Digital Feminism in Indonesia: Exploring Language Use and Agency

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ABSTRACT

This study examines the relationship between language use and agency depicted in two digital feminist media postings, namely Magdalene.co and @indonesiafeminis. Data were articles published in Magdalene.co and Instagram posts on @indonesiafeminis, interpreted using agency theory from December 2020 to June 2021. The results demonstrate that while both platforms are arguably populated by agents of roughly similar social backgrounds (highly educated, urban-based, and aware of gender issues), they appeal to their readership through the use of different angles. Magdalene.co foregrounding individuality, while @indonesiafeminis being more collective, respectively. By personalizing the relation between the writers and the issues, Magdalene would like to appeal to its readers that the women issues are very close to their everyday reality, which is also proven by the prevalent use of the Indonesian word *saya* 'I' in their publication to show individual agency. Meanwhile, @indonesiafeminis depersonalizes the issues by using *kita* and *kami,* both term mean 'we', to highlight the importance of collective agency in combatting gender-based issues and violence. These different agencies crafted by other platforms matter in their appeal strategy.

Keywords: *digital feminism, Magdalene.co, @indonesiafeminis, language use, agency*.

1. INTRODUCTION

The worldwide web has made a tremendous impact on society today. More people are now gaining access to this digital product, and the internet plays a massive role in their everyday lives. Strategically, the media plays a crucial role in social movements, including feminist activism [1]. Laying the foundations of "cyberfeminism" [2], the internet is transformative as it offers a public and political space that enables new forms of citizenship, allowing individuals to claim, construct, and express themselves, especially concerning sexuality, gender relations, and women situation in general [3], [4]. Thus, feminists have been using technology to communicate, raise awareness, seek rights and justice for their group, individually or collectively [5], [6].

However, feminists are well aware of the fact that structural inequalities that they fight against cannot be changed by technologies per se [7], and that "a feminist internet" actually extends, reflects, and furthers more significant movements and resistance, both public and private, in other spaces [3]. In fact, while the internet has provided the feminists with a widened connectivity and high visibility, it has also provoked some backlash, including the rise of a virulent cyber-sexism [8],

censorship, and misogynistic attacks [7], [9], [10]. Furthermore, some questions remain with regard to the effectiveness of digital platforms in mobilizing and uniting forces to eliminate violence against women in all forms [2]. Therefore, while appreciating myriads of possibilities it accords for new types of subjectivity and social formation, Baer [11] acknowledged the fact that digital feminism was precarious [6], [12]. In fact, the online world is just as contested as the offline one [13].

Be that as it may, the reality is that digital feminism has proliferated globally, and it has indeed provided both feminists and women in general with a broadened space for agentic performance [14]. The appearance of online communities delivered a relatively safe, if vulnerable, space for marginalized groups of women [10], [15].

Indonesia has also witnessed significant progress in feminist movement in general and the proliferation of digital feminism in particular [16], [17]. The subjects of this study, two prominent digital feminist platforms in Indonesia are Magdalene.co and @indonesiafeminis (henceforth are Mco and IF, respectively). These two digital platforms were chosen as the subjects of the study because they have the most visitors and followers on their website and

Instagram account. Additionally, they are also two of the most active digital platforms when it comes to publishing and uploading contents.

Mco was developed by Devi Asmarani (Co-Founder & Chief Editor) and Hera Diani (Managing Editor). Devi Asmarani received her bachelor's degree in Journalism at the University of North Alabama and has vast experience in print and broadcast journalism. Mco is set up as a women-focused publication that offers feminists, pluralists, and progressive a room to channel their ideas pertaining to gender issues. Mco has 20,000 followers across social media, with about 150,000 views on their page. For its maintenance, Mco receives revenue from online advertisements, event partnerships, and merchandise sales, in addition to the personal fund of its founders [18].

IF's other feminist digital platform is an Instagram account that advocates sexual diversity, gender equality, and class awareness. The person behind this account is a woman named Dea Safira, a dentist, a writer, and a content creator. Dea was also a founding editor for empuan.id, a feminist platform very similar to Mco, through which she mentors female authorship on gender issues. She graduated as a dentist from Trisakti University and received a master's degree in International Relations from Pelita Harapan University.

