

## Research Article

# The Involvement of The New Men's Alliance Movement in Realizing Gender Equality and Justice

Maihasni, Ghina Reftantia\*, Jendrius

Departement of Sosciology Fakultas of Social dan Political Sciences Andalas University

## Abstract.

Gender-based social movements in Indonesia emerged very late compared to countries in the Americas, Europe, and Australia. The New Men's Alliance (Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru or ALB) is a gender-based social movement in Indonesia whose members are mostly men. The emergence of the New Men's Alliance is a significant step in promoting gender equality and justice. This research aimed to identify the involvement of new men's alliances through in-depth interviews with key ALB members and analysis of documents relevant to the research. Data were analyzed using Spardley analysis, which divided data into analysis and taxonomy domains. The research results showed that ALB actors have an important role in the formation of ALB, including other individuals, gender activists, scientists, and community members who are concerned about gender issues. Actor involvement was seen in various stages, such as conceptualizing the name of ALB, acting as an intermediary with other stakeholders, conducting online discussions through websites and social media platforms, and formulating a code of ethics when introducing it to other organizations. ALB organizes campaigns, seminars, and workshops to increase men's awareness of gender issues while collaborating with women and feminist groups. ALB advocates for policy change by amplifying the voices of male advocates for gender equality in policy forums. ALB can influence normative and legal transformations that uphold gender justice. Overall, ALB has shown to be an important force in upholding gender equity and justice in Indonesia. By involving multiple stakeholders, gaining support from partner organizations, and implementing effective strategies, ALB makes an invaluable contribution to driving positive social transformation.

**Keywords:** Involvement; New Men's Alliance; Gender Equality; Gender Justice

Corresponding Author: Ghina Reftantia; email: greftantyagunarto@gmail.com

Published: 30 July 2024

Publishing services provided by Knowledge E

© Maihasni et al. This article is distributed under the terms of the [Creative Commons Attribution License](#), which permits unrestricted use and redistribution provided that the original author and source are credited.

Selection and Peer-review under the responsibility of the 2nd ICGCS Conference Committee.

## 1. Introduction

In realizing gender equality and justice in Indonesia, there have been many women's movements that have focused on and discussed issues of gender inequality even before independence. More and more women's movements emerged after independence until now. However, as time went by, the concept of gender inequality was not only discussed in the women's movement but also in the men's movement.(1)

### OPEN ACCESS

To realize gender equality and justice, men should be involved in empowerment programs, because many empowerment programs only involve or intervene directly with women and leave out men. Many forms of gender injustice are caused by men, which can then harm women, starting from acts of domestic violence, violence in dating, sexual violence, domination, subordination, and various other problems. Gender injustice is increasingly lasting because of patriarchal culture that directly or indirectly gives many privileges to men to do or not do something, if only the women's empowerment program directly intervened in women who are victims of this injustice, the goal to realize gender equality and justice will not be achieved because the problems originate from men and patriarchal values that exist in society.

Therefore, discussion of this issue is not only discussed through the women's movement but also discussed through the men's movement. This can be thought of as an answer to a problem that originates from men and then men are involved and involved in solving the problem. The men's movement that opposes gender injustice which is detrimental to women can be said to be a pro-feminist men's movement.(2)

In Indonesia, the emergence of the men's feminist movement can be said to be late when compared to other countries, especially those in America, Europe, and Australia. Feminist research and studies began to emerge in the 1960s, especially in America and Australia, which criticized how conditions of masculinity supported by patriarchal culture caused injustice for women. Then male feminist research and studies began to emerge in Australia in the 1980s, while studies on male feminists in Indonesia were still rarely discussed.(3)(4)(5)

The basic differences between the women's movement and the men's movement can be seen in the strategies used by these movements. The previous strategy of the women's movement only involved women and left men behind, while during the reform period the strategy used by the women's movement, such as in the Women's Journal, began to involve men, although in small numbers, but at least at that time there was visible cooperation between women and men in discussing issues related to gender. In the contemporary times, the men's movement emerged to embrace fellow men who then focused on eliminating sexual violence, which the movement was represented by CANTIK (Cowok-Cowok Anti-Violence). However, this movement then stopped and some of its members participated in the formation of the New Men's Alliance at the end of 2009.(6)

