000), internet development in Indonesia was initiated in 1986 as a part of the science and technology development strategy. The internet, based on Hill & Sen (2000), therefore, gradually escalated as an alternative platform used by activists opposed to the New Order regime to convey and advocate critical ideas. It is because that was difficult to communicate via mainstream media, which was under the regime's coercive control (Hill & Sen, 2000). In the post-reformation era, Paskarina (2020) observed that the internet's growth was expected to continue rapidly, and its users would keep increasing. Based on the findings of a survey performed by We Are Social Hootsuite, the number of internet and social media users in Indonesia reached 56% of the population in 2019 (Kemp, 2019). In her research, Paskarina (2020) observed that the increasing number of internet and social media users is followed by rapid growth in the intensity of social media use. Due to the expanding range of social media features, the internet may use for some reasons, including gaining access to essential information, entertainment, and

even online transactions and commerce (Paskarina, 2020). In 2019, there was a 92% rise in the amount of activity that took place on social media (Kemp, 2019).

The main objective of the digital activism phenomena was the dissemination of ideas, agitation, advocacy, and protest notes through the digital medium (Arianto, 2017). This illustrates that digital activism has offered many opportunities to encourage public involvement with political and governance concerns (Paskarina, 2020). According to the study of Paskarina (2020), the Internet's presence in many areas of social life has become an alternative for individuals to express their aspirations to oppose an authoritarian regime in a possible forum on various public concerns.

Digital activism is a concept that promotes a new public sphere that can reveal people's or communities' ideas, enabling even a double-stigmatized organization to disclose and expose itself to a larger audience to advocate for its members' rights. Regarding the concept, Yayasan Kebaya in Yogyakarta a double-marginalized organization has performed digital activism since 2019. The double-marginalized organization actively uses its multilayered digital media to do their activism that started their activity in the digital media that can be categorized as digital activism specifically e-movements to fight against stigma caused by religion, culture values and influence by power relations. Based on the research of Earl and Kimport (2011) e-movements is the social movements in which can be included the demonstration organization and the protest occur in online setting.

While still certain people create the world and the system we live in they are inequality in design (This is an uncommon occurrence since the majority of professional design methods tend to overlook the consideration of inequality), they almost always use a single-axis framework (Costanza-Chock, 2020). In the study, Costanza-Chock's (2020) emphasizes how justice design framework reproduces to resist the oppressive system such as white supremacy, heteropatriarchy, settler colonialism, capitalism, ableism, and other kinds of structural inequality. Crenshaw (1989) highlights the issue of intersectionality within the context of discrimination against Black women that also can be applied in this social phenomenon. She argues that the prevailing single-axis framework employed by the system effectively marginalizes black women by do not include them from the conceptualization, identification, and remediation of race and sex discrimination. This limited approach restricts the inquiry to the experiences of more privileged individuals within the group ( Crenshaw, 1989). From Crenshaw (1989) research, it can be conclude that, for these individuals who are excluded from participating in several societal domains, such as religion, culture, and power relations, may experience invisibility and vulnerability, leading to discrimination in both offline and online contexts.

This lens is relevant to this social issue because Costanza-Chock's (2020) explains how one of the design justice principles is to use design to maintain, heal, and strengthen the communities while also seeking emancipation from exploitative and repressive structures. This research employed the design justice

lens from the end user's viewpoint, the double-marginalized organization, to analyze how they design their organization's digital activism using current social media while remaining within the structures of the society.

Design justice is a conceptual framework used by organizations facing intersecting systems of oppression, whereby they strive to question and disrupt the marginalization experienced by double-marginalized individuals. This is achieved via the strategic utilization of digital activism to assert their presence and advocate for justice. This research extends design justice as how their organization expresses itself on their multilayered media through the human rights perspective, thereby challenging the marginalization of their organization from the aspects, which are religion, culture, and power relations that intersect each other.

These aspects create the marginalization not only in the real world but also in the digital platform. The research will explore the sustainability of the double-marginalized organization in doing digital activism over the dominant aspect that influences their rights to express themselves as an organization. This study will also examine the influence of religion, culture, and power relations as the oppression of the double marginalized organization engaged in digital activism regarding the intersectionality of every aspect. Furthermore, this analysis will be approached from a human rights perspective.

# 2.2. Human Rights perspective on Double Marginalized Organization on Multilayered Digital Activism

As applied to the certain social phenomena, the word "human rights" is understood to be free from discrimination and fair to all perspective (Hoskins, 1981). In human rights practice, United Nations is a worldwide organization whose advocacy activity for the international movement is the monitoring and reporting of abuses of civil and political rights (Mertus, 2005). According to Mertus (2005), all guides to United Nations human rights practice concentrate on the work of UN treaty and Charter-based organizations and processes.

The Human Rights Charter that named Universal Delaration of Human Rights (UDHR) consist of thirty articles mainly focusing on the inherent dignity, as well as all members of the human family's equal and inalienable rights (United Nation,n.d.). The articles that stated in the United Nation human rights charter or UDHR is use to explore about the social phenomenon and the study will be mainly focusing on three articles:

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood", (United Nations General Assembly, 1948, article 1)

"Everyone is entitled to all the rights and freedoms set forth in this Declaration, without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin, property, birth or other status. Furthermore, no distinction shall be made on the basis of the political, jurisdictional or international status of the country or territory to which a person belongs, whether it be independent, trust, non-self-governing or under any other limitation of sovereignty." (United Nations General Assembly, 1948, article 2)

"Everyone has the right to freedom of opinion and expression; this right includes freedom to hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers" (United Nations General Assembly, 1948, article 19).

As stated further in the UDHR, the human rights principle is relevant to be used in the social phenomena, particularly the three articles above, since Indonesia is a member of the United Nations and must comply with the organization's principles.

Articles 1 and 2 of the UDHR are utilized in this study because they emphasize the equality and dignity rights of all people regardless of their backgrounds in Indonesia including waria and people with HIV. Article 19, which emphasizes the right to freedom of expression and opinion in all media, including digital media, applies to the digital activism conducted by the waria with HIV organization in this occurrence. The United Nations, human rights principle is aligned with the government's primary objective, as stated in the preamble to the constitution, which is to create social justice for all Indonesians (The Office of the Registrar and the Secretariat General Of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015). As stated by the United Nations Development Programme (2014), this Muslim-majority nation was previously known for respecting various sexual orientations and gender identities; therefore, implementing human rights in Indonesia should be untroubled.

Regrettably, in recent times, individuals and organizations identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender (LGBT) have encountered a distinct and contrasting reality marked by a reduction in the acceptance of many perspectives and an increase in acts of aggression and intolerance directed against the LGBT community (Human Rights Watch, 2016). The government's response to the LGBT community, namely the Waria subgroup, has been characterized by a lack of support for tolerance and an absence of condemnation towards acts of violence. Rather than advocating for calm and promoting respect for diversity, the government has contributed to the oppression of this community by the dissemination of homophobic public remarks and the disregard of violent incidents targeting individuals within the LGBT

community (Boellstorff, 2016). Even when confronted with these obstacles, the LGBT community and its allies, particularly the youth, have taken steps to address violence in a peaceful, well-organized, and cross-sectionally (Ridwan & Wu, 2018). It implies that the application of human rights enshrined in the UDHR of the United Nations is not as flawless as expected in real life because of various factors.

Considering the challenges individuals and communities face in the real world, it would be fascinating to learn if the double-marginalized organization has ever received negative feedback on their digital activism and how they responded. Although, the digital activism is consider sustain and there is no record or study on the hostility they received from their digital media platforms' involvement as for today. Instead of hiding from society, because of the social judgement they have the audacity to expose the organization through their multi-layered digital media accounts, which convey their movement with an emphasis on Waria with HIV from 2019 to the present.

This social phenomenon happens to this Yayasan Kebaya's digital movement; although they got a double social stigma, the social media is sustained. It happens even with the risk that more people from various background will approach and can access their digital activism freely through their multilayered media. Human Right combined with the cultural, religion and power relation aspects as the concept can be utilized as an approach to the organization in managing the dynamic on their digital activism through instagram account, facebook page and website. While conducting digital activism that has a legal permit the community may have experienced several obstacles in their digital activism and have endured many adverse experiences after the double stigma they acquired in real life.

This double-marginalized organization is permitted to engage in activism by the government, and in the digital platform, yet, cultural, religion and power relations must influence their ability to communicate and express their opinion. Further examination is required to examine the contradictory nature of religion, culture, and power dynamics within double-marginalized organizations' digital activism regarding applying human rights principles in Indonesia in digital and real-world settings.

# 2.3. Cultural and Religion aspects domination on Double Marginalized Organization Multilayered Digital Activism

In Indonesia, the concepts of religion and culture are strongly intertwined in ordinary living, even though they do not necessarily exist side by side. Although it stated in its constitution and as the member of United Nations that Indonesia actively promotes human rights to ensure social justice for all of its citizens, the diversity of cultures and religions factors in Indonesia in the level of province and nation also dominantly influence how the government and citizens react to the actions of other citizens or groups. Because it has been a part of their daily lives for centuries, these factors have shaped how the people of Indonesia think about life, including digital activism, regardless of whether they are the majority or the

minority. This is being called in the research by Costanza-Chock (2020) as the people serve to constantly put marginalized groups "in their place".

As one of the concept, religion can be defined as a form of culture because it is a unified system of beliefs and practices that varies across religious traditions; however, religion focuses exclusively on relationships with the divine and faith (Cohen, 2009). Instead of focusing on religion as a form of culture and the content of its teachings and practices, which may vary from group to group, religion more focus on an encompassing system of supernatural beliefs and practices (Sasaki & Kim, 2011).

