# PROCEEDING

## Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values

Editor: L. Dyah Purw<mark>ita Wardani SWW</mark>

Membangun Generasi

Jember, 21-22 October 2023 International Conference of Gender and Feminism

### PROCEEDING INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF GENDER AND FEMINISM (ICOGEF)

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Hall Universitas Jember 21-22 October 2023

UPT PENERBITAN UNIVERSITAS JEMBER 2024

#### PROCEEDING INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF GENDER AND FEMINISM

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

#### Organizing Committee:

Chairperson	: L. Dyah Purwita Wardani SWW, S.S.,M.A.
Secretary	: Soekma Yeni Astuti S.Sn., M.Sn
Members	: Dr. Muhammad Irfan Hilmi, M.Pd., Didik Suharijadi SS, MA, Zahratul
	Umniyyah SS, M.Hum
Treasure	: Deditiani Tri Indrianti S.Pd, M.Sc, CiQar
Editor	: L. Dyah Purwita Wardani SWW
Reviewer	: Muhammad Irfan Hilmi, Deditiani Tri Indrianti

#### **Steering Committee**

Dr. Ir. Iwan Taruna, M.Eng.IPM (Rectoc of Universitas Jember)
Prof. Dr. Slamin M. Comp.Sc. Ph.D. (Vice rector for Academic)
Dr. Linda Eriyanti M.A. (Head of Center of Gender Studies-Universitas Jember)
Dr. Fanny Tanuwijaya, S.H., M.Hum (Head of Task Force for Preventing and Handling Sexual Violence-Universitas Jember)
Dr. Agustina Dewi Setyari S.S., M.Hum (Head of Indonesian Department-Faculty of Humanities)

ISBN : 978-623-477-126-8 (PDF)

Cetakan Pertama : Januari 2024

#### Layout dan Desain Sampul :

Risky Fahriza Bambang Aris Kartika

Publisher: UPT Penerbitan Universitas Jember

Publisher address: Jalan Kalimantan 37 Jember 68121 Phone: 0331-330224, Voip.0319 e-mail: upt-penerbitan@unej.ac.id

Distributor: Jember University Press Jalan Kalimantan No.37 Jember Telp. 0331-330224, Voip.0319

e-mail: <u>upt-penerbitan@unej.ac.id</u>

Hak Cipta dilindungi Undang-Undang. Dilarang memperbanyak tanpa ijin tertulis dari penerbit, sebagian atau seluruhnya dalam bentuk apapun, baik cetak, photoprint, maupun microfilm.

#### PREFACE

Higher education has the responsibility to (1) make the life of the nation intelligent through developing abilities, forming national character and civilization with Pancasila character, (2) implementing the Tridharma to create an academic community profile that is innovative, responsive, creative, skilled, competitive and cooperative, and (3) developing science and technology with an insight into humanistic values. In this context and as a form of Universitas Jember's commitment to help build a dignified human civilization, the Center for Gender Studies at Universitas Jember has held an International Conference with the theme Feminism Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values on 21-22 October 2023 in Jember.

This chosen theme brings higher education attention to the importance of developing and strengthening feminist practices in facing the increasingly massive development of social, economic and political globalization. It involves actions, strategies and initiatives to raise awareness, overcome discrimination and work towards a more just society. Higher education has great potential to change this condition through organizing forums that facilitate scientific development with a gender-equitable perspective, placing women and men equally as essential subjects. Ideally, women's voices, which tend to be marginalized because they are considered unscientific, must be ensured to receive a particular place and attention because women's specific experiences regarding their bodies, the oppression experienced in their daily lives are valid, worthy of being used as a source of knowledge. This situation will encourage the development of scientific knowledge that is no longer masculine, which is colored by empathy and an ethic of care. Ultimately, this knowledge should also be considered as a reference for preserving and engineering culture, creating technology, and formulating gender-responsive policies.

This international conference activity was attended by various participants from within the country and abroad who work as lecturers, researchers, practitioners, observers, and students in various fields of science related to and relevant to the conference theme. This proceeding contributes to disseminating research results from the academic community who have participated and presented their articles at the conference. It is hoped that the various scientific papers produced and discussed during this conference will inspire the academic community to be more productive and create opportunities for improving the quality of Tridharma's work in the field of gender studies in the future.

As a closing introduction to these proceedings, we would like to express our deep gratitude to all the committee, presenters, participants and sponsors who have made extraordinary contributions to the success of this international conference. May Allah SWT, God Almighty, always bless all our reasonable efforts.