The New Men's Alliance (ALB) movement discusses how to resolve the problem of gender inequality so that sexual violence and problems related to gender relations no longer occur and gender justice in Indonesia can be realized. This movement began

to be formed at the end of 2009 in Indonesia by instilling new awareness in men regarding the importance of respecting gender roles through masculinity and feminist conceptions which form a new consciousness in many men and women through training, advocacy, campaigns, and publication of knowledge through writings in articles on the ALB website and in academic journals, propaganda about feminist issues through social media platforms, and much more.

Starting from the collective awareness of men regarding the many cases of violence that occur against women where the perpetrators are mostly men, the collective awareness of men regarding the existence of privileges obtained by men such as norms, values, and rules that directly or indirectly harming women and benefiting men, then there is the involvement of men which is manifested in a social movement to realize gender equality and justice in Indonesia, which here the researcher refers to the New Men's Alliance Movement (ALB) which was formed at the end of 2009. Through this article, the researcher will discuss the forms of ALB involvement individually and collectively in realizing gender equality and justice in Indonesia.

## 2. Research Method

The method used in this research is a descriptive qualitative method aimed at describing the speech, writing, and behavior of the people who observed. The selection of research informants uses a purposive sampling technique, where in this technique the selected informants must go through certain considerations related to the case and the objectives of the research. In other words, the criteria selected for the informants have been determined first.(7) In this study, the informants that the researchers asked for information were perpetrator informants, namely actors involved in the New Men's Movement Alliance. The data collection method was carried out by in-depth interviews with actors involved in ALB and document studies in the form of images, writings published by the actors involved, previous research related to ALB, and image data, messages, and other things contained in ALB social media.

This data was analyzed using the Spradley analysis model, where the data is divided into two forms of analysis, namely domain analysis and taxonomic analysis. Domain analysis is a general analysis that has not been detailed, while taxonomic analysis is a domain analysis that has detailed.(8)

### 3. Discussion

The Researchers divide actor involvement into three forms, namely the involvement of individual actors in forming a social movement, actors in organizations that they have formed to achieve the goals of the organization itself, and the actors in a network. The involvement of individual actors in this research is by looking at how they contribute to forming the New Men's Alliance, the involvement of actors in organizations can be seen based on the contribution of supporting organizations in forming the ALB, and the involvement of actors in a network is in the form of the involvement of the ALB itself in realizing gender equality and justice in Indonesia.

#### 3.1. The Involvement of Actors in The New Men's Alliance in Realizing Gender Equality and Justice in Indonesia

##### 3.1.1. Coined The Term of The New Men's Alliance

Nur Hasyim is one of the founders of ALB, in 2007 he conducted a seminar entitled "Welcome the New Men (Selamat Datang Laki-Laki Baru)" in Yogyakarta. He explained why he was given "The New Men" as the name of his seminar because he thought there would be a man who has transformed from a perpetrator of violence and gender blind to a man who is no longer a perpetrator of violence and understands gender issues.

When the seven actors who formed ALB gathered and discussed establishing a men's network on September 9, 2009 in Bandung, Nur Hasyim talked about his experience of holding the seminar. Spontaneously one of the actors said that the name of the movement they were forming was just the same as the title of the seminar, that's where the choice of name came from. All ALB founders then agreed to name the movement they formed with the same name, namely The New Men's Alliance (Aliansi Laki-Laki Baru).

##### 3.1.2. Contacted The Other Actors

Another form of Nur Hasyim's involvement in the formation of this movement can be seen in his role as an actor who contacted other actors involved in the formation of ALB. The role of other actors such as Syafirah Hardani at that time was also as an actor who identified other actors in the women's movement who had the special capacities and abilities needed in forming the ALB and contacted other actors to be able to hold meetings to form this alliance and provide their meeting place in Bandung.