IF is a famous feminist Instagram account with over 100k followers, having about 5k+ posts. Similar to Magdalene.co, IF addresses women-related issues, but devotes more attention to politically public subjects, such as gendered class awareness, abused female workers, and women's limited access to sociocultural and economic resources. Many of its posts were reposts of other Instagram accounts, which equally champion women empowerment and equal gender relations, such as @_perEMPUan, @mubadalah.id, and @yayasangayanusantara. These feminist accounts, with which IF collaborate, represent a relatively wide range of feminist concerns. @perEMPUan, for instance, is committed to issues of street harassment against women, women and disability, and women's related access to sociocultural and economic resources. @mubadalah.id is an Islamic platform to advance mutual relations between males and females, thus the Arabic term *mubadalah* 'reciprocity'. @yayasangayanusantara is concerned with the rights and well-being of LGBTQ and people with different sexual and gender identities. The network that IF has expanded even further as the accounts mentioned above have more extensive networks of their own.

In her research to uncover the actors behind several feminist accounts on social media—such as Facebook, Instagram, and YouTube—and their goals, Parahita [15] found that Indonesian activists of digital

feminism had had some experience working on the issues with their senior counterparts in Jakarta, whether of secular or religious orientation. They possessed basic digital literacy to communicate ideas with the public by initiating the digital feminist movement as a tool for creating a safe digital space for discussion and sharing stories, organizing marches and offline meetings, offering critical responses to contemporary issues, and conducting research and publication. Pawaka and Choiriyati [19] assessed the reception of IF millennial followers concerning five topics, namely the construction of femininity, responsibility for child-rearing, the decision to have an abortion, speaking up against sexual violence, and dress-crossing performance. Of five, the respondents demonstrated divided views, only in terms of the women's rights or decision to have an abortion, into three perspectives: first, unconditionally agreeing with their rights or decision for abortion, especially when it was an unwanted pregnancy or if keeping it would lead to other, more severe problems; second, total disagreement because abortion was prohibited, and third, conditionally, only if it was done for justified reasons; otherwise abortion was prohibited. On the other four issues, the respondents concurred in terms of the rights of women for self-construction of femininity, the shared responsibility of a husband and wife in parenting, the need for women to speak up against sexual violence and allowing a male dancer to perform in a female dress.

Maryani and Adiprasetyo [18], on the other hand, found that M.co offered alternative values and perspectives on women issues and sparked a lengthy discussion on feminist topics, including the relationship of women and religion, lifestyles, and social conditions. Yet, they found that class prejudice remained apparent in M.co's articles, and their content was inconsistent with one of their stated objectives to change the stereotype of women. Yoedtadi and Pribadi [20] highlighted Mco's role in countering the hegemonic public discourse on gender in the mainstream media, which was replete with patriarchal values and commodification of women's sexuality, thus providing an alternative medium for focused digital gender forum. Shofiyya and Rusadi [21] underlined the critical role that Mco played in terms of providing a safe space for those who otherwise would have less to no room to share their personal problems, such as the three individuals who navigated the complex process of negotiating their new identity, after shifting their belief from Islam into agnosticism, with their traditionally religious families that vehemently opposed them. An interesting aspect of this research that coincided with, and also vindicated, the present study was the observation that the authors in Mco made a dominant use of 'I' in their narratives and with personal or domestic perspective.

The present study aims at examining how language is used in Magdalene.co and @indonesiafeminis, and how it reflects agency. Apart from being understudied, the survey of language use is essential simply by the fact that language is a uniquely human property with which reality is engaged [22]. Not only does language reflects reality but it also helps to create it [23]. According to Austin [24], to use a language to accomplish various things and it is, in Holtgraves' [25] term, a way to act, a social action at that. Furthermore, it is argued, 'culture comprises symbolic meanings that are interpersonally negotiated through linguistic discourse' [26]. Bruner [27] even held a rather extreme view, asserting that reality is no more than meanings that are negotiated through interpersonal communication. While this study does not agree entirely with Bruner's (1982) view, it does subscribe to Vygotsky's theory that language plays a central part in the development of thought and the historical growth of consciousness as a whole. It is a microcosm of human consciousness; a means whereby one contemplates on and organizes her own experience, and regulates her own actions [23].