> Jember, 20 November 2023 Rector of Universitas Jember Dr. Ir. Iwan Taruna, M.Eng.IPM

### Table of Content

NO	TITLE	PAGE
1.	The Shackles of Patriarchy in Female Characters of The Barbie Film	1
	Galuh Gita Indrajayani, Daris Dzulfikar	
2.	Can Witches Be Powerful and Affectionate? A Reading of Fantasy Films	11
	Nurhadianty Rahayu	
3.	Participatory Action Research of Building Marital Rape Awareness in the	17
	Agrotourism Environment of Pronojiwo Village	
	Muhammad Nasiruddin, Ade Rosi Siti Zakiah, Mufidah Ch	
4.	Gender Representation in Kurikulum Merdeka's EFL Textbook: A Critical	30
	Discourse Analysis	
	Nauka Nayana Prasadini, Tri Winindyasari Palupi	
5.	Legalizing Prostitution Against Female Commercial Sex Workers (CSWs)	39
	In Bangladesh	
	Isnindya Ramadhani Mamisa Putri, Sri Yuniati, Linda Dwi Eriyanti	
6.	Implementation of The CEDAW on Sexual Violence Through The	53
	Congress of Indonesia Women Ulama	
	Wilda Aulia Maulida Afni, Linda Dwi Eriyanti, Fuat Albayumi	
7.	Forms of Gender Discrimination against Female Employees in Korea	65
	Nurin Nauvalia	
8.	Silenced Women's Voices in The God of Small Things: A Postcolonial	82
	Ecofeminist Analysis	
	Nurul Lailatul Hasanah, Suci Suryani	
9.	Race Ecofeminism as Reflected in the Novel Their Eyes Were Watching	92
	God by Zora Neale Hurston	
	Zumairoh, Suci Suryani	
10.	Sexual Violence Against Women in the Australian Parliament	104
	Alex Candra Adi Pratama, Linda Dwi Eriyanti, Himawan Bayu Patriadi	
11.	Analysis of Marketing Mix Strategies in Facing the Challenges of the	117
	Electric Cigarette or Vape Industry from a Gender Perspective	
	Ardian Adriyadhi Suyadhi, Nurcahyaning Dwi Kusumaningrum, Abdul	
	Mustofa Iqbal Asyrof, Farra Shayrani Rosadi	
12.	Increased Participation of Indonesian Female Peacekeepers in The United	133
	Nations Peacekeeping Mission in Lebanon (UNIFIL)	
	Bernadeth Almathea Wulandari, Linda Dwi Eriyanti, Muhammad Hadi	
	Makmur	
13.	Rape Culture Pictured In Barbara Dee's Maybe He Just Likes You	147
	Ardya Cahya Pertiwi, LDP Wardani, Reni Kusumaningputri, Dina	
	Dyah Kusumayanti	
14.	The Role of Women Activists in Improving Environmental Conditions in	160
	Kenya	

	Cindy Yuliawatia, Linda Dwi Eriyanti, Adhiningasih Prabhawati	
15.	The Representation of Women and Gender Injustice in Tenni Purwati's	171
	Short Story Sambal di Ranjang: A Liberal Feminism Study	
	Fatmawati, Haikal Faqih, Erninda Puji Agustin, Tri Aprilia C.K.,	
	Febriyanti, Dwi Handayani	



"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values" Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

### Sexual Violence Against Women in the Australian Parliament

Alex Candra Adi Pratama<sup>1, b)</sup> Linda Dwi Eriyanti<sup>2, a)</sup> Himawan Bayu Patriadi<sup>3, c)</sup>

<sup>1</sup>International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Jember <sup>1</sup>International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Jember <sup>1</sup>International Relations, Faculty of Social and Political Science, Universitas Jember

> <sup>a)</sup> Corresponding author: <u>linda.fisip@unej.ac.id</u> <sup>b)</sup> alexcandraadipratama797@gmail.com <sup>c)</sup> <u>hbpatriadi@unej.ac.id</u>

Abstract: Sexual violence against women is still a big problem in the Australian Parliament. Women in the Australian Parliament have received a lot of empowerment and gender equality, but this has not made women in the Australian Parliament free from sexual violence. Based on the report of the Commissioner for Sex Discrimination, Kate Jenkins, in 2021 stated that 1 in 3 people who work in Parliament have experienced sexual violence in the form of sexual harassment while working there. Sexual violence not only happened to low-position MPs but even happened to a Prime Minister. Even rape cases in the Australian Parliament building were carried out by ministry staff. It is ironic because Parliament is a place where laws are approved and a symbol of law supremacy. This study aims to find answers to the causes of sexual violence against women in the Australian Parliament. This study uses qualitative methods with data collection techniques in the form of literature studies. Based on radical feminism theory, the research results show that Patriarchy is the cause of sexual violence against women in the Australian Parliament.

#### INTRODUCTION

Since the end of the Cold War, issues in International Relations Studies (IR) have shifted from soft to high politics. Non-security issues such as the environment, health, education, and human rights are slowly gaining the attention of many countries. The highlighting of women's issues in International Relations is inseparable from the problems experienced by women worldwide, especially those related to sexual violence. According to a report from the World Health Organization (WHO), the number of sexual violence against women globally in 2013 reached 35.6 percent. [1] In general, cases of sexual violence against women occur in African countries, which are countries with a low level of democracy. Even so, the issue of sexual violence also exists in developed democracies such as Australia.