The reason why ALB was only formed by seven people because at that time Syafirah Hardani and Nur Hasyim were afraid to invite many people, because they thought not everyone who joined would be supporting organizations such as organizations initiated by women had the same goals and views regarding involving men in forming a new movement, especially because the ALB discussion at that time had also been widely discussed by the women's movement, what he was worried about was that activists from the women's movement would think that the things they had been fighting for had been taken over by the men's movement.

### **3.1.3. Created The New Men's Alliance Website and Social Media**

The actors who act as social media creators include Nur Hasyim, Syaldie Sahude, and Shera Rindra. Nur Hasyim created Facebook social media and a blog on behalf of the New Men's Alliance, actively wrote articles related to gender issues, and then posted them on the blog which then moved to this alliance's website. Syaldie Sahude, from ALB, was formed until now, has acted as an actor who created the ALB website, he is in control and ensures that the website is safe from various hacker attacks. At that time, Shera Rindra acted as an actor who created ALB's Twitter social media and also served as ALB's social media admin on Facebook and Twitter.

### **3.1.4. Created The Code of Conduct**

Code of conduct (COC) is briefly understood as a code of ethics, or in more detail code of conduct is defined as a set of commitments consisting of organizational ethics and work ethics of organizational administrators formed to regulate and adjust the behavior of organization members so that the organization can achieve its vision and mission. The code of conduct consists of norms, principles, values, and habits that serve as behavioral guidelines for each individual in the organization.

When the name of the ALB had been determined, the seven ALB founders immediately discussed the code of conduct of their movement to equalize the perception between members of the ALB management in the future. Before ALB was founded, one of the founding actors of ALB, namely Eko Bambang Subiantoro, was an actor who initiated and was involved in the CANTIK (Men Against Violence in Indonesia we called Cowok-Cowok Anti Kekerasan), where he explained that one of their members had committed domestic violence against his partner. At that time, CANTIK was not well organized, and in addition to this problem, CANTIK had to be disbanded because

the acts of violence committed by its members were very contrary to the name of their organization at that time. Apart from that, another reason for the formation of this COC was to avoid the same problems experienced by CANTIK at that time. The results of the code of conduct can be seen in the principles adhered to by ALB. So all founders, administrators, members, people who want to join ALB and organizations which want to join the ALB network must comply with the ALB code of conduct. Apart from that, the consequence of violating the code of conduct by ALB founders, administrators, and members are being expelled from ALB itself and being considered as someone who has never contributed at all.

### **3.1.5. Other Forms of Involvement**

Another form of actor involvement in the formation of ALB was Mariana Amirudin, who at that time was active as an actor who bridged ALB with Komnas Perempuan and other women's organizations in Jakarta because she worked at the Jurnal Perempuan Foundation and Komnas Perempuan, so it was through her intermediary that ALB was introduced to other existing organizations in Jakarta.

At that time, Eko Bambang Subiantoro as an actor who had previously joined CANTIK, where his opinions about the men's movement were widely used and Aditya Putra Kurniawan was involved as a counselor who accompanied both victims and perpetrators of violence while at Rifka Annisa, where his opinion was about The psychological conditions of both victims and perpetrators are widely used in analyzing the importance of involving men in this alliance.

## **3.2. The Involvements of Supporting Organizations in the Formation of New Men's Alliances**

The actors involved in establishing ALB already have different backgrounds. Before the ALB was formed, the actors involved in the formation of the ALB had already joined organizations and then became supporting organizations in the ALB. Nur Hasyim and Aditya Putra Kurniawan at that time, they had previously joined Rifka Annisa in Yogyakarta, Syafirah Hardani had also previously been involved in Rifka Annisa, then moved to work and was active in UN Women and the Pulih Foundation in Jakarta, Shera Rindra, Syaldi Sahude, Mariana Amirudin, and Eko Bambang Subiantoro are members of the Women's Journal (Jurnal Perempuan).