The guiding questions are: "How do the authors use language in Mco and IF?" "How does language use reflect agency?" "What perspective do they lend to the issues, is it personal or collective?" "What do the language use, topics of discussion, and the types of gender issues indicate in terms of authors' their feminist advocacy orientation?"

2. METHODS

This is qualitative research [28], scrutinizing the relation of language use and agency on two feminist digital platforms, Mco and IF. The data consist of 269 Indonesian articles published in Mco, under the category Issues and Lifestyle, and 176 Instagram posts uploaded on IF, from December 2020 to June 2021. Interpretation of findings is enriched by insights from social sciences, shedding light on the idea of agency and structure, and individualism and collectivism [29]–[32].

The data collection began by identifying how many articles and posts were released during that period. Afterward, the collected essays and Instagram posts are read in their entirety to determine the range and variety of topics addressed. The next step is sorting out the articles and Instagram posts on a thematic basis and organize them in a table for easy access. Purposive sampling was then undertaken to select some representative issues covered, especially those similarly addressed by authors of both groups. In addition, the search for authors' background, especially in terms of education and occupation, is conducted, through what they had stated about themselves in their writings or via their social media accounts to supply the analysis with broadly probable explanations in respect to specific modes of language use by the feminist authors.

Data analysis is performed on the selected writings, focusing on the structural elements of language used. Special attention is given to recurrent linguistic features, such as word choice, sentence style, unique or peculiar linguistic repertoires, narrative tones, and the authorial perspectives. Note-taking is undertaken throughout to identify a set of characteristics that the authors provided in their writings, to be confronted with each other. When the identification of the text character of each authors' group is complete, comparison is then set up to identify commonality and disparity, both in terms of linguistic (word choice, sentence styles, etc.) and expressive tones (psychological or intellectual attitudes).

3. FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

3.1 Individual Agency and Collective Agency

Are human beings relatively autonomous over their actions, or, on the contrary, are they coerced to comply with potent "social forces" that dictate them? Attempts to answer this question have resulted in different, even opposing, answers, and hence the "the structure-agency debate" or "the structure-agency divide" [33]. The contention about the role of social structure is at the center of defining the field of sociology; and the social sciences in general, considering that similar issues also appear in any discipline that seeks to examine what transpires in the social world [33], [34].

The debate is between, on the one hand, some social theorists who envisioned the world as the site for dominantly powerful structures responsible for directing the conduct of individuals, in which Emile Durkheim [35] represents one of its most ardent proponents, and, on the other, those who have passionately advocated the agility of individual judgments and actions, that is to say, human agency, in which Max Weber [36] is one of its prominent supporters. The two are respectively called Methodological Collectivists and Methodological Individualists [37] or Structuralism and Voluntarism [38]. Structuralism emphasizes the role of social structures on individual conduct, simply treating social action as a function of social networks. Voluntarism underscores the supreme autonomy of social actors, thus rendering social systems as divisible into their constitutive parts.

However, such a sharp opposition has been criticized as false and inadequate for, on its own, the two could not comprehensively explain social reality.

As a result, contemporary scholars have attempted to reconcile the two strands [29], [30], take a middle ground [39], [40], or even go beyond the divide by offering a new theory [41]. Now debates carry out less in terms of structure versus agency but more as a continuum. The distinction between one and the other is a matter of emphasis. If the focus is on the influence of the constraining or enabling set of relationships on the agents, it is then foregrounding structure. Conversely, suppose the interest is in identifying the maneuver that the agents carry out in the face of a set of constraining or enabling relationships; in that case, it is thus examining agency [34].