Toomistu (2022) gave the example of the religious concept that Indonesians think all humans, regardless of gender, commit sins and that bodily alterations are widely regarded as wicked since they would modify God's creation. In this case, the religious concept utilized is Islam, which has become the majority belief; according to Toomistu (2022), around 87% of the Indonesian population identifies to state censuses as Muslim, and the majority of waria are also Muslim.

On the other hand, in the research of Kitayama (2002), the concept of culture is a meaning system in which psychological processes are configured across nations. The cultural value system consists of concepts applied to a society's way of life and its valuable elements (Koentjaraningrat, 2004). People in more collectivistic cultures in South East Asia, such as Indonesia for example, tend to have a more interdependent view of the individual (Sasaki & Kim, 2011). According to this viewpoint, the self is naturally connected to others, and responsibility and harmony in social interactions are valued more than personal autonomy (Markus & Kitayama, 1991; Miller et al., 1990). Based on the research of Sasaki and Kim (2011), even though religious beliefs and traditions may travel across communities, individuals from various cultures may experience the same religion differently and the other way around.

In this study, the concept of culture refers to the local culture in Indonesia, specifically the Javanese culture that occurs in the environment of the waria with HIV organization, where the majority of the team and the organization are Javanese. The Javanese cultural value is the adoption of wayang performances that characterize the ideal human character as accommodating to the opinions of others, subtle, kind, and helpful to others (Herliana, 2015). The Javanese ethic written in the Abimanyu (2013) literature also prioritizes not conversing excessively and working diligently - sepi ing pamrih, rame ing gawe. The principle of living harmony in Javanese culture manifested as; accepting oneself with pleasure and without regret (narimo ing pandum), cooperation (gotong royong), respect to the elders (ngajeni), modesty (andap asor), and respectful to others (Herliana, 2015). Even though there is always the possibility of cultural influence from another region or country, most people related to this social phenomenon use Javanese cultural values in their daily activities and decisions regarding everything.

Concurrently, Indonesia, a multicultural and one of the biggest archipelago countries, has a long history of accepting and tolerating the diversity of their nation (Ridwan & Wu, 2018). It is stated in the

research of Ridwan & Wu (2018) that more than 300 ethnic and religious groups, including six state-recognized faiths and hundreds of indigenous religions, are represented in this country. Several other nations' cultures also have influenced Indonesian culture; for example, Bubalo and Fealy (2005) suggest that neo-fundamentalist influences are arriving to Indonesia from the Middle East through Indonesian students who have studied there. From this activities, in the early 2010s, Islamist fundamentalist groups escalated their attacks on LGBT individuals and communities, such as the attack on the International Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, and Intersex Association (ILGA) conference in Surabaya, Indonesia, in 2010 (Jakarta Globe, 2010). These two factors both religion and culture shape people's thinking and overall communication dynamics in their daily lives and influence people's actions and reactions to others, including digital activism in Indonesia.

Parallel to this situation, Ridwan & Wu (2018) reported in their research that there has been a significant increase in new LGBT organizations and communities from the early 2010s to 2016. There is the fact that currently at least one LGBT organization or community group, as well as service provider organizations working on SRHR with an adolescent component, in each province (Ridwan & Wu, 2018). These phenomenons simultaneously indicate that religion and culture are not the only factors in this situation, both in the real world and in the digital area.

Even in the research of Ridwan and Wu (2018) some of these LGBT organizations are receiving international funding and capacity-building support for their movements. In addition to cultural and religious factors, waria's activism with HIV organizations has also been influenced by other factors. Other factors that may affect the organization's digital activism include differences in the power of anti-LGBT organizations and governments across provinces and differences in the types of platforms where activism occurs. This suggests that the dynamics and growth of culture and religion contribute to the oppression experienced by double-marginalized groups. Nevertheless, the characteristics of these communities are undergoing a progressive transformation due to initiatives carried out by external organizations.

# 2.4. Power relations to government and opposition organization

According to the Merriam-Webster Dictionary (2023), power is defined as the capacity to exercise influence, control, or authority over someone. In this social phenomenon, power refers to authorized government and/or opposition organizations capable of influencing other organizations' activism, including on digital platforms. Indonesia is a unitary, republican state based on the rule of law, and as of the 30th of June, 2022, this multicultural country consists of 37 provinces (FAO.org, 2023; Indonesia Water Portal, 2022).

Regarding the power relation in Indonesia, the nation is divided into provinces, regencies, and municipalities, and each of it sub-division has regional authorities (The Office of the Registrar and the

Secretariat General Of the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Indonesia, 2015, article. 18). In the website, FAO.org (2015) stated that the authorities of the provinces, regencies, and municipalities shall include for each a Regional People's House of Representatives (DPRD), whose members shall be elected through general elections. Following the country's constitution means that each Indonesian province is able to establish its own set of rules and laws based on the aspirations of its citizens.

On the other hand, citizens come from diverse backgrounds, including religious and cultural differences, which influence rule and lawmaking decisions and give organizations, including their activism, differing levels of power. This mechanism will also generate a different response and power from the local authoritarian government and the opposing organization on the provincial scale to the digital activism of the waria with HIV organization.

Meanwhile, there is a long history of power relation between the authoritarian government and the opposition organizations in Indonesia as a country, both at the national level and in each province. It also includes the consideration and evolution of the government's and opposition groups' recognition of the LGBT community as a marginalized group, which has waria in it. Unlike British-colonized nations (such as Singapore and Malaysia), Indonesia did not have legislation criminalizing consensual same-sex sexual encounters and homosexuality between males during its time as a Dutch colony before its independence in 1945 (Ridwan & Wu, 2018). According to the findings of Ridwan and Wu (2018), however, widespread implementation of this law occurred between 1938 and 1939, when the Second World War endangered the control of colonial powers. This led to the establishment "morality police" – polisi susila – who conducted enormous arrests of homosexual men accused of having sex with minors (Oetomo and Yulius 2016).

Since Indonesia's independence in 1945, the country's legislation regarding homosexuality has remained the same; nonetheless, there have been no new severe initiatives in Indonesia to criminalize homosexuality (Ridwan & Wu, 2018). However, political hostility towards LGBT individuals, including waria, and an atmosphere of homophobia in broader society can be traced to the rise of political Islam just before and after the 1998 overthrow of President Suharto (Nugroho 2016). While During the 1960s communist genocide, the Indonesian communist women's mass organization Gerwani (Gerakan Wanita Indonesia or the Indonesian Women's Movement) was accused of promoting lesbianism, an example of prior homophobia and its relation to political power struggles (Wieringa 2000).

From the 1999s, several Islamist political organizations, specifically FPI (Islamic Defenders Front), have done a series of violent assaults on various forms of mobilization and social events of LGBT individuals, indicating the rise in political intolerance in Indonesia (Boellstorff 2004b). Particularly in Yogyakarta At the height of the early 2016 public rage against the LGBT population the Pondok Pesantren for waria in Yogyakarta was attacked by the Islamic extremist organisation Front Jihad Islam (FJI) and forced to close (Toomistu, 2022).

Even in the interviews conducted by Ridwan and Wu (2018) with LGBT activists confirmed their belief that neo-fundamentalist groups have been influential in their campaign, as many moderate Muslims now support restrictions on LGBT people. This situation highlights that implementing human rights, following the principles set forth by the United Nations, does not operate smoothly. The marginalized community is inclined to exercise caution to prevent conflicts that could hinder their future endeavors in online and offline environments.

In this situation, researcher will utilize the power relation concept between the authoritarian government and the opposition at the provincial level. This study will also combined with the other aspect which are culture and religion values that applies together with the perspective of human rights to explore the digital activism conducted by the Yogyakarta-based double-marginalized organization to study the phenomenon. The qualitative research approach, which will be elaborated on in the subsequent chapter, will be used to conduct inquiries into the social phenomena, addressing the frameworks and ideas relevant to those individuals engaged and related to it.

# 3. Methodology

According to Jansen (2022), narratives are crucial in facilitating individuals' comprehension of the world. Consequently, to understand social phenomena comprehensively, it is necessary to use a qualitative methodology, such as conducting interviews with the involved participants. The aim of the study is to understand the digital activism of waria with the HIV/AIDS community in Indonesia from the perspective of human rights that is influence by the culture, religion and power relation concept. As previously mentioned, the qualitative approach encourages people who are part of the organization and engage with it as participants to provide their personal experiences and motivations for their actions.

The story of each people can be similar or different because Rateuau et al., (2011) said that social representations bear, on the one hand, the mark of the social membership of the individuals who adhere to them and give them their identity. Social representations also enable the same individuals to distinguish "others," those who do not share the same representations and who appear to them as, at best, different and, at worst, malevolent (Rateau et al., 2011). This research will use the concept of human rights in conjunction with culture, religion, and power relation in Indonesia to guide the list of qualitative research questions regarding this social phenomenon. This method will answer the primary question of Yayasan Kebaya Yogyakarta, which has been sustainably conducting digital activism with all the dynamics of the aspects since 2019 and is still making progress.

#### 3.1. Research design

The digital activism motives on double marginalized organization phenomenon can be approached with qualitative research method, which can include, but is not limited to, how people perceive aspects of their life, how individuals and/or groups behave, how organisations work, and how interactions form relationships (Teherani et al., 2015). Qualitative method will explore the story behind their digital activism as an organization with double stigma in Indonesia. As the previous chapter already introduce the human rights that influence by the cultural, religion and power relation aspects to approach this digital activism case. This study utilized the concept of human rights that is stated in the articles 1, 2 and 19 in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) as the guideline of the interview question to answering the main research questions. This will answer the social phenomenon on whether the organization of waria with HIV do digital activism from the perspective of human rights compare to local influence of cultural, religion and power relation aspect in Indonesia.