\*As a developed democracy, sexual violence is still a problem for women in the Australian Parliament. Democracy and human rights can be assumed to be like two different sides of a coin,

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

but both go hand in hand and complement each other. According to The Economist, Australia was the number 9 democratic country in 2019, but this does not guarantee women's rights to be free from sexual violence. The report from the Commissioner for Sex Discrimination, Kate Jenkins, in November 2021 stated that 1 in 3 people working in Parliament had experienced some form of sexual harassment while working there. [2] One of the cases of sexual violence that caught the attention of the Australian public was the rape of Brittany Higgins by her colleague in the parliament building. The case also prompted victims of sexual violence in Parliament to report their experiences, which made the Government earn much criticism. Even the Higgins case sparked a demonstration attended by no less than 85,000 people across Australia called *March4Justice*.

Apart from the Higgins Case, there are many other cases of sexual violence in the Australian Parliament, especially sexual harassment. In 2019, Sarah Hanson-Young, who was serving as Senator at the time, was sexually assaulted verbally by David Leyonhjelm during a parliamentary session. The harassment took the form of saying, "You should stop making love to men, Sarah." It did not stop there, and sexual harassment also targeted Julia Gillard, Australia's first female Prime Minister (2010- 2013). During her tenure, Gillard received much verbal sexual harassment, especially in the form of negative nicknames from her political opponents, such as a Menopausal monster, someone who is infertile, a pervert, and Ju-liar/Julia the liar. [3] The sexual harassment experienced by Gillard shows that sexual harassment can target all women in the Australian Parliament because even the highest political positions in Parliament are not free from sexual harassment.

Australia already has laws that prohibit sexual violence against women. In 1984, Australia passed the Discrimination Act 1984, a federal law prohibiting sex discrimination. The main objective of the Discrimination Act 1984 was to promote gender equality, eliminate gender discrimination, and eliminate sexual harassment. [4] The Discrimination Act 1984 is a form of Australia's commitment to the Convention on The Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW), ratified in 1983. Apart from The Discrimination Act 1984, some laws regulate the protection of women from sexual violence, such as the Criminal Law Consolidation Act 1984. The laws in force in Australia need to be seen as a product of Parliament, so there will be a correlation between granting voting rights and women's representation in Parliament.

Australian women have been empowered in politics with equal voting rights. Regarding gender equality, the right to vote for women is essential because it is a political expression and can change systems, structures, and authoritative actions for gender to open opportunities for women in all fields. Since June 12, 1902, Australia has given voting rights to women through the Commonwealth Franchise Act, which is much earlier than other democratic countries such as the Netherlands (1918), Germany (1919), England (1918), and Austria (1919). [5] That makes

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values" Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

Australia a pioneer country in the issue of equal voting rights and, simultaneously, shows that Australia has long cared about women's rights.

The granting of the right to vote opens opportunities for women to enter the Australian Parliament. Australian women first entered Parliament in 1943, namely Enid Lyons as a member of the House of Representatives and Dorothy Tangney as Senate in Western Australia. Since its first presence in Parliament, the number of women in Parliament has continued to increase. Even in 2019, the presence of women in the Australian Parliament managed to reach critical mass. This large number of women allows them to work together more effectively in promoting gender-friendly policy changes. [6]

This research examines the issue of sexual violence against women in the Australian Parliament. This research is interesting considering the fact previously explained that Australia is an advanced democracy and a pioneer country in the issue of equal voting rights. Women in the Australian Parliament have also reached critical mass. Even from a legal perspective, there has also been a law prohibiting sexual violence. However, these various things cannot separate the Australian Parliament from the issue of sexual violence. Even in 2021, the issue of sexual violence has regained much public attention due to the emergence of many reports about cases of sexual violence in the Australian Parliament. For this reason, this research seeks to get an explanation of the causes of the existence of sexual violence against women in the Australian Parliament.

#### **METHOD**

#### Radical Feminism and Library Research

Radical feminism is used as a framework for seeking answers to the causes of sexual violence in the Australian Parliament. Radical feminists blame Patriarchy as the cause of sexual violence against women. That is because sexual violence manifests as an imbalance of power relations, which results in systematic domination and discrimination against women. [7] Patriarchy makes women passive creatures (subordinates), while men are seen as aggressive. Perpetrators of sexual violence often feel they have power over the bodies of their victims, namely women. [8] It even makes the perpetrator feel they can impose their sexual desires on the victim's body. Coercion by men is not always by way of aggression but also by making the victim unconscious.

Radical feminism rejects the liberal assumption that women's liberation can only be done by entering the public sphere. Walby stated that Patriarchy does not only work in the private and public spheres. [9] The implication is that sexual violence can also occur in public spheres because Patriarchy as a cause of sexual violence also exists in public spaces. Radical assumptions are used to explain the existence of sexual violence against women in the Australian Parliament. Sexual violence in the Australian Parliament is caused by sexism, which can be seen from the sexism of the members of Parliament. In addition, a culture of alcohol in the Australian Parliament has also been a driving factor in sexual violence in Parliament.