Generally, the concept of 'agency' points to a purposeful human act or behavior, decision-making skills, and entertainment of personal choice, mediated by social structures and all resources available to each individual, such as race, sexuality, and age, which further impact both opportunities and disadvantages concerning the attainment of education, financial resources, employment status, etc. [42]. On the other hand, structures supply individuals with rules and resources, which might as well be constraining or enabling. As regulations, systems restrict agents; but as resources, designs are exploitable by the agents to their advantage. While, to a large extent, structures act as the medium through which action unfolds, agents' activities—in the process—would eventually yield reproducing designs as an outcome [41].

In line with the recent development, this study embraces the relationality of both structure and agency as inevitable. Thus, the terms individual agency and collective agency point to the tendency of an agentic action towards pursuing or addressing personal goals within the limits of social forces and that which aims more towards collective or communal goals, respectively.

3.2 The Enactment of Individual Agency in Magdalene.co

The presence of individual agency is palpable in Mco, especially in stories related to personal and family issues. For example, in the article '*Tubuhku Bukan Milikku: Perkara Ruwet Dipaksa Berjilbab*' *("*My Body Doesn't Belong to Me: Complicated Matters in being Forced to Wear the Hijab")*,* a girl talked about her experience of being forced to wear a hijab and how she wanted to free herself from the obligations imposed by her parents. Another similar conflict relates to a spiritual journey, as shown in the article '*Dua Rupa Dalam Pribadi Seorang Beragama*' ("Two Faces in a Religious Individual").

The enactment of individual agency is also evident in stories about relationships, which are primarily personal. '*Jinan: Kisah Ketaatan Istri dan Anak Perempuan*' ("Jinan: The Story of Obedience of a Wife and a Daughter") exhibits a conflict between a wife and husband, as well as a daughter and father. *'Mitos Mertua-Menantu Tak Akur, Masihkah Relevan?'* ("The Myth of Not-getting along between Parents-and Daughter-in-law, Is It Still Relevant?") exemplifies a struggle of a daughter trying to get along with her parents-in-law. '*Saat Pacar Melela, Masihkah Kita Mencintainya*' ("When the Lover was Coming Out, Should We Still Love him?") is also an issue between a person and her partner. A similar conflict is also evident in the article '*Keluar dari Hubungan yang Menyiksa Secara Emosional*' ("Getting out of an Emotionally Abusive Relationship").

These are just a few samples of stories in which authors of Mco foreground individual agency. It seems justifiable to speculate that the strong presence of such agency is partly the result of the platform used. Blogs are mainly used to write stories in a narrative style, more amenable to the exercise of such individual agency.

Nevertheless, the idea of collective agency is not entirely absent in the articles published in Mco, albeit in a much smaller number than in IF, revolving around feminist issues related to child marriage, climate change and its effects, and sexual violence. For instance, '*Remaja di 7 Daerah Dorong Kampanye Lawan Perkawinan Anak*' ("Youth in 7 Regions Started a Campaign Against Child Marriage"), '*Gerakan Aksi Iklim Indonesia Meningkat Tapi Belum Pengaruhi Kebijakan*' ("Indonesia's Climate Action Movement Increases but Has not Made an Impact on the Policy), *'7 Ormas Keagamaan Dukung Pengesahan RUU PKS*' ("7 Religious Organizations Support the Ratification of the Draft Law on the Elimination of Sexual Violence").

The standard Indonesian first person pronoun often used in the articles is *saya* 'I'. It is admittedly possible to interpret the prevalent use 'I' in Mco from the vantage point of narrative personalization [43]. However, this study decides to restrict its discussion in terms of (individual) agency for some reasons, including space limitation.

3.3 The Enactment of Collective Agency in @indonesiafeminis

In IF, there seems to be little to no reference to an individual agency in their posts. Most of their seats and reposts from other Instagram accounts, such as @empuanid, view women's problems as collective issues portrayed from a public perspective. Even when addressing individual problems women faced, including patriarchy, feminism, misogyny, menstruation, and virginity, IF presents them more as

communal issues that need a collective response rather than individual lamentations.