### **3.3. Providing Counseling to The Victims and The Perpetrators of Violence**

Rifka Annisa is a supporting organization that has the biggest role in the formation of ALB because the actors in Rifka Annisa are the ones who have the ideas and thoughts to form ALB as a new movement involving men. However, other supporting organizations at that time initiated the formation of ALB had the same concerns regarding the high rate of violence against women. For example, Rifka Annisa at the Women's Crisis Center or Women's Crisis Center has received many complaints from women who have been victims of violence from their partners, both violence from their husbands and their boyfriends. Rifka Annisa provides counseling to women victims of violence to restore the victim's mental health and also provides counseling to perpetrators of violence so that the perpetrators become aware and no longer become perpetrators of violence.

Not only Rifka Annisa but also Pulih Foundation received many complaints of violence experienced by women. Just like what Rifka Annisa did, the Pulih Foundation also provides counseling to victims of violence, which is also carried out by the Pulih Foundation in South Jakarta.

### **3.4. Conducted Research on The Importance of Men's Involvement in Eliminating Violence Against Women**

Rifka Annisa has conducted two studies regarding the importance of involving men in overcoming violence experienced by women because most of the perpetrators of violence are men. The results of this research state that violence against women occurs because of a patriarchal culture that makes violence against women a normal thing because of this patriarchal understanding, violence experienced by women is considered a justification. Through this research, Rifka Annisa realized that what is wrong with this condition is not women who are victims or men who are perpetrators, but what is wrong is the values that apply in the social order itself, where patriarchal values cause inequality in relations between women and men. -men so that women are very vulnerable to violence. Resolving this case will not be achieved if the victim only intervenes directly, so men need to be involved in eliminating this violence because most perpetrators of violence are men and men have great potential to commit violence.

Rifka Annisa also conducted a study on the return of women victims of violence to their partners, where the results of the study stated that more than 90% of women who

were victims of violence would return to their partners and experience violence from their partners again, only 10% chose to report the violent act to the authorities.

### 3.5. Discussed Issues Related to Gender Equality and Carrying Out of Actions on the Streets

All of ALB's founders already have experience working in NGOs that actively discuss gender issues. So, all the actors who formed ALB came from organizations that became supporting organizations at ALB, and the founders of ALB had experience and expertise in the field of resolving the problem of violence against women. Some organizations are the original organizations of the actors who formed ALB, including the Women's Journal, which at the end of 2001 formed a movement called Anti-Violence Boys (CANTIK) which focuses on discussing and holding actions regarding the rejection of violence against women. However, CANTIK's existence at that time did not last long until the movement was finally disbanded. It is because of this background that several actors in the organization decided to create a new network, which is a men's network because previously a men's network on a national scale that discussed this issue had never existed in Indonesia.

Likewise, UN Women at that time also discussed a lot of gender issues such as violence against women, and the issue of polygamy, and also discussed the importance of men's involvement in solving these problems. The formation of ALB is of course inseparable from this matter which has already been widely discussed through supporting organizations.

### 3.6. The Involvement of the New Men's Alliance in Realizing Gender Equality and Justice in Indonesia

Since ALB was formed, ALB provided many ideas regarding gender equality and justice and the importance of involving men in realizing gender equality and justice. They published these ideas on social media, websites, and even indexed journals in Indonesia.

#### **ALB was Involved in the Formulation of the PKS Bill and The National Strategy for Involving Men in Eliminating Violence Against Women**

ALB as a men's network that is active in campaigning for gender equality and justice and firmly rejects all forms of violence, including sexual violence, has resulted in ALB being supported by many parties from similar organizations, the wider community, and the government. With the many publications of knowledge both from research results



and ideas from figures in ALB as well as the way ALB campaigns for gender equality issues, and addresses gender equality issues, especially the problem of sexual violence experienced by women, ALB actors are recognized by the government as actors who has expertise in resolving the problem of gender inequality in Indonesia. The form of recognition can be seen when ALB was involved in the formation of the PKS Bill and the formulation of a national strategy for involving men in eliminating violence against women, where the formulation of this strategy was initiated by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and the National Commission on Violence Against Women which implemented annually ALB regularly follow this agenda.