The organization has multilayered media in doing their digital activism firstly they have Instagram account "@kebaya4\_yogyakarta" is the abbreviation of "Keluarga Besar Waria Yogyakarta" (The Big Family of Waria in Yogyakarta). Secondly, is their Facebook page namely "Yayasan Kebaya". Thirdly is

their website www.wariasehat.org that informing about the organization activity under Yayasan Kebaya that everyone can access.

#### 3.2. Data collection methods

The primary data is collected through in-depth interviews, with narrative analysis approach in order to obtain a variety of data types and in-depth information about the perspectives and experiences of the participants (Miles & Huberman 1994; Johnson & Barach 2008; Silverman 2018). This study additionally employs observation as a supplementary method to enhance the data collected, specifically focusing on double-marginalized organization. According to numerous studies, not all social groups and individuals share the same values, standards, ideologies, or concrete experiences concerning the same events and activities, so it is intended that the methods will yield a unique perspective from each participant.

# 3.2.1 In-depth interviews and Observation guide

The objective of the interview is to explore the story of the member and all the people that is related to digital activism sustainability from double-marginalized organization that exists in society. Each participant will be given the semi-structured designate question based on the various aspects and concepts to address the research question in order to learn their respective backstories, followed by further exploratory questions as appropriate. From the the perspective human rights compare to culture, religion, and power relation aspects the researcher constructed lists of questions to address the main research topic. This semi-structured interview was a type of qualitative interview used in this study, which allowed the researcher to improvise follow-up questions based on the participants' responses (Kallio et al., 2016).

The in-depth interview is conducted in Bahasa Indonesia and directly and face to face with all the participant that will investigate the true narrative behind their digital activism activities. Due to the sensitive subject matter of the research, verbal consent was also obtained from each participant before the interview, and they were free to remain anonymous if they wished. Regarding the ethical concern the researcher has sent the permission letter to conduct research to the Yayasan Kebaya Organization that has been translated to Bahasa Indonesia. The researcher allocates one and a half to two hours for each participant to get comprehensive and relevant data during each interview.

In addition, along with the interview, researcher spend two weeks gathering secondary data from the organisation that may related to ethnography and other observable activities. In this specific activity, the observer will not intervene while the organisation is doing its activity and decision making strategy in doing digital activism. During the duration of a two-week observational study, the researcher allocated a total of three hours to observe and document the organization's activities. There is also notably that the researcher conducts all data collection activities in Bahasa Indonesia, and in a few instances, with the assistance of local facilitators, local languages are also used if it is needed.

# 3.2.2. Participants

This study interviews 21 individuals, including 4 (four) members of the organization and one member responsible for managing the digital activism of the organization. In order to get a better understanding of the phenomenon from the perspective of at least 5 (five) officials of the organizations including the leader and the program manager who also responsible for the digital activism, the researcher will also investigate more exploratory narratives from them. In addition, the local government officers that are aware of the phenomenon, and residents who is aware of the situation will also be interviewed to obtain a different viewpoint.

Participants from within and outside the marginalized organization are asked similar questions from different points of view to capture the relevant response to the social phenomena of digital activism from as many angles as possible. More specifically, open-ended questions were used so that participants could freely explain and express their experiences (Creswell, 2013), and combined with follow-up and probing questions based on the participants' responses (DeJonckheere & Vaughn, 2019). This study additionally examines the various narratives surrounding the interplay between the human rights framework and other influential factors such as religion, culture, and power relations. These elements heavily shape societal perspectives on the phenomenon under investigation.

Simultaneously, to obtain a broader perspective of the entire social phenomenon, 5 (five) participants who moderately oppose the presence of the waria based on their religion value will also partake in the interview. This research involves conducting interviews with individuals affiliated with Islamic organizations who express opposition toward the presence of double-marginalized organizations. The objective is to evaluate their capabilities and ascertain the role of religion in the context of the double-marginalized community's engagement with the organization's digital platform. The researcher employs a careful selection process to ensure that the individuals affiliated with the Islamic organization have the necessary knowledge and expertise to elaborate on all the components under investigation thoroughly. Table 1 displays the comprehensive collection of participant characteristics pertinent to investigating the study queries about the specific social phenomena.

**Table 1** *The characteristic of the participants* 

| Organization/Institution         | Qty |
|----------------------------------|-----|
| Double-marginalized organization |     |
| Yayasan Kebaya officials         | 5   |

| Yayasan Kebaya member                        | 5  |
|--|----|
| Government institution                       |    |
| KPA ( National AIDS Commision)               | 2  |
| Dinas Sosial ( Social Institution)           | 2  |
| Religion organization and others             |    |
| Muhammadiyah (Islamic Religion organization) | 2  |
| Aisyiah ( Islamic Religion Organization)     | 2  |
| Neighbors                                    | 3  |
| Total  | 21 |

Regarding the observation, apart from the daily activities of the organization as a whole, the main focus will be on how the organization's internal meeting regarding activism content communication on their digital platform is working. The researcher expects to understand how cultural, religious, and power disparities influence their free speech as an equal and dignified organization as their fundamental human rights, particularly on digital platforms.

#### 3.3. Pre-test

The researcher did a pre-test before the interview to ensure that all components, including the language, the choice of words, and the structure of the questions, were intelligible. Before conducting the comprehensive interview, the researcher delivered a pre-test to two individuals, one of whom held the program manager position within the marginalized organization. At the same time, the other was a local community member. Since the researcher was interviewing individuals from various educational backgrounds outside of the capital city, the participant's perspective was utilized to change the question with a more convenient choice of words.

While the pre-test is not considered part of the data-collecting process, the pre-test results suggest that all participants possess a comprehensive comprehension of each item in the list. The pre-test participant suggests that providing more explanation and an illustrative example would be beneficial to elicit a more precise answer from the interviewee. The researchers adjusted several inquiries to elicit a more comprehensive and expansive story with greater exploration and originality.

# 3.4 Data Analysis

The data collection process will provide transcribed narratives that will be subjected to analysis to study and gain insights about the persons involved. The present research uses a narrative method to analyze the data collection findings and enhance understanding of how people get meaning from their experiences.

This is achieved via examining and interpreting participants' narratives and way of communication. This may explain the use the theoritical concept in the context of digital activism. According to Jansen (2022), individuals possess an enhanced capacity to comprehend and interpret the world using narratives. That in this case the participants perspective and stories towards the digital activism that has been done by the double marginalised organization.

The interview will be transcribed into narratives, which, upon reading, it will enable the researcher to comprehend how the distinct organizations running errands in doing digital activism as a double marginalization situation. Then, the narrative analysis will likely provide understanding from the perspective of associated individuals to address the primary question regarding social occurrence in society. The personal data did not contain in the transcripts so the anonymity of the participant is secured. While on the observation researcher focusing on the process on how the raw material and the idea of the organization is posted in the multilayered digital media. So that the researcher see the real dynamic of how the rights to express themselves as an organization is compare to the religion, cultural and power relation aspects.

The researcher uses the inductive approach in analyzing the data; according to Thomas (2006), the primary objective of the inductive method is to enable research findings to emerge from the frequent, dominant, or significant themes inherent in raw data without the constraints of structured methodologies.. Although inductive analysis helps the researcher to anchor categories inside the data and so most directly reflect participant viewpoints, it is also acceptable for researchers to rely on their own experience with the subject phenomenon during analysis (Berg, 2004).

According to Thomas (2006), the researcher will repeatedly read the transcripts from which themes (or categories) emerge after analyzing the transcripts and reflecting on potential meanings and how these align with developing themes. These themes will be later categorized into three: 1. The religion, culture, and power relations aspects influence digital activism; 2. The dynamic between each oppresive aspects in the double-marginalized organization; 3. Future challenges, objectives, and sustainability of the digital activism performed by the double-marginalized organization. These themes, which answer the supplementary research question, will be elaborated upon more in the following chapter.

# 4. Findings

This chapter categorizes all of the data obtained from the 21 participants into three major themes. The participants' backgrounds in this study significantly influenced the quality and nature of the explanation they delivered to the researcher. The study examines the findings for each topic collected due to the researcher's face-to-face in-depth interview and observation. The first theme examines how the oppresive aspects of religion, culture, and power relations impact double-marginalized digital activism from human rights standpoint in multilayered digital media postings.

The second theme focuses on the dynamic between the intersection of the oppresive aspects to the double marginalized organization's digital activism from the participant's perspective. The final theme emphasizes how the double-marginalized organization confront the future challenge of a movement aligned with the organization's genuine motivation to perpetuate their digital activism.

# 4.1. Religion, culture and power relation aspects influence on double marginalized multilayered Digital activism from human rights perspective

This field of study explores the potential influence of the intersectionality of the aspects' values of the digital activism of the double-marginalized organization, as shown in their everyday activities. This topic also offers the perspective of those who do not belong to the double-marginalized organization. The participants can be classified into two distinct categories: those who maintain a current affiliation with the organization and those who belong to religious organizations and have moderate opposition against the existence of those organizations. It discusses if and how these elements restrict their actions and capacities to express themselves in multilayered digital platforms from a human rights standpoint.