Furthermore, posts in IF mainly focused on the image of womanhood instead of the narration of an individual. This is evident in almost all their content on various issues. When they refer to people, they always do that to a large group of people, like '*perempuan*' (women), instead of '*seorang perempuan*' (a woman). For example, the post '*Sahkan RUU Perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga*' ("Pass the Domestic Workers' Protection Bill") asserted that the government should pass the bill as an effort to appreciate women's domestic work. As seen, 'women' here refers to all women who are domestic workers. '*Perkuat Gerakan Kolektif: Mendesak Negara Untuk Kepentingan Perempuan*' ("Strengthen the Collective Movement Urging the State for Women Concerns") presents how the state has neglected to discuss and ratify the protection policies of female workers. The idea of womanhood as collective also deals with female workers in palm fields, '*Lindungi Buruh Perempuan di Kebun Sawit*' ("Protect Female Workers in Palm Oil Fields"), speaking on behalf of female workers to secure protection. Another example is their content about child marriage '*Waspada Perkawinan Anak*' ("Beware of Child Marriage"), underscoring the adverse effects of child marriage and the statistical data of how often child marriage has happened in Indonesia.

IF is also keen on discussing how climate change has affected women because they often have limited access to natural and economic resources, as presented in their article '*Gender dan Perubahan Iklim*' ("Gender and Climate Change"). A similar issue is present in the article '*Dampak Tambang Quarry Pada Perempuan Wadas*' ("The Effect of Quarry Mining on Wadas Women"), highlighting mining impacts on the availability of clean water for women in Wadas, in addition to their social and economic conditions.

It is, therefore, evident that collective agency occupies an ample space in IF, different from Mco that exhibits narratives foregrounding individual agency. In addition, IF tends to repost from other Instagram accounts of feminist organizations with a similar collective spirit.

Thus far, there has been a clear distinction between Mco and IF in how they portray feminist issues. If, on the one hand, Mco tends to anchor those inclined towards the individual agency, IF, on the other, channels aspirations of those representing collectivity of women in general, and thus collective agency.

3.4 Individualism and Collectivism

In order to understand more broadly the sociocultural implications of language use in the publication of Mco and IF, we need to turn to explanations informed by the theories of social sciences. Particular attention is given to the prevalent use of self-referential terms 'I' and 'we'. The dominant use of 'I' and 'we' in respective platforms has led to a potential discussion about individualist and collectivist orientation in the publication of Mco and IF, respectively. Hofstede [32] discussed at length the difference between individualism and collectivism concerning cultural values. In his view, the fundamental philosophy of individualism is more adopted mainly in Western nations than in the East. Individualism embodied the idea of personal identity and that every individual is independent and autonomous. On the other hand, collectivism is concerned with group goals and prioritizes the community's well-being. In addition, Hofstede (2010) also posited that individualist countries tend to be rich while collectivist countries are poor.

In this respect, Hofstede [32] includes Indonesia as a collectivist country, valuing collectivist culture. However, individualistic orientations are also present in a collectivist society, including in Indonesia, partly the functions of certain individual circumstances, especially education, economic prosperity, and social mobility [22]. Living in a collectivist society, some people could show a stronger individualist orientation. They begin to value traits commonly held in the individualist society, such as being strong, self-reliant, assertive, and independent [44], [45]. Because individualist-collectivist categories do not apply in a clear-cut fashion, some have called for a more nuanced attitude [46]; as such, these categories are best treated as ideal types à la Weber. Ideal types, while constructed from observable facts, they do not exhaust reality. They are ideal mental constructs that scholars created, modified, and sharpened for the sake of analysis of concrete problems, but nowhere to be found empirically in that pristinely clear-cut presentation. The deliberate simplification and exaggeration that underlies their construction has warranted some great care in their use [36]. Nonetheless, ideal types are indispensable for approximating reality through selecting and accentuating certain elements.

In this respect, Mco's publication suggests a generally individualist orientation among its authors. In general, they tend to offer narratives almost invariably from a personal perspective, commenting on tradition and sociocultural situations they object to. Moreover, its authors' prevalent use of 'I' reinvigorates the understanding that they hold an individualist orientation. Meanwhile, authors in IF seem to feature a collectivist orientation, both in content and perspective. In terms of issues, IF posts addressed public, even highly political, cases highlighting the victimization of women. Their

attitude is always that of collectivity, speaking in the solidarity of women, especially of the lower class. Unlike their counterparts in Mco, Never did they problematize personal or domestic issues. Nonetheless, the authors of IF seemed to suggest that individuals and families should be the basis for social empowerment.