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

This qualitative research uses data collection techniques in the form of library research. A literature study is a data collection technique regarding existing references and then further analyzed to obtain data from various literature related to the problem under study. The data used in this study are secondary data obtained by researchers from books, scientific journals, electronic books, official Government and organizational websites, theses, online news, and other sources relevant to the research problem. As for the data analysis technique, the researcher uses descriptive-qualitative data analysis techniques by utilizing qualitative data, which are then described descriptively.

This research is qualitative research using data collection techniques in the form of library research. While literature study is a data collection technique with reference to existing references and then further analyzed to obtain data from various literature related to the problem under study. The data used in this study are secondary data obtained by researchers from books, scientific journals, electronic books, official government and organizational websites, theses, online news, and other sources relevant to the research problem. As for the data analysis technique, the researcher uses descriptive-qualitative.

#### RESULT

#### Women's Empowerment in Australia

Australia is a country committed to empowering women. Australia's commitment is demonstrated by the ratification of the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) and the passing of the Discrimination Act 1984. Australia is the first country in the world to implement gender budgeting. Even in the political field, Australian women have been empowered for a long time through women's suffrage. Women's suffrage is very important because it is a "door" for women to enter Parliament. By being present in Parliament, women are expected to be able to encourage the making of regulations that accommodate women's rights and create gender equality.

Women fight for equality in voting rights in Australia through community formation. Several communities have become a forum for the struggle of Australian women to get the right to vote, including the Women's Suffrage League, Working Women's Trade Union, Social Purity Society, and Woman's Christian Temperance Union. The struggle of the women's community is carried out by demonstrating, lobbying, protesting, and organizing petitions to change public opinion and political policies on the issue of women's suffrage. They also write and perform plays, songs, and poetry in masses to raise awareness and support. This struggle gained success with the passage of the Commonwealth Franchise Act 19024. Success continued with the entry of women into Parliament in 1943.

From 1943 to 2021, the percentage of women in Parliament experienced a high increase. In 1943, the percentage of women in the Australian Parliament was only 1.8 percent, but in 2021 the percentage reached 38 percent.

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

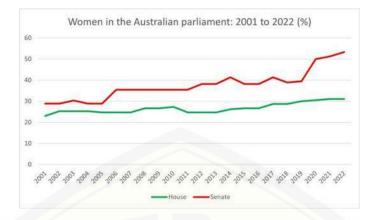


Figure 1. Percentage of Women in the Australian House of Commons and Senate from 2001-2022 Adapted from Hough (2022). [10]

Based on figure 1, Australian women have achieved critical mass in the House of Representatives in 2019, while in the Senate, critical mass has been achieved since 1996. In this case, critical mass is necessary because the large percentage of women (equal proportions) allows the formation of coalitions that strengthen their voice in promoting or pressuring men to create feminist-oriented policies.[11]

Liberal feminism also views the importance of law as an instrument to release women from sexual violence. Liberal feminists tend to rely on the state for equality, and the state is seen as the protective authority for individual rights (Lewis, 2020). The law can be seen as an instrument to control men's actions through threats or punishment. In addition, the law can also be used by women as a 'fight back' instrument against perpetrators of sexual violence. Seeing the substantial role of law, the General Assembly of the United Nations (UN) adopted CEDAW as an international legal instrument to prevent discrimination against women. Australia signed CEDAW on July 17, 1980, which coincided with the United Nations Decade for Women (1976-1985) conference in Copenhagen. Then, on July 28, 1983, CEDAW was ratified by Parliament [12] and as a form of commitment to CEDAW, Australia then passed the Sex Discrimination Act 1984 (SDA), namely a federal law that regulates the prohibition of gender discrimination. Apart from the representation and legal aspects, Gender Budgeting is also essential to empower women. Australia was the first country to initiate the provision of a budget package on the issue of women's empowerment in 1984 and fully implemented in 1985. [13] From 2013 to 2019, the Australian Government spent more than \$840 million on preventing violence against women and children. That was a much enough budget spent by the Australian Government to solve the issue of sexual violence in Australia.

Even though women have received various empowerment, sexual violence is still an urgent issue in the Australian Parliament. As previously explained, Australian women have received equal suffrage. Politically, they have also been empowered, as shown by the percentage of women in Parliament who have reached critical mass. In addition, Australian law regulates

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

the prohibition of all forms of sexual violence. Even from a budget perspective, the Australian Government has spent much money to solve women's issues, especially sexual violence. However, sexual violence still occurs often, causing a big wave of protests called "March4Justice" in March 2021.

March4Justice is one of the largest demonstrations in Australia. The Doctors initiated this demonstration Against Violence Towards Women Association. There were counted 40 points for two days (14-15 March 2021). Demonstrations took place, which were spread from small rural towns to big cities. March 4Justice was attended by all walks of life, from civil society to political elites, especially the government opposition. The organizers project that no less than 85,000 demonstrators will be participating throughout Australia. The organizers even called this demonstration "the biggest uprising of women Australia's seen". [14] The March4Justice demonstration was driven by public disappointment over the many cases of sexual violence in the Australian Parliament that the Government did not appropriately handle.