#### 4.1.1. Religion and culture influence

According to the interview, values' religious and cultural aspects strongly influence all participants in their everyday life, including in digital activism. The example of influences of religion and culture in their daily life is presented in their religious symbols, like wearing hijabs and praying before they do something. Even based on the researcher's observation and in-depth interview, the participants who were not born and raised in Yogyakarta adapted to the local values to blend in. While on digital activism, the influence of religion and culture from the double-marginalized organization side is shown through the filter process to the word preference, activities, and the picture they will post to their multilayered digital platform. There are similar responses from ten participants from the organization; one of them stated:

"On the website and Instagram kebaya, xxxxx is in charge of uploading it. But the pictures are from us. So it is very sensitive when talking about religion. For example, we have transgender friends who are active in Islamic boarding schools, but they also take part in activities of other

religions. So, we choose not to upload it, it is only for personal use. I am afraid it will be boomerang for us" (p1)

Participants from the double marginalized organization also stated that, aside from appointing a particular person to handle digital activism, at the start of their activism in social media platforms, the leader and program manager were always re-filtering the material that would be posted on social media, as stated by one of the organization's officials:

"For the post, we will assign it to Mr xxxx, and later we will ask xxxxx and xxxxx for approval on whether the words like this are connected or not. So, I am not the person who is in charge in it, but as far as I know we can not submit photos and also words without asking for approval first because it represent the organization and not just for 1 or 2 people who read it and it involves the name of the kebaya foundation." (p5).

Participants outside the organization responded similarly on how they see the double-marginalized organization on digital activism. The participant agreed that the organization already and should consider the religious and cultural aspects of their digital activism. From the participant's point of view, their post is more likely to be about general organization activities than the disparity in their rights and circumstances in Indonesia. Participants from outside the organization validate that the organization is sorting their posts based on the choice of words and images presented in the statement by observing the multilayered nature of the organization's posts.

#### 4.1.2. The Limitation of religion and culture aspects from human rights perspective

The participants concur that religion and cultural values impose restrictions on the digital activism of the double-marginalized organization in the form of numerous factors, such as the subject matter of postings, the choice of words and images, etc. Instead of considering the negative impact of the restrictions on their freedom of expression imposed by religion and cultural values in digital activism, participants in the organization are incorporating these values positively into their digital activism. It is confirmed that none of the participants use the values they are obligated to uphold in their religion and culture as a force detrimental to their rights in digital activism as an organization like one of the participants statement:

"Well, I have to be honest. Yes, there are limitations. But when it comes to religion, it's a guide for how we live as Muslims who understand the religion. It's okay if someone doesn't follow it, but they

shouldn't say that religion is wrong. In my opinion, religion does impose restrictions because life needs boundaries."p12

Participants from the double-marginalized organization use religious and cultural values as a guide when engaging in digital activism. This community do not think these values violate their right to express their organization's ideas. Participants from outside the organization have similar responses concerning religion and culture in the digital activism conducted by the double-marginalized group. From their perspective, the double-marginalized organization is internalized within themselves and has inevitably taken on the organization's characteristics that they wish to highlight in digital activism.

"The local culture is preserved, while there are external cultures as well. Kebaya, for example, has its own culture that is showcased to the local community, but the general public also has its own culture. So, it's not direct; there still has to be mutual adaptation".(p6).

While from the point of view of the participant from a religious organization, the double marginalized organization should apply the values of religion and culture in their activism in a multilayered digital platform to be accepted in society. But, the issue of waria are not currently a priority for their organization. Because they are focusing more on other marginalized individuals than on the waria issue, as long as the digital activism is not controversial and ubiquitous, the group that manages it will not be persecuted, according to the organization's members, who also disclose that the majority of Indonesia's Muslims are moderates.

However, when it comes to attitudes and advocacy, it hasn't reached that point yet. As for my personal attitude, it's just normal. If we talk about LGBTQ, whether it's fundamentalist, moderate, or liberal, I consider myself moderate. I take a "wait and see" approach. One thing is for sure, XXXXXXX, as an organization, does not antagonize or reject them, nor does it issue fatwas against them."(p15)

Regarding their action toward the double-marginalized organization digital activism, the statement of all participants from the Islamic organization confirmed that the character of the Islamic organization in Jogjakarta is that of the moderate religious organizations. The participants from the Islamic organization also stated that the values of Java's culture and religion have already been assimilated into religious practice, allowing them to choose to live in harmony.

## 4.1.3. Power Relation aspect in limitating and influencing digital activism.

Regarding power relation, each participant from inside the organization confirmed that power relation with the government and other organizations matters to them when they perform digital activism. Thus, especially to the government institution that cooperates with the organization that is closely connected and gives funding to the organization, the participant also said that they would filter their usage of words and language not to offend any other organization. Like one of the participant from the double-marginalized organization statement:

"In Jogja, several agencies have acknowledged this. As I said earlier, these agencies work together with other institutions, one of which is the Kebaya Foundation. We are working with the Social Service, working with the Health Service, the Tourism Service, and the Cooperative Service which has started inclusion. Then we talk about organization religion, there are so many radical mass organizations cornering transgender friends with religious values that they think are right, Maybe the words should be more organized. Because sometimes people misinterpret. For example, we actually only offend 1 person ( in organization), but everyone is affected. To upload a word, you have to be careful and the government. Because that's what the government is talking about too many people." (P1)

Additionally they need to be very careful to the government during their digital activism because of the information technology (IT) regulation from government that will be the guide for them in performing digital activism.

"I think it's affected, there is value there. Value that agreed to becoming guide. If we look in ITE regulations, value as a guide and ethics code related with religions, culture, and aesthetic." (p2).

On the other hand, government officials and religious organization participants stated that they are unconcerned about the digital activism organizations have performed. According to one official governmental institution participant, they also believe they will not respond to digital activism unless it goes viral or becomes so widespread that it interferes with the institution's or organization's operations.

"In my opiniom, it has been very harmonious. Looking at the program and activities, both we and Ms. Xxxxx (the leader of organization) are very open. When there are issues, for example, we have discussions (rembuk). I rarely see their digital activism, to be honest. Their Instagram

presence is not significant. Most of our communication is through phone calls, WhatsApp, or other forms that are often more effective." (p20)

It is confirmed that each of the three aspects in the social structure in Indonesia is influencing digital activism by the double-marginalized organization on the process of presenting their post in the multilayered digital platform. From a human rights standpoint, these elements can be considered oppressive since they impose limitations on double-marginalized organizations. However, they allow these organizations to express themselves on digital platforms with several limitation on the process. It includes choosing words, themes, and pictures, not to miss the double filter inside the organization before it is posted on the digital platform. One notable distinctive is that the participants exhibit a favorable acceptance of these factors, seeing them as guiding principles. The next issue is the dynamic of the aspects that influence digital activism, which of the participants from inside the organization are most concerned about. This dynamic is also asked the people outside the organization to know the digital activism from their point of view, especially when the double-marginalized organization has done it.

# 4.2. The dynamic between the religion, culture, and power relation compare to human rights

The total of 21 participants, both inside and outside the double-marginalized organization, agree the culture, religion and power relations aspects intersectionality influence and limit them in doing digital activism generally. In this social phenomenon, they portray the values and regulations of the culture, religion, and authority in positive ways that are not harmful to their rights to express their opinion in the multi-layered digital platform. One of the ways to know the dynamic between each aspect better researcher ask the participant which aspect becomes their main to less priority when they are planning to post the content. Each participant's background plays a significant role in determining which aspect significantly influences the double-marginalized organization's digital activism based on the dynamic of the aspect's questions.

When engaged in digital activism, the fundamental concerns of participants in double-marginalized organizations vary. Four of the ten participants prioritized religion and power relations when choosing the information to put on their organization's multi-layered digital platform. Meanwhile, two organization members have chosen cultural values as their primary priority when deciding what to put on the digital platform. Interestingly, two participants, who is in charge of the organization's digital activism and the program manager, the primary content filter, use religious value as the primary criterion to determine which content is appropriate for the audience. Aside from religion, power relations are significant because participants believe that when it comes to power to authority, the effect when this is not seen as the consideration has an immediate impact.

"Because, from what I've seen, political directions have a quick impact. For example, when there was a ministerial regulation about removing the recognition of waria in the Ministry of Social Affairs, and it was disseminated, it made us feel like we couldn't do anything anymore". (P9)

In this phenomenon, based on the researcher's observational activities, the participant in charge of digital activism is moderating and refining the content produced by the other double-marginalized organization officials. This person, who is becoming the key person of digital activism in a double-marginalized organization, believes that the oppressive system limitations prevent everyone from violating one another, as stated in one of the following statements:

"Personally, I believe that it's for the good. Even though I'm not very religious, religion limits certain things for the sake of goodness. It limits freedom to engage in negative activities. From my perspective, it's good that it's restricted." (P12)

On the other hand, the participant in charge of digital activism stated that although religious values are becoming the most critical factor in their digital activism, most people in Yogyakarta, including himself, are not typical conservative and fundamentalist Muslims.

"In Yogyakarta, it's more flexible, I think. People there are not too fanatical. In a positive sense, we have our own religious leaders. I often have conversations with one of them because he has arguments and evidence that show that the perception of waria and gender in Islam is not as negative as some people think." (p12)

The participant from outside the organization has a different point of view on which feature of digital activism from the double-marginalized organization is intended to be the primary priority, and this participant also comes from a different perspective. All four participants from the Islamic organization, out of 11 non-organizational participants, said that religious belief is intended to be the primary factor when making decisions about digital activity. This is the most significant factor to consider when choosing rather than the other factor since it is connected to the sin they would suffer according to their religious beliefs. When it comes to the decision-making in digital activism, there is going to be very little room for disagreement, according to one of the participants, since religious and cultural values are tightly aligned with one another.