3.5 Dominant Use of "I" and "We"

An intriguingly prevalent phenomenon in the publication of Mco and IF, which has become one of the distinguishing features between the two digital platforms, is the frequent use of *saya* 'I' and *kami/kita* 'we', respectively. In this respect, it is maintained, a consistent pronoun style reveals the user's identity and views [47]. More importantly, using such self-referential terms signifies the process of creating agency; it is one of self-constitution [48]. Hypothetically, irrespective of the diverse personalities of the contributing authors, the general use of two different self-referential pronouns in Mco and IF will lead to varying types of subjectivity and agency [49], individual and collective.

The authors' choice of address and self-reference terms is contingent upon a set of considerations, primarily communicative and social variables, such as interlocutors, social distance, formality, and other variables related to the speaker's background, such as age, sex, and social status. People's choices to call each other indicate how they perceive, are perceived, or wish to be perceived by others. In other words, they represent an essential part of the strategies people use in constructing their sociocultural identities [50], [51].

If the dominant use of the pronoun *saya* 'I' in the publication of Mco generally refers to the celebration of self-centeredness and individuality [50], the ubiquitous use of *kami/kita* 'we' on IF, on the other, points to collectivity and attachment to the community [52], [53]. The use of *saya* 'I' in Mco advances personal identity (the personal self), giving salience to the perceived difference between oneself and other people in a group, while the palpable use of *kami/kita* 'we' on IF, on the other hand, foregrounds social identity (the social self), giving salience to perceived similarities with fellow group members, in comparison with other groups; it is an assertion of ''us'' [50].

The following are examples of palpable use of *saya* 'I' in most articles published by Mco. *Saya* 'I' is a singular first-person pronoun in standard Indonesian. It is more formal than the equivalent form *aku* 'I'. Etymologically, *saya* 'I' comes from the Malay word *sahaya,* literally meaning 'your slave'.

1.) *"Saya sadar bahwa tubuh ini bukan milik saya seutuhnya sejak duduk di bangku kelas 6 SD (P)."*

English Translation: "I have realized that this body does not belong to me since I was in sixth grade."

2.) *"Saya juga sesekali menemukan teman-teman, bahkan sesama gay, yang merasa risih dengan mereka yang begitu percaya diri dengan ekspresi gender dan/atau seksualitas mereka (W)"*

English Translation: "I also sometimes find friends, even gay friends, who feel uncomfortable with those who are so confident about their gender and sexuality."

3.) *"Butuh berbulan-bukan bagi saya untuk merenung, pun bertanya pada diri: Apakah saya baru saja menjadi korban pelecehan seksual? (O)."*

English Translation: "It took me months to reflect and ask myself: Have I recently been a victim of sexual harassment?"

4.) *"Puncaknya pada tahun 2019, ia mulai meminta untuk berhubungan seksual dan menolaknya. Saya mulai takut untuk bertemu dengannya. Jadi, setiap ia mengajak bertemu, saya akan berkata tidak (S)."*

English Translation: "The turning point was in 2019; he started to ask me to have sex, and I refused. I became afraid to see him. So every time he asked me to meet him, I would say no."

5.) *"Saya sampai pada kesimpulan, dia adalah bajingan biasa yang menggunakan perempuan sebagai objek seksual."*

English Translation: "I have concluded that he is a bastard who uses women as sexual objects."

6.) *"Saya menjadi pengangguraan secara sukarela dan pergi ke Eropa untuk dapat bersama suami (B)."*

English Translation: "Voluntarily, I decided to be unemployed and instead go to Europe to be with my husband."

7.) *"Tapi di bagian manual packing, saya sulit meminta izin untuk ke kamar kecil dan untuk istirahat (K)."*

English Translation: "But in the manual packing section, I find it difficult to ask for permission to go to the restroom and to take a rest."

