



Recovery of Women Survivors of Online Gender-Based Violence (Case Studies Maintaining Their Livelihood)

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Abstrak

Artikel ini bertujuan untuk menggali proses pemulihan dua perempuan penyintas kekerasan berbasis gender siber (KBGS) dan upaya-upayanya dalam mempertahankan penghidupannya. Artikel ini mengungkap kelindan kekerasan yang dialami penyintas dengan ruang-ruang kehidupannya serta strategi penghidupan yang dilakukan. Metode yang digunakan adalah kualitatif perspektif feminis dengan teknik pengumpulan data dilakukan dengan wawancara mendalam melalui daring. Data kemudian dianalisis dengan menggunakan kerangka Space, Time, and Violence (STV) oleh Elias dan Rai, yang melihat ketidaksetaraan dalam kehidupan perempuan berdasarkan 3 aspek, yakni ruang, waktu, dan kekerasan. Hasil penelitian menunjukkan dua temuan utama: pertama, kekerasan berbasis gender siber (KBGS) yang dialami berkelindan dengan peran dan ruang hidup perempuan. Perempuan mendapatkan dampak ekonomi, psikis, penyalahan (victim blaming) dan stigma negatif dari lingkungan. Kedua, perempuan penyintas mengupayakan berbagai strategi koping yang berbeda-beda untuk bertahan maupun pulih, seperti membatasi akses komunikasi, melakukan upaya teknis, hingga melapor pada pihak berwenang. Sayangnya, negara tidak menjamin pemulihan penyintas KBGS, sehingga ada kerugian dan biaya yang harus ditanggung oleh penyintas itu sendiri.

Keywords

Online gender-
based violence;
recovery process;
women's
livelihood;
feminist political
economy

Abstract

This article aims to explore the recovery process of two women survivors of online gender-based violence and their efforts to maintain their livelihoods. This article shows the bondage of violence with the spaces in survivors lives and the livelihood strategies they employ. The method used is a qualitative feminist perspective with data collection techniques carried out by in-depth interviews via online. The data were then analyzed using the Sphere, Time, and Violence (STV) framework by Elias and Rai, which explains deeper about the inequality women experienced in their lives based on 3 aspects; space, time, and violence. The results of the study show two main findings: first, online gender-based violence experienced by women is intertwined with women's roles and living spaces. Women got economic and psychological impacts along with victim blaming and negative stigma from the environment. Second, women survivors seek different coping strategies to survive and recover. Both of the subjects limit their access to communication, carry out technical efforts, and report the case they experienced to the authorities. Unfortunately, the state does not guarantee the recovery of online gender-based violence victims, so there are losses and costs that must be borne by the survivors themselves.

Introduction

United Nations (1993) defines online gender-based violence as acts, threats, arbitrary deprivation of liberty that occur in public or in private life that result in physical, sexual or psychological misery or suffering. Furthermore, Online Gender-Based Violence or *Kekerasan Berbasis Gender Siber* (KBGS) is gender-

based violence that occurs in cyberspace/online and is facilitated by technology. There are at least five forms of technology-facilitated sexual violence or gender-based violence. There are cyber sexual harassment, gender-based and cyber sexual harassment, cyber stalking, image-based sexual exploitation (spreading intimate non-consensual content), and using cyber services to carry out sexual attacks or forcing unwanted sexual (1).

According to data recorded by *Komnas Perempuan* in 2019, there were 125 cases of cyber violence in 2018 with the highest number of cases spreading non-consensual intimate content with a percentage of 33%. Meanwhile, at the end of 2021 in *Komnas Perempuan*'s Notes, there was a spike in cases of Online Gender-Based Violence, which originally reported 241 cases in 2019. In 2020 the cases increased to 940 cases. Even though the number of cases is relatively high, *KBGS* cases do not yet have a specific legal basis. Cases of *KBGS* are often handled by the *ITE Law*, the *Pornography Law*, and the Criminal Code which do not use the victim's perspective, but instead criminalize the victim. This situation then has an impact on people's perceptions where people view the victims as guilty, judged, and even objectified.