"No, actually, they go hand in hand. Good culture is closely aligned with religion, especially in Jogja. So, when they choose what to post, it's more towards things other than religion, because of politics and culture. People will reject it if it deviates too much from the existing culture, as they feel it's damaging the culture or religion. They have more concerns about religion. They think, "If I allow this, then I'm also committing a sin. Why am I not prohibiting it? Why am I not refusing?" That's their perspective". (P8).

Participants from government organizations have differing perspectives on the dynamic of digital activism carried out by marginalized organizations. All participants from the government organizational side respond that when there is a conflict between the features of the oppresive aspects, the organization should consider cultural values when making decisions in digital activism. One of their reasons is that the majority of Yogyakarta residents are not religious and instead focus on cultural appropriation in their everyday activities, including internet activism.

"Regarding culture, it might be more important than religion because, as I mentioned earlier, Jogja is not overly religious. They prioritize community values, such as Serawung, and how to live together. So, I think cultural considerations outweigh religious considerations. (P14)."

When the dynamic of digital activism occurred, the three participants who reside in the same neighborhood as the double-marginalized organization claimed that when the organization does digital activism, two participants said they should consider the power relations aspect more carefully. This power dynamic occurs between the government and other organizations operating at the state or national level.

"Permission from the government is the most important thing. If the government approves, it can even be helpful. It could be taken to a national level by a Minister. Oh, this foundation turns out to be able to grow, people agree and are interested, they even provide assistance." p6

While another participant said that religion and culture should have an equal place anytime the dynamic of a double-marginalized organization presents its digital activism, one participant remarked that religion and culture should have an equivalent position. Even though the vast majority of participants believe that the dynamic between religion, culture, and power relation functions harmonically and constructively in the province of DI Jogjakarta, here is an example of a comment made by one of the respondents:

"I don't think they influence each other, but they complement each other, they go hand in hand."p14

The participants tend to believe that the ideals of culture, in particular, have already been internalized in their minds. As a result, the limits and restrictions becoming their structural form of oppression do not seem to them as oppressive in the same manner. Instead, they take great pride in being residents of the province and participating in its civic life.

"Yes, like preserving cultural heritage buildings, we have to take care of them. If we let them deteriorate, we won't know the legacy of the past. Personally, because I used to migrate, I understand the characteristics and behaviors of people from different places. That's why I'm proud to be Javanese. Javanese people are calm, they highly value etiquette. That's why Jogja has the slogan "berhati nyaman" (comfortable at heart), right?. No, it's not about that. Once you come to Jogja, your heart will naturally feel comfortable. From the local community, we can imagine that people in other regions might be indifferent, but in Jogja, when we meet, we always say "mari, monggo" (come, please). (P7)

Half of the participants pointed out that the monarchy of Jogja, also known as the keraton, is a significant part of Javanese culture and plays an important role in the province's governance. Even when the central government makes a regulation, if the keraton does not agree with it, the region will have their regulation based on the local wisdom, as was stated by one of the participants:

"In Jogja, the government is from the Keraton, the Keraton puts everything in order, so there are solid boundaries, the behavior of the community and construction have limits." (p5)

The prioritization of different parts of oppressive dynamics in digital activism by participants is influenced by their particular backgrounds, as shown by their responses. Since it represents the organization, the double-marginalized organization demonstrates careful attention to each component by filtering content before its publication on digital media platforms. The exercise of individuals' human rights to freely express their thoughts is once again suppressed by prevailing societal factors.

# 4.3. Double-marginalized organization digital activism, future challenges, objectives and sustainability.

Evidently, the digital activism of double-marginalized organizations in Indonesia, particularly in DI Yogyakarta, is influenced by three factors that are becoming the oppresive aspects from the perspective of human rights in the social structure. Regarding their ability to express themselves, they have internalized and embraced the intersectionality of the aspects of religion, culture, and power relations as the values that shape their thinking. To perpetuate themselves in the future, participants in this social phenomenon must construct the design of their content on a multi-layered digital platform. One participant from government officials stated that the organization must adhere to the values of digital activism to avoid offending the community.

"It seems that the organization's working method should prioritize being cautious. When we become massive and radical with sensitive issues, it actually harming the organization. That's how I see it (dealing with cultural, religion and power relation) as a form of protection because they know how social media can be. It may not be productive to upload sensitive content that will be controversial to the public, not everyone will understand it. It's also not productive, especially if it involves conflicts, and Mamis (referring to a specific type of person) do not like conflicts. This also influences how the organization operates.(P20)".

This theme will examine the strategy and main objectives of the organization's participants in administering their digital activism to ensure its sustainability and future benefit to the organization. This is necessary due to the current difficulties and prospective future obstacles their expanding number of followers poses.

# **4.3.1.** Handling Future challenges

Although the organization's members consider all of the oppresive aspects ideals as beneficial and follow them as they have internalized them, there may be some conflicts at various times if their account grows. When they handle digital activity, disagreements and problems might disrupt the stability, particularly inside and outside the organization. Internal conflict may take the shape of a distinct background of the contributor and personal interests of the organization's officials that vary from society's values. Fortunately, until the end of the research, respondents from the organization said that the filtering operations were sufficient and that no confrontations occurred.

"Actually there are no clashes, because for example I have sent a picture or text which was received by Mr. Xxxx who will upload it and consulted Mrs. Xxxx first so there is no friction at all when I want to upload pictures or text." p1

The external organization conflict can be hate comments, banishment, and hacking trials by those who marginalized them because they are a double-marginalized community, similar to what they face in real life as individuals with waria and HIV community characteristics. The participant from the organization states that they will respond to the challenge in several ways, including: 1. Remaining silent and allowing the natural process to take place; 2. Bringing the perpetrators to justice; 3. Demonstrating that the wrongdoing is wrong by performing a good deed; 4. They are increasing the security system so it cannot be easily hacked.

"We always update the status or photos regarding the activities in this kebaya foundation. In the ponpes, maybe we have our own activities, we always try to update the positive news. for an example, helping our friends in the hospital."p4

Their silence is not only silent, but their silence is moving. Their Silence moves by improving and continuing to show that we are okay, we are fine, we are not the people they accuse. (P5)

"And the last we need to update our digital platform protection that contains information and community data that is vulnerable for abuse." p2

#### 4.3.2. Real Objectives

Despite the risks they will encounter, they will continue to handle digital activism for specific issues that, according to the interview, are relevant to their existence as human beings and are vital for the organization's participants. They cite three reasons they are exposing themselves in digital media as an organization: For starters, internet activism is a tool for motivating double-marginalized organizations because it allows them to connect with others who share their interests or destiny. This informs them that they are not alone and that the rest of the world is fighting the same battle as the member of double-marginalized organization participants who stated:

"Digital (platform) is one of the tools so that we know how the differences are in Indonesia and abroad. Culturally we are different but we have the same rights as a marginalized community and we will fight for it at any time." (p1)

Second, according to the participant, internet activism is one of their weapons for proving their social presence and influencing the public view of them. The responder said that they, as a double-marginalized group, are capable of good action. They are not the person that is labeled negatively as waria due to the oppresive system in society.

"We take the positives (of digital activism), even though we are a marginalized community, we can still carry out positive activities that can help other trans women and the general public regarding health. I forgot what ministry tone came here, when he came here he said "This foundation is very good because it provides a place for all"(p1)

Third, as socialization tools for how they wish to portray themselves as an organization to understand people better and be readily accessible to others. This digital activism will provide several opportunities for collaboration with other organizations in the future, strengthening their capabilities and negotiating power.

"To give those comparative sides for netizen, look for another sides. That is what we are doing. Through social media, through this website, we are controlling, we manage, we write about many sides about our rights, we also promoted about our activity to get sustainability from donor agencies. (P2)

As stated by the double-marginalized participants, the objectives mentioned above motivate them to sustain their multifaceted digital activism in response to various forms of oppression they have experienced. They aim to develop their own justice design strategy that, in their perspective, will effectively combat societal oppressiveness. Further elaboration on their approach will be provided in the subsequent chapter.

# 4.3.3. Sustainability digital activism for the double-marginalized organization

"Playing it safe" is the essential phrase for the organization's digital activism in Indonesia if they want to be accepted by society. They need tactics and strategies to remain productive and prevent their organization from engaging in unproductive activities.

It is not just about media campaigning, but also about creating a space for our introduction to the general public. The existence of both support and opposition is a challenge, but again, it comes back to maintenance, addressing those challenges. It is necessary to have an online presence through Instagram and a website to clarify our activities. Offline

activities are limited to a certain group of people who are aware. However, with an online presence, we must also understand the social aspects, the three factors we mentioned earlier: religious, cultural, and policy aspects. We need to be courageous and accountable, but being courageous doesn't mean playing it safe. P7

Participants from the organization choose to act safely and follow the norms and values to post the content on their multi-layered digital platform. There are several statements about the process of creating safe digital activism to be sustained in Indonesia, especially DI Yogyakarta:

Firstly, before posting an article, I carefully choose the title. I avoid creating controversial titles that might attract negative attention. I understand the societal stigma, so it's important to avoid topics that could potentially invite criticism or religious debates. Instead, I focus on promoting tolerance and acceptance. For example, I highlight the diversity within Islam and emphasize that being pious is what matters most in the eyes of God. I try to strike a balance by responding with positive comments and addressing any tensions or arguments that arise. P12

According to the interview, the phrase "playing it safe" in digital activism refers to utilizing religious and cultural values and considering the power relation with the related stakeholder, which in this instance is the government, when they express the organization in their material. This is done by using religion and cultural values. As a double-marginalized organization, one of the participants emphasized that they would only prioritize the organization's interest in concentrating on their existence in doing good things for people. Despite the intersectionality of these factors, which has subjected them to oppression from a human rights standpoint and has somewhat constrained their digital activism, they have managed to develop their own strategic approach to pursue their own design justice through digital platforms.