The examples above are representative of Mco's articles. As seen, they show a strong sense of individualism and place greater importance on individuals and the attainment of personal goals.

In what follows are instances of the use of *kita/kami* 'we' on IF. Note that *kita* is a plural inclusive first-

person pronoun, while *kami* is a plural exclusive first-person pronoun in Indonesian.

8.) *"Kita sama-sama valid sebagai Muslimah, memakai jilbab atau tidak (@indonesiafeminis)."*

English Translation: "We are all equally valid as Muslimah, whether we wear the hijab or not."

9.) *"Solidaritas penting untuk menciptakan perubahan sosial. Inilah yang menyatukan kita, mempersatukan kita (@indonesiafeminis)."*

English Translation: Solidarity is essential to initiating social change. This is what brings us together, unites us."

10.) *"Jika kita belum bisa membantu korban, sebaiknya kita tidak berkontribusi dalam menambah masalah baru (@indonesiafeminis)."*

English Translation: "If we can't help the victims, we shouldn't contribute by adding new problems."

11.) *"Tapi walau demikian kita harus bersama-sama bersolidaritas untuk PRT"* (*Sahkan RUU Perlindungan Pekerja Rumah Tangga (@indonesiafeminis)."*

English Translation: "But even so, we must be together in solidarity for domestic workers."

12.) *"Apa yang bisa kita lakukan sebagai warga negara yang peduli terhadap masalah pekerja sawit wanita dan isu-isu lain yang mengakar di masyarakat? -- Kita juga harus cermat dalam memilih produk yang kita konsumsi, terus memperdalam pengetahuan kita dan berdialog dengan orang-orang terdekat (@indonesiafeminis)."*

English Translation: "What can we do as citizens who care about the issue of female workers in palm oil fields and other issues that are deeply rooted in the society? -- We also have to be careful in choosing the products we consume and continue to deepen our knowledge and talk to those around us."

13.) *"Oleh sebab itu, kami menuntut dan mendesak Pemerintah Jokowi, Mahfud serta DPR RI segera bahas dan sahkan RUU PRT!"* (*@indonesiafeminis)."*

English Translation: "Therefore, we demand and urge the Jokowi's administration, Mahfud and the RI House of Representatives to discuss and ratify RUU PRT immediately!"

It is surmised that part of the reasons behind the dominant use of *kita/kami* 'we' by the authors in IF is to highlight the importance of collective struggle in combatting gender-based violence and discrimination. Thus, the use of *kita/kami* 'we' by the high-class authors of IF is a conscious choice made for advocative reasons, in order to fight for themselves,

they needed solidarity from other people. Therefore, they required solidarity and empowerment from other people [54]. The use of *kita/kami* 'we' in IF posts is, thus, symptomatic of this urgent need for solidarity and empowering the powerless, in addition to asserting women's forged solidarity and united stance vis-a-vis the government and other institutions with which women and their fate intersect. While on the other hand, M.co provides a personalized standpoint to appeal to its readers that gender issues are very close to their everyday lives.

4. CONCLUSION

This study starts with the assumption that language use reflects agency. In doing so, it examines two digital feminist platforms, Mco and IF, which seem to show two different orientations, one personal and the other collective. If Mco publishes articles on feminist issues faced by individual women, IF posts gender-related issues faced by women in general, especially those who are in unfortunate conditions, as female workers.

The study finds that Mco and IF are created and run by women of high class, based on their educational background and occupations. The same applies to the contributing authors of each; they are all well-educated and relatively established. However, the two are starkly different in terms of their perspective in their presentation of women-related issues, which is also reflected in how they used language. While publications of Mco tend to showcase narratives foregrounding individual agency, in which the authors told feminist issues generally from a personal or domestic perspective, the posts in IF advance collective agency by addressing problems that were highly political and from a predominantly collectivist perspective. This is further corroborated by the fact that the two platforms have become two contested spaces for "language as social practice," with the ubiquity of self-reference *saya* 'I' in Mco and *kita/kami* 'we' in IF demonstrating individual and collective agency, respectively.

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