Survivors of violence often live in a society that does not have a victim's perspective [2]. It is said by 12 female survivors who are interviewed, that they experienced social stigma where they are blamed for the violence and rape that they experienced are considered immoral, even by their own family and those closest to them (2). Even when women decide to leave unhealthy and violent relationships, women are often blamed for not accepting their partner and being impatient in dealing with the situation they are in (3). The judgment from society in the form of objectification and victim blaming has a negative impact on the psychological health of survivors which then makes it difficult for survivors to recover and maintain their livelihoods. Previous research has revealed that, because gender-based violence is often normalized in society, survivors will struggle more to recognize, to escape from the perpetrator/situation of violence, to seek help, or to recover from violence (4). Women may feel incompetent, inferior, ashamed, guilty and afraid of being judged by others (5–7).

Some of the symptoms of mental problems experienced by *KBGS* survivors are post-traumatic stress disorder (PTSD), excessive anxiety, depression, feelings of uncertainty, and suicidal thought (8–10). Finally, there are two challenges for victims. They are challenges in managing post-traumatic symptoms and coping with daily demands, as well as dealing with everyday life environments [5]. The impact that is felt by victims of *KBGS* requires certain follow-up which requires a lot of money, such as to pay for treatment and other health facilities, as well as costs for losses that must be incurred due to being no longer productive in carrying out daily activities (11). To recover and maintain their livelihood, women victims of *KBGS* also need a support system, both formal; legal follow-up, health and informal facilities; family, friends, and support groups (6). Previous research has proven that a good support system will help the recovery process for women victims of gender-based violence (12).

Unfortunately, in Indonesia, this support is not provided by the government. For cases of domestic violence (KDRT), there are facilities and guarantees for recovery support in Government Regulation of the Republic of Indonesia Number 4 of 2006 concerning Implementation and Cooperation in the Recovery of Victims, but the type of cyber gender-based violence has not been officially recorded in government regulations. In the end, the large amount of money has to come from the survivor's personal sources of funds. Not only do they get psychological impacts due to the trauma of violence, but also being bullied and blamed, survivors also get financial impacts to maintain their livelihoods and recover. Furthermore, the difficulty for victims or survivors to function optimally at work can also be detrimental to the institution from where they work.

It needs to have a serious response from various parties to support the recovery process for survivors of violence, which is a multilevel action that requires the involvement of various parties, such as the government, community, workplace, family and individuals in developing a society with zero tolerance for all forms of violence (3). Community and family interventions are also necessary to build an environment responsive to the needs of survivors, and to provide a greater level of support to victims after violence has occurred (2). The roles and support of the environment, which in this case is family, friends and the community, is important in the recovery process for *KBGS* survivors (3). Survivors will feel safer and stronger when they have a strong support system [8]. This is referred to as a form of positive coping strategy. Such social networks will provide vital emotional support and can be the main link to formal services, such as health services and legal aid (2). It means that the recovery of *KBGS* survivors is the responsibility of all, including the state and society.

This research will explore the livelihoods of *KBGS* survivors and the recovery process they experience by looking at various elements, such as gender aspects, contexts and types of violence, the role of support systems, and the survivors' backgrounds both individually and socially. We will focus on observing the survivors' recovery process by paying attention to their efforts as individuals in carrying out their livelihood strategies within the framework of Space, Time, and Violence (13). The STV framework shows that women's space, time, and violence are intertwined and perpetuate layered violence that occurs in

women's lives. Space and time are forms of capitalist control, gender norms and sexuality which then could harm women (13). Thus, this research will try to answer the main question: How do female survivors experience cyber gender-based violence (KBGS) and maintain their survival? and the problems are: How does the KBGS experienced by the survivors intertwine with the survivors' living spheres?, What strategy does KBGS survivors have to maintain their livelihoods during the recovery process?

Methods

This research is qualitative research that will use in-depth interview data collection methods with two female survivors of KBGS with an age range of 18-30 years who live in urban areas in Indonesia. Due to limited circumstances due to the spread of COVID-19 during the interview process, the interview was conducted online using the *WhatsApp* application. The interview results were then transcribed verbatim and the data obtained was codified for later analysis using the Sphere, Time, and Violence (STV) framework by Elias and Rai (2019).

Results

The Linkage of Cyber Gender-Based Violence with Women's Roles and Living Spheres

The two subjects, T and S, both admitted that the cyber-gender-based violence they experienced was intertwined with their life situations so that they had to face various problems, specifically in the economic, health and social aspects. T and S received multiple layers of violence, not only from the perpetrators, but also from T and S living space which failed to become a safe space for both of them. The country that should be "an umbrella" for T and S to take shelter in, does not contribute anything to the process of "T" and "S" maintaining their lives.