The findings provide an understanding of the influence of religion, culture, and power relations on the digital activism of double-marginalized organizations, addressing various aspects of their operations. The confirmation is not solely derived from internal participants within the organization but also from all relevant individuals and institutions that engage with the organization, including religious organizations. However, the organization in question strategically leverages the same factors that are seen to constrain them to achieve its objectives, hence adopting a "playing it safe" strategy.

#### 5. Discussions & Conclusion

This chapter examines the double-marginalized organization on digital activism from the human rights perspective compared to the local influence of culture, religion, and power in Indonesia. Thus, the question was divided into three sub-questions that focused on the interplay between the human rights perspective and the present and future challenges of the social phenomenon. Alongside the obstacles, researchers investigate the primary objectives and strategy of the double-marginalized organization's future digital activism. The influence of these three factors on the findings was analyzed and reviewed from a human rights perspective concerning the literature used to develop the theoretical framework. This chapter also elucidates the potential future development of a particular social phenomenon that will enrich the double-marginalized community's literature.

# 5.1. Main findings and theoritical implication

The current research found from the first theme is that the human rights application in digital activism is influence by religion, culture, and power relations impacts the participant's way of thinking in Indonesia. This phenomenon may also be classified as an oppressive system through the human rights lens since it reinforces restrictions on certain forms of expression by the double-marginalized organization in digital activism. Both participants from inside and outside the double-marginalized organization recognize the exact incidence of their way of thinking, particularly regarding the organization's account—literature about the double-marginalized community.

They used the values as their identity, constructing their thinking style based on Javanese cultural values as defined by Herliana (2015), using the notion of living harmony in Javanese culture. Participants in digital activism internalized these principles as they interacted with others around them even some individuals not born or raised in Yogyakarta have adapted to Javanese culture. Based on these findings, it is clear that the organization's members would prioritize religious and cultural values in their digital activism while "playing it safe" within the bounds of culture and religion. One of the features proven is the power relation affecting the participant from the marginalized organization in digital activism material, particularly to the government institution. In this case, they prefer not to share anything opposed to the government or any other organization to avoid losing the potential to collaborate.

According to the second theme, participants' backgrounds influence them when deciding which aspects become their priority when faced with a dynamic situation to determine the double-marginalized organization's digital activism process. When examined through the lens of the United Nations human rights charter, the combination of religion, cultural values, and power dynamics within a society can be seen as a form of oppression for double-marginalized organizations. The presence of these values imposes constraints on the organization's ability to engage in unrestricted publishing, particularly in the context of digital

activism. This differs from the provisions delineated in the United Nations Charter (2023), which grant individuals the opportunity to utilise their right to freedom of expression, including on digital platforms.

The study of the intersectionality of religion, cultural values, and power dynamics in digital activism aligns with Crenshaw's (1989) emphasis on the experiences of black women. However, it is essential to note that this focus on a single axis of identity excludes the experiences of waria individuals and those living with HIV, resulting in the double marginalization of individuals belonging to both categories. This study contributes additional scholarly evidence to address the gaps in Constanza-Chock's (2020) Justice Design framewok. Specifically, it focuses on the design principle originally proposed by universalists, which incorporates elements of capitalism, settler colonialism, white supremacy, and heteropatriarchy. These intersecting systems of oppression result in the erasure of particularly marginalized communities and impose disproportionate burdens on specific individuals is also can be created by the religion, culture values and the power relations in this case.

On the other hand, interestingly, based on the research, the participant from double marginalized organizations accept the oppression of religion, culture, and power relation aspect positively in their digital activism. The findings in this study present a clear explanation of the culture and religion as the system that oppressed and shaped the way of thinking of the double-marginalized organization. Participants from within the organization demonstrated the influence of the oppressive aspects in the form of an automatic filter from the contributor, the person in charge of digital activism, and the project manager on their digital activism. In this instance, the purpose of the content filter is to ensure the present and future viability of digital activism. Instead of complete freedom in digital activism, the oppresive aspects of religion, cultural values, and power relations guide the participants, as evidenced by their affirmative acceptance. Participants from inside and outside the organization believe that this guidance, which consists of a set of values and regulations, protects their interests and rights in their daily lives, including digital activism.

Observation and in-depth interviews with participants from double-marginalized organizations regarding future challenges, objectives, and sustainability comprise the primary findings of the third theme. In this instance, the researcher provides a justice design concept from the end user's perspective. In contrast, Costanza-Chock's (2020) initial concept is situated in the context of the design practitioner. Now that this study has been completed, this literature will serve as a supplement to the previous concepts of design justice, which place greater emphasis on the designer practitioner of the system than on the perspective of the end user who is utilizing the established digital platform design. Using the designated digital communication content, the double-marginalized organization use it to express their own design justice content.

Participants also explained that no matter how hard this is regarding all obstacles they will face, they feel the urge to digital activism. They will do several strategies to achieve their objectives. Their objectives

are the need for information in finding other communities, organizational existence to change social perspective, and accessibility so they can be accepted and get more opportunities. To be sustained for their objectives through their digital justice design content, it can be concluded that the participant from inside the organization believes that "playing it safe" is one of the keys to ensuring their existence in multi-layered digital activism. "Playing it safe" can be the strategy that will close them to the objective of the organization's digital activism in Indonesia.

## **5.2. Practical Implication**

The research shows a few practical consequences, the first of which pertains to the ideas within the theoretical frameworks, including religion, culture, power relations, and a human rights viewpoint in the online environment. The intersectionality between culture, religion, and power dynamics has been prominently shown via the internet activism efforts of double-marginalized organizations. This observation highlights the interconnectedness of these factors, which shape individuals' daily lives and influence their online settings, particularly in the double-marginalized organization. This can potentially set off different oppresive aspects in the society in the future, each of which must be unique to their respective regions.

Second, concerning the ideas of design justice presented by Costanza-Chock (2020), she states that whereas the term "design practitioner" used to refer to people like designers, developers, educators, community organizers, technologists, scholars, and many others, it is now possible for these ideas to be applied to the end user of a digital platform. This is significant because design practitioners include people like designers, developers, educators, and community organizers. The digital platform designer has already established the tools that the organization would use inside the digital platform. As the end user, the double-marginalized organization has included the platform in its design to address oppressive systems from a human rights perspective.

The final issue that must be addressed is the affirmative acceptance of the oppresive aspects by all participants, including the official and members of the double-marginalized organization. This indicates that even though it may violate the human rights charter, the organizations are likely to restrict their digital activity to ensure their continued existence on digital platforms. This implies that the human rights charter may be violated. This kind of study will be useful for future linked research about the positive acceptance component of the oppresive aspects in the society through the lens of the design justice concept in digital platforms. The favorable acceptance of the double-marginalized organization may give rise to a further concern, namely the possibility of inflexible actions and specific pressures that might contribute to future riots.

### 5.3. Limitation and Suggestion for future study

The purpose of the qualitative and observational research conducted by the researcher is to investigate the organization of waria with HIV when they engage in digital activism from the perspective of human rights in comparison to the cultural, religious, and political relations in Indonesia. This study conducted face-to-face interviews with each of the 21 participants to investigate their backgrounds and perspective on the social phenomenon. As stated by Mutepa (2016), one of constructivism's key benefits is the relationship between the respondent and the interviewer, which the researchers of this study discovered to be true.

On the other hand, there are limitations due to the state of the study that will require future improvement. The first limitation was that the waria participant may not have represented all waria from the double-marginalized organization in Jogja, as the program manager was also a participant who managed who the researcher should interview. This is due to program manager considerations regarding the applicant's educational background and capacity to answer the query. The researcher interviewed ten waria from the organization's database of 300 waria residing in Yogyakarta. The researcher must utilize the network of the program manager and the chief of the organization they initially contacted because both individuals stated that it is difficult for outsiders to approach waria members, particularly those infected with HIV, who have been marginalized since childhood. As a result, those who are being double-marginalized tend to exhibit heightened sensitivity and emotional responsiveness.

Researcher suggest that since marginalized people, particularly the waria with HIV community, are pretty sensitive due to the many negative stigmas that lead to social pressure, the researcher should interview them respectfully and use indirect language rather than direct sentences. Two waria participants were weeping during the interview because they recalled painful memories and experiences from their past. The researcher asks them if they wish to continue, and they opt to continue telling their story. It is also recommended that a local translator or local individual assist the researcher in the event of a potential miscommunication during the interview.

Second, during the interview process, even though it was face-to-face, the interviews took place in the organization's living room. This is even though the interviews themselves were face-to-face. The interviewing process is not without its share of noise and disruption, both of which can potentially detract from the overall quality of the interview. For instance, while the researcher asked the participants questions, some answered the phone, typed, or were distracted by other visitors. Consequently, the researcher was compelled to pose repetitive inquiries, potentially compromising the participants' response quality.

The third limitation is that the researcher frequently gives instances of ideas that can restrict the possibilities and answer from the participants to acquire the answer from the participants. This occurs when

the researcher asks participants from within and outside the organization for their responses. This is because they have previously captured anything pertinent to the statistic the researcher provided.

Regarding this limitation, this study will need to be updated frequently, as the nature of humans is dynamic, necessitating more intervention from the global foundation and a digital campaign perspective to the marginalized community directly through the organization or another Non-Governmental Organisation. The intervention can take the form of funding or capacity development for the marginalized community, which could progressively alter their perceptions of society. Globalization and the influx of external values into a nation can lead to a shifting application of the principle of human rights over time. This can impact the dynamics of digital activism within doubly marginalized organizations, potentially altering the factors that oppress and influence them.