#### Patriarchy and Sexual Violence in the Australian Parliament

Sexual violence is a complex problem. Not only because of the lack of regulations related to the prevention of sexual violence and the absence of gender equality, but social factors such as the male perspective and social structure are also causes of sexual violence. As radical feminism assumes, Patriarchy also plays a crucial role in causing sexual violence. [15] Patriarchy provides domination of social structures that place men higher than women, especially with the culture of sexism and the working environment in the Australian Parliament, which is full of alcohol and toxic, encouraging the potential for sexual violence against women to occur more and more. That is in line with the Sex Discrimination Commission report 2021, which stated that one in three women in the Australian Parliament had experienced sexual violence.

Based on a report from the Sex Discrimination Commission, the Australian Parliament is not a safe place to work for women. An investigation by Kate Jenkins and her team in 2021 revealed that many women share experiences of bullying, sexual harassment, and sexual assault. Data on sexual violence in Parliament is revealed in the figure below:



Figure 2. Data on Sexual Violence in the Australian Parliament (Adapted from Australian Human Rights Commission, 2021). [16]

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

Report results reveal that one in three people who work in the parliament building has experienced sexual harassment. The main objects of sexual violence are women, with a rate of 40 percent compared to men, which is only 26 percent. Meanwhile, men are the main perpetrators of sexual violence in the Australian Parliament, averaging 81 percent, while women are only 18 percent. It shows that the problem of sexual harassment lies with men, like how men think and view women. Further data also reveal that almost one percent of the respondents experienced actual sexual assault or experimentation.

The irony is that sexual violence is experienced by staff and members of Parliament, even at the level of the Prime Minister. It shows that sexual violence occurs in all levels of Parliament, from the lower levels, such as Brittany Higgins, a ministerial staff, to Julia Gillard, the Prime Minister. Kate Jenkins notes that most cases of sexual violence are caused by an imbalance of power and gender inequality, especially sexism. [17] As radical feminism assumes, unequal power relations encourage male aggressiveness to impose their will on women's bodies, and it is because women are under their power. Sexuality is seen as an object, not a subject with freedom. Moreover, this is exacerbated by the culture in the Australian Parliament, which "allows" sexual harassment, as one respondent revealed:

"Aspiring male politicians who thought nothing of in one case picking you up, kissing you on the lips, lifting you, touching you, pats on the bottom, comments about appearance, you know the usual.... the culture allowed it." [18]

The statement of one of the respondents emphasized that the culture of the Australian Parliament has a role in the occurrence of various sexual harassment against women.

#### Brittany Higgins Rape Case

Brittany Higgins experienced rape in the Australian Parliament building. In February 2021, Brittany Higgins announced publicly that she had been raped by a senior colleague at the Ministry of Defense Industry two years ago. In her confession, she said that the rape she experienced happened in the Parliament building, specifically on the sofa in the room of Linda Reynolds, Minister of Defense Industry. On the evening of March 22, 2019, Higgins Lehrmann, and other Ministry staff spent time at The Dock eating pizza and drinking beer. After from The Dock in Kingston, the two moved to 88mph in the Civic for a few beers. At 1:30 a.m., Higgins and Lehrmann head to Parliament by sharing a taxi. Arriving there, Higgins goes to Reynolds' room before falling asleep on the couch because he is drunk. According to her interviews with Ten Project and news.com.au, Higgins admitted that she awakened to find Lehrman raping him.

After the rape, Higgins faces two difficult choices, reporting the case or keeping her job. Higgins described her condition at that time as full of fear to report her accusations to the police. She also felt "silenced" by the Liberal Party. On the other hand, on March 26, 2019, Lehrman was fired from the ministry, not because of the rape case but because of a security breach for entering the parliament building late at night. Even though he chose to remain silent to keep her "dream job," in 2021, Higgins finally shared her experience with the public through an exclusive interview with news.com.au and The Project. She chose to go public after she saw a

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

photo of Morrison celebrating the activism of a survivor of sexual violence. Higgins added that the accusation of rape against the Attorney General, Christian Porter, also drove him to go public. [19] Quoting BBC.com, after Higgins' confession, four other women told local media to accuse the same man of committing sexual violence. [20]

#### Sarah Hanson-Young Sexual Harassment Case

David Leyonhjelm harassed Sarah Hanson Young at a senate meeting. Leyonhjelm is a senator from the Liberal Party, while Sarah is from the Green Party. In June 2018, the Australian Senate held a meeting on the issue of women's safety following the murder and rape of a woman named Dixon. The meeting discussed easing gun imports to help women protect themselves. In this regard, Sarah responded that women do not need extra protection if men do not rape women. Leyonhjelm responded to Sarah's statement by "Stop shagging men, Sarah." Leyonhjelm's statement was considered sexual harassment to Sarah. It is because Leyonhjelm's comments attacked Sarah's private (sexual) life. According to Sarah, what David said humiliated women from a sexual point of view. [21] This incident was very ironic because a meeting related to women's safety turned into a place for men to harass women.