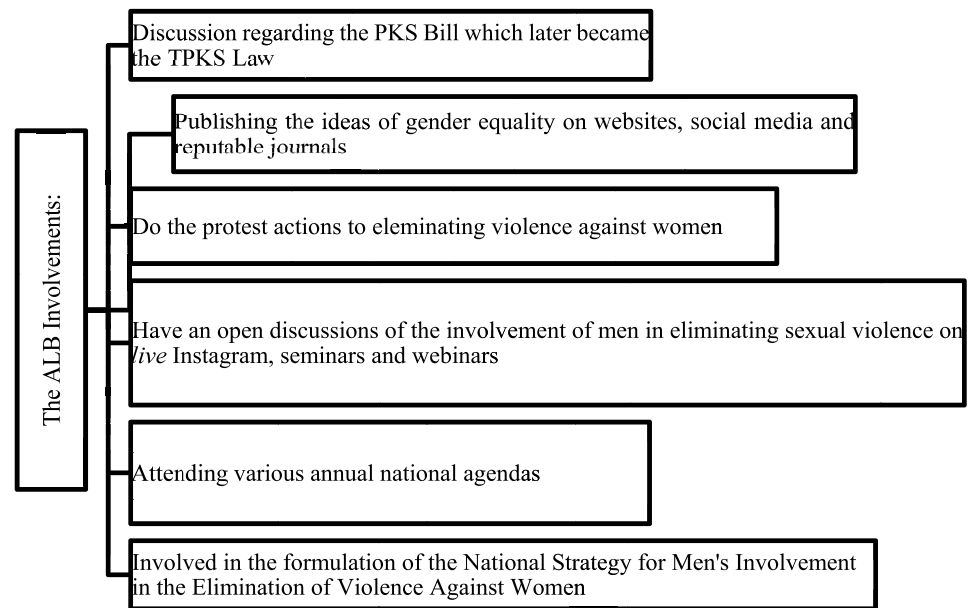
ALB administrators explained that they were regularly invited to discuss the formulation of articles that discussed male behavior that could lead to sexual violence against women. Then ALB also regularly campaigns and holds open discussions regarding the reasons why the PKS Bill must be passed. This open discussion was carried out through webinars, public lectures, and the live Instagram feature.

### **3.7. Do the Protest Actions on the Street**

Another thing that ALB has done as an effort to realize gender equality and justice in Indonesia is carrying out actions such as actions to reject violence against women on roads that are heavily used by pedestrians and vehicles. One of the resistance actions carried out by ALB was seen on December 6, 2013, with the theme Emergency Action for Sexual Violence. The resistance action on the streets was carried out so that the wider community would directly know about the many cases of sexual violence experienced by women, and the perpetrators were men. Through this action, ALB received attention from the public and media.

Another form of ALB involvement is participating in annual national agendas such as the Inspiring Women agenda held by Berita Satu, and participating in attending various other important agendas in which there are discussions regarding the importance of men's involvement in realizing gender equality and justice. There is also a brief overview of what ALB does as part of ALB's involvement in realizing gender justice and equality which can be seen in the following picture:

Widya Fhitri / Jurnal Arbitrer - Vol. 4 No. 1 (2017)



**Figure 1:** The Involvements of ALB in Realizing Gender Equality and Justice in Indonesia.

## 4. Result and Analysis

The data in this research was analyzed using the Spradley analysis model, according to Spradley, analytical data is grouped into domain analysis and taxonomic analysis. Domain analysis is a general analysis that has not been detailed from the general social and cultural picture, while taxonomic analysis is a domain analysis that has been detailed from the domains that have been discovered.(8) Researchers have determined certain domains based on the results of in-depth interviews and document analysis and developed these domains. There is also a form of analysis of this research:

From the description above, it can be seen that the efforts made by ALB to realize gender equality and justice in Indonesia have been successful. The involvement of ALB actors has had a positive impact which can be seen from the influence they have produced, namely the passing of the PKS Bill into the TPKS Law. The involvement of ALB actors in this case cannot be separated from the identity attached to them. According to Suparlan (2004:25), identity is defined as the recognition of an individual or a particular group as being one comprehensive unit that is marked by belonging to or being involved in a particular group or class. A person's joining a certain group or group cannot be separated from the perceived similarities that cannot be separated from the identity itself. Identity here can refer to gender identity, ethnicity, race, profession, like-mindedness, etc. For this reason, the involvement of ALB actors can be discussed through the concept of identity politics. Identity politics is defined as a shared identity or

TABLE 1: The Discourse of Analysis in Research.