The last future recommendation is during the interviews, participants in this study come from diverse backgrounds, including religious organizations that prohibit waria and general trans behavior. The researcher suggested involving the community that opposes the organization for future development to enrich the final result of the study as this will enhance the quality of the study. Their perspective, whether or not it will corroborate all biases or perspectives, will provide another background and narrative regarding the social phenomenon. Countries associated with the oppresive aspects of the design justice structure. This is significant because we must combat all inequalities in the world through various platforms for the voiceless to be heard. The numerous findings will contribute to developing digital activism by double-marginalized organizations in the future.

#### 5.5 Conclusion

This study demonstrates that the rights of double marginalized organizations to express their content in digital activism in Indonesia are influenced by religion, culture, and power relations as oppressive aspects. In a digital activism setting, each participant's context influences how they evaluate which oppresive aspects to consider. Each participant from the organization has a unique perspective on managing oppresive aspects, which also applies to participants from outside the organization. To accomplish their goals and ensure the sustainability of their digital activism, they have allowed religion, cultural values, and power relations to influence and even direct their digital activism. They also positively embrace the three aspects of the limitations of religion, cultural values, and power relations that must be maintained concerning the relevant stakeholders. Finally, Implementing human rights compared to culture, religion, and power dynamics within the double-marginalized population on digital platforms is an ongoing process. It is necessary to do periodic research to update the situation's dynamics, considering the influence of these aspects and international values' impact through globalization.

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#### **APPENDIX 1A**

#### Consent form

**Study title:** Double Marginalized Organization in Digital Activism Human Rights Perspective with Culture, Religion and Power Relations Influence Case Study: Yayasan Kebaya as Waria with HIV Organization Activism on Multilayered Digital Media Landscape in Indonesia

## Taking part in the study

- 1. I have read and understood the study information sheet. I have been able to ask questions and myquestions have been answered to my satisfaction. I also understand that I am free to contact the researcher with any questions I may have in the future.
- 2. I consent voluntarily to be a participant in this study and understand that I can refuse to answer questions and I can withdraw from the study at any time, without having to give a reason.
- 3. I understand that taking part in the study involves participating in a personal interview, which will be audio-recorded. Recordings will be transcribed as text and original recordings will be deleted after completion of the research project. Any summary of the content of the interview or direct excerpt from the interview made available through academic publications will be anonymized.

## Use of the information in the study

- I understand that all or part of the content of the interview will be used for publication of the concerned master's thesis and related other academic publications
- 2. I understand that personal information collected about me that can identify me will not be shared beyond the responsible researcher and data will be processed anonymized.
- 3. I agree that I can be quoted directly in the resulting research output with safeguarding that quotes will be anonymized.
- 4. I agree to being audio-recorded during the interview.
- 5. I give permission to the researcher to keep my contact information and to contact me if necessary for the needs of the research study.

#### **APPENDIX 1B**

**Questions to the participants from the organization Introductory Question** 

Good morning/afternoon/evening to Mami/Kaka/Mrs/Mr.

My name is Minanti Putri, Master student University of Twente, Netherlands, Communication Major. My Thesis is about Digital Activism which operate by Yayasan Kebaya from their social media (Instagram, Facebook and Website). I would like to inform that this interview will be recorded for my research purpose only. I also would like to inform that if it is needed I will share the result of this research to you. If you feel something uncomfortable during the interview, please let me know. In this regard, please allow me to ask furthermore about your basic data.

Selamat pagi/siang/sore Mami/Kaka/Ibu/Bapak

Perkenalkan nama aku Minanti Putri, saat ini aku sedang study Master di University of Twente, Belanda, Jurusan Communication Science. Thesis saya tentang Digital Activisme yang dilaksanakan oleh Yayasan Kebaya yang dilakukan melalui Media Sosial instagram, facebook dan website. Sebelumnya aku ingin menyampaikan bahwa interview yang kita lakukan ini akan direkam yang hanya akan dipergunakan hanya untuk Penelitian saya saja. Saya juga ingin menginformasikan, sekiranya ada hal hal yang membutuhkan penjelasan lebih lanjut selama interview mohon disampaikan kepada saya. Hasil Penelitian nanti akan saya sampaikan kepada anda jika diperlukan. Jika selama interview di rasa ada hal yang kurang nyaman mohon diinfokan kepada saya.

Selanjutnya izin untuk menanyakan beberapa kelengkapan diri sebagai berikut

## Introductory question to the participant from the organization

#### 1. How do you describe yourself?

1.Bagaimana anda menggambarkan diri anda saat ini?

## 2. As an Individual, how people around treat you?

2.Bagaimana orang di sekitar anda memperlakukanmu sebagai individu?

## 3. As the member of organization how people around treat you?

3. Bagaimana orang lain memperlakukan anda sebagai bagian dari organisasi yang anda geluti atau ikuti saat ini?

# 4. How do you explain human rights, cultural, religion and power relations concepts?

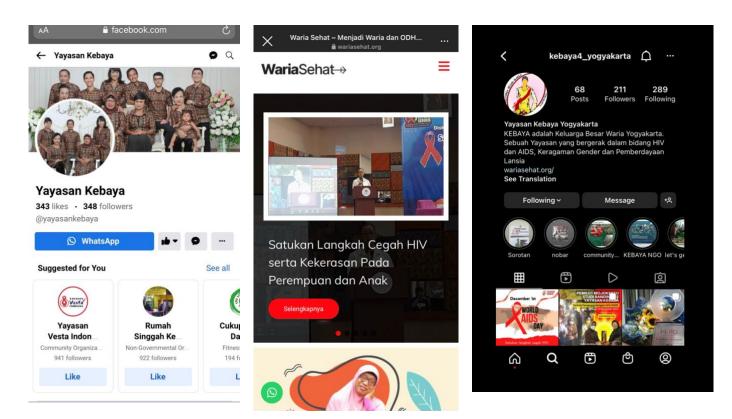
4. Terkait dengan konsep hak asasi manusia, budaya, agama dan perbedaan kekuatan sosial dan politik di masyarakat boleh dijelaskan sedikit?

( if the participant do not understand one of the concepst, the researcher will explain the description And give the example of the concepts)

## 5. How do you explain digital activism concept or activism through digital platform?

5. Bagaimana anda menjelaskan konsep aktivisme dalam jaringan (daring) atau aktivisme dalam internet (digital activism)?

( if the participant do not understand the concept, the researcher will explain the description and give example of the concepts)



## **Conceptual Question**

## **Religion aspect question**

- 1. Does religion influence your decision in everyday life? Why and how?
- 1. Bagaimana agama anda mempengaruhi pengambilan keputusan dalam kegiatan sehari-hari?

## 2. Do you think religion limiting your rights as a human?why and how

2. Apakah menurut anda agama membatasi hak asasi anda sebagai manusia?kenapa dan bagaimana

hal tersebut bisa terjadi?

- 3. Specifically about digital activism that has been done by yayasan kebaya (showing the instagram account, website and facebook account) how do you think religion may influence their activity and decision making?
- 3. Bagaimana menurut anda pengaruh agama dalam kegiatan dan pengambilan keputusan khususnya tentang aktivisme dalam jaringan (daring) yang telah dilakukan oleh yayasan kebaya?
- 4. Do you think religion limiting the rights the organization doing the digital activism specifically from yayasan kebaya ?why and how that thing happens?
- 4. Apakah menurut anda agama mempengaruhi organisasi dalam melakukan aktivisme daring khususnya yang dilakukan yayasan kebaya?kenapa dan bagaimana?

### **Cultural aspect question**

- 1. Do you applied cultural value in your everyday situation? why and how?
- 1. Apakah anda mengaplikasikan nilai nilai budaya dalam kehidupan sehari hari? Kenapa dan bagaimana?
- 2. Do you think culture influencing the operational of digital activism that especially has been done by yayasan kebaya?why and how
- 2. Apakah menurut anda budaya mempengaruhi kegiatan digital activism yang khususnya telah dilakukan oleh yayasan kebaya?kenapa dan bagaimana?
- 3. Do you think digital activism by the organization is limited by the cultural especially the Javanese value?why and how?
- 3.Apakah kamu pikir aktivisme di media daring dibatasi oleh nilai budaya terutama budaya jawa?kenapa dan bagaimana?

## **Power Relations**

- 1. Do you think there is different power of the organization and authoritarian government between each province in Indonesia?why and how it works
- 1. Apakah menurut anda terdapat perbedaan kekuatan pada pemerintahan dan organisasi setiap provinsi di Indonesia?kenapa dan bagaimana Hal ini terjadi?

- 2. How the power of the organization and authoritarian government in Yogyakarta influence your attitude and behaviour in doing digital activism?
- 2. Bagaimana kekuatan organisasi dan Pemerintahan di Yogyakarta mempengaruhi sikap dan perilaku anda dalam aktivisme daring?
- 3. Have the local government and any organization power surpress or repress the particular digital activism done by the yayasan kebaya organization?why and how it happens? Pernahkah kekuatan
- 3. pemerintah dan organisasi lokal menekan dan membatasi kegiatan aktivisme daring yang dilakukan oleh organisasi?kenapa dan bagaimana ini bisa terjadi?