KBGS is too, Economic Violence

T case, T admitted that she had suffered material losses of more than 4 million rupiah where the perpetrator had borrowed T money and when he was billed, the perpetrator threatened to reveal T intimate content. "T" mentioned in more detail as follows: *"I forgot the whole story, but he already had more than 4 million of my materials, because at that time, he asked for a watch and money, I gave it, I was willing to give it all. Watches for 2 million, that much cash. Now the money is not there yet, it has not been returned at all, until this moment there is not even a penny."*

While "T" suffered material losses when the perpetrator borrowed money and asked "T" to buy a watch, "S" also suffered material losses when the perpetrator did not pay "S"'s wages for 5 months. It should be noted that "S" has been in a dating relationship with the perpetrator since 2017. During that time, "S" had worked in a different office from the perpetrator, but in 2018, "S" and the perpetrator decided to build a joint office and work together. At first, the relationship was still fine. The romantic and professional relationships that exist are quite equal for "S". The relationship began to change since "S" decided to stop working to focus on the office she and the perpetrator built. The perpetrator began to control "S"'s daily life, forbade "S" to meet certain friends and participate in certain activities, and control "S" in many ways. We also found controlling behavior in "T"'s perpetrator. For about 5 months working together, "S" was never paid her wages. This prevented her from paying for her children's tuition, who were financially dependent on her. "S" said: *"Then I said this to my friend, so the true incident was, my salary hasn't been paid for 5 months, then I said to him 'okay, just pay it for 1 month because I have to pay my child's school fees,'"*

In addition to the matter of wages not being paid, "S" also said that she was forcibly terminated by her new office because of the actions of the perpetrators. After "S" decided to leave her relationship with the perpetrator, "S" also decided to quit the office she built with the perpetrator. Not long after that, "S" got a new job. After only three weeks of work, "S" was called by the office's HRD and asked to quit, because HRD received an e-mail containing a prescription from "S"'s personal psychiatrist along with "S"'s counseling schedule with the psychiatrist. "S" said: *"Then I got a new job, right? It was only 3 weeks. Then, I was called by HR, they sent me an email, that's my result... um... what's that... My medication receipt for that time when I went to the psychiatrist, basically my schedule, proof that I have a mental illness, you know. Then I was told... to resign..."*

"S" was forced to quit her job and she did not have a job for about a year. During that one year, "S" only worked as a freelancer, working on various projects, but she admitted that it was an uncertain moment with uncertain income, because her mental condition had worsened during the violence. According to "S", such conditions were very difficult for her, because she loses her productivity and mood in doing work. "S" said: *"It's really difficult, especially since I still have frequent relapses. There are ongoing projects but I can't do them because of depression. Actually, if I said that it was enough, it wasn't, since I wasn't that enthusiast in working on the projects, so there were a lot of works abandoned. Again because of my depression."*

The violence that "S" and "T" experienced is intertwined with their life situations. In the case

experienced by “S”, being accepted to work in a new office does not necessarily make “S” free from the economic violence she has experienced. She was forced to quit and did not have any income to support her child and her mother, because her new workplace did not understand the violent situation that “S” was experiencing.

“We’re scared that everyone knows, we’re scared he is still there...” Another aspect is the health aspect. Both “T” and “S” felt scared and paranoid during and after the violence occurred. This is closely related to the technological context of cyber gender-based violence (KBGS) in which technology-facilitated violence has a wide and unlimited range of violence due to the nature of the technology itself.

The violence experienced by “T”, for example, even though the Instagram account is in private mode, as long as the Instagram account is accessed by the perpetrator, the perpetrator can do anything to her Instagram account. It also relates to the intimate photos of “T” which are still in the hands of the perpetrator. “T” was so scared. She was afraid that her parents, family, current boyfriend, and friends would find out. She was also afraid that it would become digital footprints of her on the internet that could defame his name. “T” said: *“I’m especially scared that my parents will know. Scared that it’s like even my neighbors know... From his friend, the neighbor tells my parents... That’s what I’m most scared of first. Second, I’m scared of seeing friends. I’m scared that later we will meet a friend on the street, uh, his friends already know about the photo. The third one... hmm... afraid of digital footprints, afraid of my digital footprints anyway. Then the last one is that, [I] have a boyfriend now, I’m afraid that my new boyfriend will find out what my past was like.”*