Sarah's statement about women's safety by demanding that men control themselves makes sense. It is because, in the Dixon case, the perpetrator previously opened a porn site with the keywords "Strangled and brutally raped", and "Brutal rape, choking till death strangled forced videos". [22] It reveals the urge to rape has appeared in the rapists' minds. Indeed, the encouragement to rape can come from women, such as the way women dress, which is too revealing, but if the rapist can control himself, rape will not occur. Girls should not be afraid to walk alone at night if men do not attack them. Of course, it would be unfair to focus on the causes of rape on women because they are most victims. For this reason, from Sarah's point of view, it is wiser to blame the rapist because the victim did not intend to harm himself, but others did.

#### Sexism Against Julia Gillard

Julia Gillard, the Prime Minister, is not free from sexism. Gillard was Australia's first female Prime Minister in 2010-2013. Gillard's success as Prime Minister was expected to fix the problem of women's rights, but Gillard was not free from sexism. Sexism against Gillard can be seen from the difference in media depictions between Gillard and Malcolm Turnbull. Gillard, who managed to become the leader of the Australian Labor Party after replacing Kevin Rudd, was described by the media as a "backstabbing killer"), in contrast to Malcolm Turnbull, who is described as "a figure who regained his throne", [23] even though Turnbull also succeeded in becoming leader of the Liberal Party after replacing Tony Abbott in 2015.

Gillard also received much sexist treatment from the opposition, especially Tony Abbott. The carbon price policy issued by Gillard has earned him much criticism, not infrequently. The criticism attacks Gillard personally. Gillard's status as a woman made her unfit to be Prime Minister; she was even regarded as not having fully met the requirements as

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

a woman because she was unmarried and had no children. [24] The carbon price policy also made Gillard demonstrated by the public, where in the demo, there were many banners bearing sexism against Gillard, such as "Juliar," "Bob Brown's bitch", and "Ditch the Witch." The writing is sexist because it is based on Gillard's status as a woman and refers to Gillard's personality and sexuality. Ironically, Tony Abbott, who is the leader of the Liberal Party, gave a speech in front of the sexist banner. Abbott's actions indirectly show that he agrees with the sexist nickname. Tony Abbott, on various occasions, also issued sexist acts on Gillard. It is, as stated by Gillard in her misogyny speech.

The sexism that Gillard accepts is interpreted as a sexist attack and can even be seen as sexual harassment. It is because the words or actions of sexism often contain sexual overtones. In addition, much of the sexism that Gillard received was offensive or portrayed Gillard's sexuality in a nasty way. In addition, sexism also reveals the presence of Patriarchy. According to Holland and Wright (2017), misogyny speech reveals that Patriarchy still exists in Australian politics. Patriarchy is not only shown by structures that restrict women rigidly but also operates on sexism and sexual violence. That is because Patriarchy and sexual violence have a close connection, as Walby says (1990) that sexual violence cannot be understood outside of patriarchal analysis.

#### Patriarchy, Sexism and Sexual Violence

Patriarchy, sexism, and sexual violence are three different but interrelated things. Catherine McKinley describes the relationship between Patriarchy and sexism, "If patriarchy is the tool, then sexism and misogyny are the servants". [25] There is a kind of "cause and effect" relationship between the two, where sexism arises due to Patriarchy. At the same time, sexism can also cause the development of Patriarchy. Furthermore, Patriarchy encourages sexual violence against women. Radical feminism sees that sexual violence is caused by an imbalance of power between men and women due to Patriarchy. [26] This view of radical feminism is strengthened by Kate Jenkins' statement that "... power imbalance and abuse of power is one of the main drivers of intimidation, sexual harassment, and sexual assault". [27] Therefore, the power imbalance in the Australian Parliament became the cause of the sexual violence experienced by Sarah Hanson-Young, Julia Gillard, Brittany Higgins, and other victims.

Patriarchy made Tony Abbott view Gillard as lower than him because of her status as a woman. Tony Abbott made no direct statement that he considered Gillard to be inferior. However, Tony Abbott's sexism clearly shows a demeaning view of Gillard. Moreover, Tony Abbott's sexism can also be seen as sexual harassment because there is an offense to Gillard's sexuality. Harassment itself is a form of intimidation that shows condescension to the victim. Likewise, David Leyonhjelm committed sexism against Sarah. It can be analyzed because of Patriarchy and is a form of sexual harassment.

Whereas in the case of Brittany Higgins, there was an alcohol factor that encouraged rape. Alcohol needs to be understood only as a pushing factor because the root cause of rape is Patriarchy. The fact also shows that many drunk people do not commit sexual violence. [28] Alcohol plays a role in increasing the sexual aggressiveness of rapists, thereby increasing the

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

chances of sexual violence. Meanwhile, the basis of male aggressiveness is shaped by patriarchal ideas that require men to be masculine – such as physically strong, aggressive, and dominant. Alcohol plays a role in reducing barriers and increasing the aggressiveness of rapists because drunk women are seen as less able to fight back effectively to avoid sexual violence. [29]