### **Combination/Dynamic questions:**

- 1. From the 3 aspects that influencing the digital activism rights that particularly has been done by the organization please explain which one that you think giving the most impactful and least impactful to the digital activism by Yayasan Kebaya Organization?
- 1. Dari ketiga aspek yang mempengaruhi hak asasi organisasi ( yayasan kebaya) dalam aktivisme daring, mohon jelaskan aspek mana yang memberikan dampak paling besar dan dampak paling sedikit bagi aktivisme daring oleh organisasi?
- 2. Do you think the 3 aspects that influencing digital activism creates dynamic in the organization rights in decision making and limitation of their digital activism?why and how it works
- 2. Bagaimana ketiga aspek yang mempengaruhi aktivisme daring menyebabkan dinamika yang membengaruhi pengambilan keputusan dan batas batas dalam aktivisme daring yang dilakukan oleh organisasi?
- 3. Regarding the dynamics as a result of the aspects of digital activism that potentially creates obstacles, how do you think the organization cope with the situation?
- 3. Terkait dengan dinamika yang terjadi dari aspek agama, budaya dan perbedaan kekuatan dalam aktivisme daring yayasan kebaya yang memiliki potensi masalah, bagaimana organisasi tersebut Berdamai dengan situation?
- 4. In your mind, why the double marginalized organization (Yayasan Kebaya) manage their digital activism despite all aspects (religion, culture and power diffferential) that might potentially threaten their existence as organization?
- 4. Kenapa menurut anda Organisasi Yayasan Kebaya menjalankan aktivisme daring dengan segala aspek yang bisa berpotensi mengancam keberadaan mereka?

- 5. What do you think will be the real objective of Yayasan Kebaya digital activism and how they will achieve it?
- 5. Menurut anda apa yang menjaadi tujuan sesungguhnya dari aktivisme daring dan bagaimana mereka mencapainya?

## **APPENDIX 1C**

## Questions to the participants outside the organization

Good morning/afternoon/evening to Mami/Kaka/Mrs/Mr.

My name is Minanti Putri, Master student University of Twente, Netherlands, Communication Major. My Thesis is about Digital Activism which operate by Yayasan Kebaya from their social media (Instagram, Facebook and Website). I would like to inform that this interview will be recorded for my research purpose only and your data is protected and I am responsible for it. I also would like to inform that if it is needed I will share the result of this research to you. If you feel something uncomfortable during the interview, please let me know.

In this regard, please allow me to ask furthermore about your basic data.

Selamat pagi/siang/sore Mami/Kaka/Ibu/Bapak

Perkenalkan nama aku Minanti Putri, saat ini aku sedang study Master di University of Twente, Belanda, Jurusan Communication Science. Thesis saya tentang Digital Activisme yang dilaksanakan oleh Yayasan Kebaya yang dilakukan melalui Media Sosial instagram, facebook dan website. Sebelumnya aku ingin menyampaikan bahwa interview yang kita lakukan ini akan direkam yang hanya akan dipergunakan hanya untuk Penelitian saya saja, data anda terproteksi dan saya bertanggungjawab dengan hal ini . Saya juga ingin menginformasikan, sekiranya ada hal hal yang membutuhkan penjelasan lebih lanjut selama interview mohon disampaikan kepada saya. Hasil Penelitian nanti akan saya sampaikan kepada anda jika diperlukan. Jika selama interview di rasa ada hal yang kurang nyaman mohon diinfokan kepada saya.

Selanjutnya izin untuk menanyakan beberapa kelengkapan diri sebagai berikut: Ouestions to the participants outside of the organization:

### 1. How do you describe waria?

1. Bagaimana waria dalam pandangan anda?

## 2. How people around treat waria in your opinion?

2.Bagaimana orang di sekitar anda memperlakukan waria menurut anda?

## 3. How people around treat waria as the member of organization?

3. Menurut anda, bagaimana orang lain memperlakukan waria sebagai bagian dari organisasi kebaya?

### 4. How do you explain human rights, cultural, religion and power relations concepts?

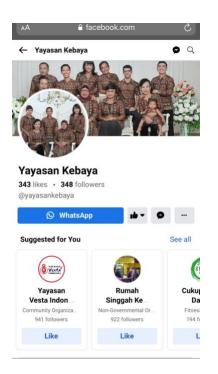
Terkait dengan konsep hak asasi manusia, budaya, agama dan perbedaan kekuatan sosial dan politik di masyarakat boleh dijelaskan sedikit?

( if the participant do not understand one of the concepst, the researcher will explain the description And give the example of the concepts)

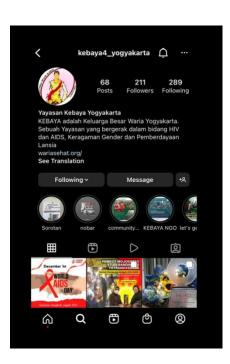
## 5. How do you explain digital activism concept or activism through digital platform?

5. Bagaimana anda menjelaskan konsep aktivisme dalam jaringan (daring) atau aktivisme dalam internet (digital activism)?

( if the participant do not understand the concept, the researcher will explain the description and give example of the concepts)







# Religion aspect question for non—organization participant:

1. Does religion influence your decision in everyday life?

## Why and how?

1. agama anda mempengaruhi pengambilan keputusan dalam kegiatan sehari-hari?

## 2. Do you think religion limiting your rights as a human?why and how

- 2. Apakah menurut anda agama membatasi hak asasi anda sebagai manusia?kenapa dan bagaimana hal tersebut bisa terjadi?
- 3. Specifically about digital activism that has been done by yayasan kebaya (showing the instagram account, website and facebook account) how do you think religion may influence their activity and decision making?
- 3. Bagaimana menurut anda pengaruh agama dalam kegiatan dan pengambilan keputusan khususnya tentang aktivisme dalam jaringan (daring) yang telah dilakukan oleh yayasan kebaya?
- 4. Do you think religion limiting the rights the organization doing the digital activism specifically from yayasan kebaya ?why and how that thing happens?
- 4. Apakah menurut anda agama mempengaruhi organisasi dalam melakukan aktivisme daring khususnya yang dilakukan yayasan kebaya?kenapa dan bagaimana?

## **Cultural aspect question for non-organization participant:**

- 1. Do you applied cultural value in your everyday situation? why and how?
- 1. Apakah anda mengaplikasikan nilai nilai budaya dalam kehidupan sehari hari? Kenapa dan bagaimana?
- 2. Do you think culture influencing the operational of digital activism that especially has been done by yayasan kebaya?why and how
- 2. Apakah menurut anda budaya mempengaruhi kegiatan digital activism yang khususnya telah dilakukan oleh yayasan kebaya?kenapa dan bagaimana?
- 3. Do you think digital activism by the organization is limited by the cultural especially the Javanese value?why and how?
- 3. Apakah kamu pikir aktivisme di media daring dibatasi oleh nilai budaya terutama budaya jawa?kenapa dan bagaimana?

## Power Relation aspect questions for non-organization participant:

- 1. Do you think there is different power of the organization and authoritarian government between each province in Indonesia?why and how it works
- 1. Apakah menurut anda terdapat perbedaan kekuatan pada pemerintahan dan organisasi after provinsi di Indonesia?kenapa dan bagaimana Hal ini terjadi?

- 2. How the power of the organization and authoritarian government in Yogyakarta influence your attitude and behaviour in doing digital activism?
- 2.Bagaimana kekuatan organisasi dan Pemerintahan di Yogyakarta mempengaruhi sikap dan perilaku anda dalam aktivisme daring?
- 3. Have the local government and any organization power surpress or repress the particular digital activism done by the yayasan kebaya organization? why and how it happens?
- 3. Pernahkah kekuatan pemerintah dan organisasi lokal menekan dan membatasi kegiatan aktivisme daring yang dilakukan oleh organisasi?kenapa dan bagaimana ini bisa terjadi?

## Combination questions for non-organization participant point of view:

- 1. From the 3 aspects that influencing the digital activism rights that particularly has been done by the organization please explain which one that you think giving the most impactful and least impactful to the digital activism by Yayasan Kebaya Organization?
- 1. Dari ketiga aspek yang mempengaruhi hak asasi organisasi ( yayasan kebaya) dalam aktivisme daring, mohon jelaskan aspek mana yang memberikan dampak paling besar dan dampak paling sedikit bagi aktivisme daring oleh organisasi?
- 2. Do you think the 3 aspects that influencing digital activism creates dynamic in the organization rights in decision making and limitation of their digital activism?why and how it works
- 2. Bagaimana ketiga aspek yang mempengaruhi aktivisme daring menyebabkan dinamika yang mempengaruhi hak mereka dalam pengambilan keputusan dan membatasi mereka dalam aktivisme daring yang dilakukan oleh organisasi?
- 3. Regarding the dynamics as a result of the aspects of digital activism that potentially creates obstacles, how do you think the organization cope with the situation? what do you think the organization should do?
- 3. Terkait dengan dinamika yang terjadi dari aspek agama, budaya dan perbedaan kekuatan dalam aktivisme daring yayasan kebaya yang memiliki potensi masalah, bagaimana organisasi tersebut Berdamai dengan situation?menurut anda apa yang seharusnya mereka lakukan

- 4. In your mind, why the double marginalized organization (Yayasan Kebaya) manage their digital activism despite all aspects (religion, culture and power diffferential) that might potentially threaten their existence as organization?
- 4. Kenapa menurut anda Organisasi Yayasan Kebaya menjalankan aktivisme daring dengan segala aspek yang bisa berpotensi mengancam keberadaan mereka?
- 5. What do you think will be the real objective of Yayasan Kebaya digital activism and how they will achieve it?please explain what the organization should do.
- 5. Menurut anda apa yang menjaadi tujuan sesungguhnya dari aktivisme daring dan bagaimana mereka mencapainya?mohon jelaskan apa yang seharusnya dilakukan oleh organisasi