No.	Domain	Taxonomy
1.	The Founders of ALB	- Origin organization founder : 1. Rifka Annisa: Nur Hashim And Aditya Putra Kurniawan 2. Women's Journal (Jurnal Perempuan): Syaldie Sahude , Shera Rindra , Mariana Amirudin , and Eko Bambang Subiantoro . 3. Yayasan Pulih : Syafirah Hardani 4. UN Women: Syafirah Hardani 5. National Commission on Woman (Komnas Perempuan) : Mariana Amirudin - The form of involvements founder : Nur Hashim : Coined The Term of The New Men's Alliance Contacted and ask other actors to join in as well as in formation of ALB, Created a blog and ALB Facebook , and Write related ideas with gender issues on the ALB blog Shafirah Hardani : Identified actors in movement women who have capacity and ability special requirements in formation of ALB, Contacted and request other actors to join in as well as in establishment of ALB, and Provided place meeting . Syaldie Sahude : Created, developed, and hold control on the ALB website, and Ensure ALB website security from hacker attacks . Shera Rindra : Created ALB twitter, and ALB social media admin Mariana Amirudin : Connecting between ALB and national commission Woman And movement Woman others in Jakarta Eko Bambang Subiantoro : He gave provides views on the men's feminist movement. Aditya Putra Kuriawan : as a counselor accompanying victims and perpetrators of violence while at Rifka Annisa whose opinions regarding the psychological conditions of perpetrators and victims are widely used to analyze the importance of involving men in this alliance.
2.	Involvement in realize equality And gender justice in Indonesia	The Involvement of Supporting Organizations Rifka Annisa : Do accompaniment to victim even the perpetrator violence , Open counseling for perpetrator even if it 's a victim violence , Do studies about importance involvement man For stop violence to women , and Do it studies about return victim violence to his partner . UN Women Discuss about gender issues in Indonesia such as issue violence to women , practice polygamy , and importance involvement man in solution problem that . Foundation Recover Give accompaniment to victim violence , victims disaster nature , victim conflict multidimensional , etc Journal Woman Discuss about gender issues in Indonesia - Contains activists Woman in fight for equality And gender justice in Indonesia, and Form BEAUTIFUL as movement new members _ man as form involvement man in abolish violence to woman . CANTIK Do series protest about rejection action lots of violence done by man . The Involvements Of ALB Created a Code of Conduct Discussion regarding the then PKS Bill become the TPKS Law Published idea about gender equality websites, social media , and journal reputable Do action rejection violence to Woman Do discussion open about involvement man in abolish cool violence sexual on live Instagram , seminars and webinars Attend various national agendas annual Involved in formulation Strategy National Engagement Man in Removal Violence To Woman
3.	Impact	Impact from ALB involvement 1. There is collaboration between ALB and the women's movement, supporting organizations, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, and the National Commission on Violence Against Women, 2. The number of ALB participants is increasing, 3. ALB received support from various groups. - The result of influence: 1. The PKS Bill has been ratified as the TPKS Law, 2. The strategy for involving men in eliminating violence against women has been formed, 3. Holding annual national agendas such as Inspiring Women, etc

feeling of 'we-ness' which is the main basis for the glue of group collectivity. Identity is politicized through extreme interpretations, which aim to gain support from people who feel 'the same', whether in terms of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, or other adhesive elements. Identity politics is drawing clear lines to determine who will be included and

who will be rejected. Because these lines of determination appear to be unchangeable, the status as a non-member immediately appears to be permanent. (9) (10)

From what has been discussed previously, it can be seen that the actors involved in the formation of the New Men's Alliance had previously determined who they thought had similar thoughts and who they could invite to form and join this social movement. They also have the idea that not everyone will be able to accept their organization because the discussions and goals they want to achieve with this organization have been widely discussed by women's organizations. Apart from that, the creation of a code of conduct that contains the organization's code of ethics that must be adhered to also reflects the identity politics they have created, namely from this code of ethics they can determine who they can invite and accept and who they cannot invite or accept. reject. The code of conduct states that all administrators, members, and founders of ALB must not commit violence in any form, whether domestic violence or sexual violence. If they violate this, they will be immediately removed from the management or membership and will be deemed to have never contributed to the ALB.