#### The Role of the Media in the Reproduction of Sexism

The media has played a significant role in the growth of sexism in Australian politics. In the case that happened to Sarah, Media Sky News provided space for David Leyonhjelm to restate his sexist statement. Especially when Gillard became Prime Minister, mainstream media, News Corp Australia, showed sexism towards Gillard's marital status, religion, and even dress style. Three factors drive sexist media coverage: economics, ideology, and politics. First, the economic factor, in this case, the media tries to rely on sensationalism and infotainment by utilizing gender reporting to attract readers. Second, this ideological factor is related to the ideology of Rupert Murdoch as the owner of News Corp Australia. Murdoch's conservatism makes his mass media coverage sexist towards women leaders. It is like Blair William said: "It is quite Murdoch-heavy, which leans conservative, and in their kind of newspapers, they do seem to report on women's appearance and their gender and their family". As an atheist woman who is unmarried, childless, and has a left-wing ideology, Gillard is considered a threat to Murdoch's conservatism. Third, in May 2011, Murdoch met with senior editors and stated that he did not like the Gillard government and was more inclined (to support) the opposition leader, Tony Abbott. Meanwhile, Murdoch's News Corp is a media outlet that often glorifies its political allies while weakening the opposition by damaging its image. [30]

#### Sexism in Internal Liberal Party

Sexism has been considered part of the internal "culture" of the Liberal Party. The Labor Party and the Green Party are inseparable from the culture of sexism, but the culture of sexism is more visible in the Liberal Party. It can be seen of various sexual violence committed by its members such as Bruce Lehrman, David Leyonhjelm, and Tony Abbott. The Four Corner Investigation has uncovered sexism and inappropriate acts of Liberal Party seniors. Two senior politicians from the Liberal party, Alan Tudge and Christian Porter, were accused of using their influence and position for personal gain, demeaning, and belittling their female colleagues, and starting extramarital affairs with their staff. Sexism culture in the Liberal Party was shaped by males prioritizing masculinity. Male dominance creates an environment in which women must be masculine to compete. In other words, women must degrade their femininity because they are seen as weak and replace it with stereotypes of masculinity such as toughness, aggressiveness, strength, and rationality. [31] Such a culture encourages sexist attitudes and behaviors that effectively discriminate against women in occupying political space. Moreover, at the same time, women are criticized for being too masculine. It is like a double-edged sword that puts women in danger from two sides: when a woman acts feminine, she will be humiliated, whereas if she is

#### "Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

too masculine, she will also be criticized. Growing sexism in the Liberal Party has led to sexual violence in the Australian Parliament continuing.

#### CONCLUSION

Sexual violence in the Australian Parliament happens because of Patriarchy. The Patriarchy in the Australian Parliament has been revealed in the sexism of the members of Parliament. Sexual violence is also supported by the "alcohol culture" in the Australian Parliament. This is what happened in the Higgins case, where alcohol has a role. The existence of Patriarchy in the Australian Parliament is driven by patriarchal discourse that continues to be recreated through sexism. In this case, the media and the Liberal Party play a role in recreating the sexism in the Australian Parliament. That way, as long as Patriarchy exists, sexual violence against women in the Australian Parliament will continue.

#### REFERENCES

- Garcia-Moreno C, Palitto C, dan Devries K. Global and Regional Estimates of Violence Against Women: Prevalence and Health Effects of Intimate Partner Violence and Non-Partner Sexual Violence. Geneva: World Health Organization. 2013
- Hitch, G. Defence Minister Linda Reynolds Apoligizes to Brittany Higgins for Calling Her a 'Lying Cow'. 2021. <u>https://www.abc.net.au/news/2021-03-05/linda-reynolds- apologises-tobrittany-higgins-lying-cow/13219796</u>.
- 3. Mao, F. Tuduhan Pemerkosaan di Gedung Parlemen: Bagaimana Skandal ini Mengguncang Politik Australia?. 2021. <u>https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-56263017</u>.
- 4. Australian Human Rights Commission. Set the Standard: Report on the Independent Review into Commonwealth Parliamentary Workplaces. Fineline Print & Copy NSW. 2021
- 5. Alami, A. N. Dibalik Terpilihnya Julia Gillard sebagai PM Australia: Analisis Gender. 2010. https://politik.brin.go.id/kolom/etnisitas-gender-agama/dibalik-terpilihnya-julia-gillardsebagai-pm-australia-analisis-gender/
- 6. Childs, S. & Krook, M, L. Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation. Political Studies. 2008. 56 (3): 725-736.
- Soetjipto, A, Trimayuni. Gender dan Hubungan Internasional: Sebuah Pengantar. Jalasutra. (2017).
- 8. Tsamara & The Professor. Kenapa Kekerasan Seksual Marak? [Video]. Kenapa Kekerasan Seksual Marak? YouTube. 19 Desember 2021.
- 9. Walby, S. Theorizing Patriarchy. Basil Backwall. 1990.
- 10. Hough, A. Trends in The Gender Composition of The Australian Parliament. 2022. https://www.aph.gov.au/About Parliament/Parliamentary Departments/Parliamentary L ibrary/FlagPost/2022/April/Trends-gender-parliament.
- 11. Childs, S. & Krook, M, L. Critical Mass Theory and Women's Political Representation. Political Studies. 2008. 56 (3)

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

- 12. Byrnes, AThe implementation of the CEDAW in Australia: Success, trials, tribulations, and continuing struggle. in A. Hellum & H. Aasen (Eds.), Women's Human Rights: CEDAW in International, Regional and National Law (Studies on Human Rights Conventions, pp. 323-357). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. 2013.
- 13. Goswami, S. Impact of Gender Budgeting on Women Empowerment. 2006 Available at SSRN: https://ssrn.com/abstract=902530 or http://dx.doi.org/10.2139/ssrn.902530
- 14. Gorman, A. 'Enough is enough!' Where, When and Why March 4 Justice Protests are Taking Place across Australia. 2021. https://www.theguardian.com/australianews/2021/mar/15/march-4-justice-where-when-womens-march-protests-australiamarch4justice-sydney-melbourne-canberra-brisbane.
- 15. Dalimoenthe, I. Sosiologi Gender. Jakarta: PT. Bumi Aksara. 2021.
- 16. Australian Human Rights Commission. Set the Standard: Report on the Independent Review into Commonwealth Parliamentary Workplaces. Fineline Print & Copy NSW. 2021.
- 17. Saikia, M. Rise of Sexism in Australian Parliament. 2021. https://www.dailypioneer.com/2021/columnists/rise-of-sexism-in-australianparliament.html.
- Livingston, A. 'I have Carried the Shame': Anonymous Stories of Sexual Assault in Parliament. 2021. https://www.smh.com.au/politics/federal/i-have-carried-the-shameanonymous-stories-of-sexual-assault-in-parliament-20211130-p59dhh.html.
- Stayner, T. How Australian Politics has been Shaken to the Core in the Wake of Brittany Higgins' Rape Allegation. 2021. https://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/how- australianpolitics-has-been-shaken-to-the-core-in-the-wake-of-brittany-higgins-rapeallegation/k0touk8g2.
- 20. Mao, F. Tuduhan Pemerkosaan di Gedung Parlemen: Bagaimana Skandal ini Mengguncang Politik Australia? 2021. <u>https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-56263017</u>.
- 21. Mao, F. Tuduhan Pemerkosaan di Gedung Parlemen: Bagaimana Skandal ini Mengguncang Politik Australia?. 2021. <u>https://www.bbc.com/indonesia/dunia-56263017</u>.
- 22. Krasnostein, S. A Man Who Hates Women. 2019. https://www.themonthly.com.au/issue/2019/october/1569373570/sarahkrasnostein/man-who-hates-women#mtr.
- 23. Williams, BA. Gendered Media Analysis Of The Prime Ministerial Ascension Of Gillard And Turnbull: He's 'Taken Back The Reins' And She's 'A Backstabbing' Murderer. Australian Journal of Political Science. 2017. 1-15.
- 24. Varney, D. 'Not Now, Not Ever': Julia Gillard and the Performative. Power of Affect London: Palgrave Macmillan. 2017.
- 25. McKinley, C. E. Sexism and Misogyny: Unpacking Patriarchy and Its Handmaids. Sexism and Misogyny: Unpacking Patriarchy and Its Handmaids | Psychology Today. 2022.
- 26. Whisnant, R. "A Woman's Body is Like a Foreign Country: Thinking about National and Bodily Sovereignty", in Global Feminist Ethics, P. Desautels and R. Whisnant (eds.), Lanham MD: Rowman and Littlefield. 2007. pp. 155–176.

"Feminist Theory and Practice: Efforts to Maintain Human Values"

Center of Gender Studies, Universitas Jember, Indonesia

- Zhuang, Y. Like Fresh Meat': Detailing Rampant Sex Harassment in Australia's Parliament.
   https://www.nytimes.com/2021/11/30/world/australia/parliament- harassment-report.html.
- 28. Wall, L., and Quadara, A. Under the Influence? Considering the Role of Alcohol and Sexual Assault in Social Contexts. ACSSA. 2014. Issues, 18
- 29. Stayner, T. How Australian Politics has been Shaken to the Core in the Wake of Brittany Higgins' Rape Allegation. 2021. https://www.sbs.com.au/news/article/how- australianpolitics-has-been-shaken-to-the-core-in-the-wake-of-brittany-higgins-rapeallegation/k0touk8g2
- 30. Williams, BA. Gendered Media Analysis of The Prime Ministerial Ascension Of Gillard And Turnbull: He's 'Taken Back The Reins' And She's 'A Backstabbing' Murderer. Australian Journal of Political Science. 2017. 1-15.
- 31. Williams, BA. Gendered Media Analysis of The Prime Ministerial Ascension Of Gillard And Turnbull: He's 'Taken Back The Reins' And She's 'A Backstabbing' Murderer. Australian Journal of Political Science. 2017. 1-15.

Anggota APPTI No. 002.115.1.05.2020 Anggota IKAPI No. 127/JTI/2018

Jember University Press Jl. Kalimantan 37 Jember 68121 Telp. 0331-330224. psw. 0319 *E-mail*: upt-penerbitan@unej.ac.id