## 5. Conclusion

There are many forms of involvement carried out by ALB to realize gender equality and justice in Indonesia through the goals of the organization they formed. The form of ALB involvement in this case is through actor involvement, involvement of supporting organizations, and ALB involvement in a network. ALB's goal of realizing gender equality and justice in Indonesia has produced several results such as the passing of the PKS Bill into the TPKS Law, ALB has many supporters and participants, and ALB is directly recognized as a strategist by the government and is included in formulating a national strategy for involving men in eliminating violence against women.

## Biography

**Maihasni**, A Lecturer of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Andalas University. Currently teaching in the Undergraduate and Postgraduate Programs in the same Department. Graduated with a Bachelor of Sociology at Andalas University in 1993, M. Si in Sociology at Padjajaran University, and received a Doctorate in Rural Sociology from the Bogor Agricultural Institute. Focus on Family and gender studies. Works produced: *Minangkabau Women's Role Conflict Solution* (2019); *The Map of Gender-Based Social Movement to Realizing Gender Equality and Justice in*

Indonesia (2021); Social Practice of sexual violence in Society (case study in Padang City (2022).

**Ghina Reftantia**, An alumna of the master's degree in sociology at Andalas University who graduates in 2022.

**Jendrius**, A Lecturer of the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Andalas University. Teaching in the undergraduate and postgraduate programs in the Department of Sociology and Politics. Currently as chairman of the Master of Sociology Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Andalas University. Focus of study on Gender. Works produced: Gender Equality in the Media Industry: Study of Vertical Mobility of female workers' Careers in Riau Television (2019); Patterns of Gender Relations and community resilience, a Study of Gender and UMKM in Kecamatan Tanjung Mutiara, Kabupaten Agam (2020); Gender Mainstreaming in Post-disaster reconstruction in Minangkabau (2023).

## References

- [1] Hasyim N. Berbagi Kehidupan Dengan Perempuan: Membaca Gerakan Laki-Laki Pro-Perempuan di Indonesia. *Jurnal Analisis Sosial*; 2008. pp. 78–9.
- [2] Hasyim N. How far can men go? A study of the men's movement to end violence against women in Indonesia. 2014; Available from: <http://ro.uow.edu.au/theses/4414>
- [3] Maddison S. Private Men, Public Anger: The Men's Rights Movement in Australia. *J Interdiscip Gender Stud*. 1999;4(2):39–51.
- [4] Messner MA. The Limits of "The Male Sex Role": An Analysis of the Men's Liberation and Men's Rights Movements' Discourse. *Ann Am Acad Pol Soc Sci*. 1986;503(1):122–36.
- [5] Flood M, Gardiner K. Judith, Bob, Pease, Pringle K. *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*. 1 st. New York: Routledge; 2007. 418–422 p.
- [6] Hasyim N. Laki-Laki Sebagai Sekutu Gerakan Perempuan. *Sawwa*. 2016;12:79–90. <https://doi.org/10.21580/sa.v12i1.1469>.
- [7] Sugiyono. *Metode Penelitian Kuantitatif, Kualitatif, dan R&D*. Bandung: Alfabeta; 2014. 240 pp.
- [8] Afrizal. *Metode Penelitian Kualitatif*. Jakarta: Raja Grafindo Persada; 2014. 13 pp.
- [9] Haboddin M. Menguatnya Politik Identitas Di Ranah Lokal. *J Gov Polit*. 2012;3(1):109–26.
- [10] Abdullah A. Membaca Komunikasi Politik Gerakan Aksi Bela Islam 212: Antara Politik Identitas Dan Ijtihad Politik Alternatif [Reading the Political Communication of the

Islamic Defense Action Movement 212: Between Identity Politics and A. An-Nida J  
Pemikir Islam. 2017;41(2):202–12.