Not being much different from “T”, “S” also felt the same way. However, due to the different types of violence, where “T” had to do with sexuality and “S” had to do with personal information, “S” did not mention that she was afraid that her friends or loved ones would know. What “S” is more afraid of is the presence of the perpetrator in her life. Moreover, with her health background where “S” has a mental illness, she admits that the violence she experienced has worsened her mental condition. The violence she experienced made her run into negative things. “S” said that when the violence occurred, she tried to overcome it by drinking alcohol, hurting herself, and even attempted suicide. She also felt scared and paranoid whenever she heard the name of the perpetrator, was attacked by a feeling of panic when she knew that there were perpetrators around her. One of the effects of the violence is also that she limited herself in making friends on social media, because she was often afraid of many fake social media accounts. “S” explained it as follows: *“So, I would not dare to say his name. Yeah, I’ve become really paranoid, right? I’m scared of anything, scared of going anywhere, scared of going to this and that event, I’m scared of doing everything... The only thing I’m still afraid of is if I have social media, then he looks at my social media, he stalks, views, then so he knows where and what I’m doing. That’s still.. Yes, even now I’m still really scared. So, I’m very selective about who I follow and who follows me.”*

Stigmatized negatively by society

The next aspect that is also significant in “T” and “S”’s life is the social aspect. Similar to health and economic aspects, “T” and “S” receive more or less the same response from the people around them who know about the violence they experienced. In the context of “S”’s case, “S” receives a very negative response. Plus, the perpetrator is a figure who is quite popular in the circle of friends of “S” and the perpetrator. The perpetrator is also trusted by many people. Even though there are also people closest to “S” who support and help “S” in her recovery process, “S” admits that many people actually stay away from her, she says: *“It’s like people all seem to stay away from me like that, his name is close to “S” [who is] causing [a] trouble.”*

“S” is actually considered a strange one and the one who causes problems for those around her. Not only that, “S” also admits that there are friends who actually blame her by saying *“yeah, [you should’ve] been careful”, “you have already known that a typical guy like that will definitely hurt you, and you still want him”*. Regarding her family, “S” also shares how the violence she experienced makes her far away from her family, especially with her child. It became difficult for her to play with her child, because she felt mentally unwell. However, “S” admits that her mother is also a figure who provides enough support, especially when the perpetrator attacks “S” directly. The mother comes forward to speak with the perpetrator directly to defend “S”. Even so, in terms of health recovery, the mother is not very supportive. “S” said her mother does not really believe in mental health. When experiencing depression, anxiety, or matters related to mental conditions, her mother always advises “S” to draw closer to God, worship, and be patient.

“T”, on the other hand, only tells us the response from one person, namely her ex-boyfriend (not the perpetrator). After the photos go viral, “T” stays away from her friends who already knew. She admits that she immediately blocks all contacts of her friends who know [the photo] or everyone who followed the Instagram account that shared her intimate photos. However, before “T” could block contact with her ex-boyfriend, he has already contacted “T”. “T” tells: *“So, he seemed surprised. He said, “Dek, is this you?” he said. Then I didn’t reply because I was already shaking right, I didn’t reply. Then he pinged, pinged, pinged me, then he sent another photo. Then he said, “Are you sure this is you, Dek?” He said, “I find it hard to believe,” he said.”*

From “T”’s narrative, her ex-boyfriend does not expect “T” to have intimate photos. This is because

previously "T" has never had a physical relationship like sex with her ex-boyfriend, so her ex-boyfriend is surprised and does not believe that "T" could have intimate photos. "T" also shares that she met her ex-boyfriend and he saw "T" in an unnatural way, from head to toe. There are negative responses from people around the subject related to the violence experienced by the subject. Violence related to sexuality causes the victim to be seen as unnatural [for women], as experienced by "T", viewed with distrust because "T" can do things that are considered unnatural. Then, the violence which does not have sexual elements in it like what "S" experienced, but there is manipulative and slanderous behavior by the perpetrators which made "S" seen as bringing bad luck, so she is shunned and considered to be always in trouble. We do not find a positive response such as providing support to victims in the experience "T" recounted, but we do find it in "S"'s where one of her friends introduced "S" to companions for KBGS victims in one of the KBGS handling collectives in Jakarta.

Both "T"'s and "S"'s experiences, social space, in this case a circle of friends, is not a safe space for "T" and "S". "T" prefers to remain silent and try to be alone when the violence occurred but still receives bad responses from her ex-boyfriend, while "S" receives a bad response, is blamed, and is not trusted by those around her.

Losing trust in law enforcement and the environment

In a larger context, which is state support, "T" admits that she does not want to report her case to the police because she feels that the police would definitely not follow up on her case and instead blame "T" as the victim. "T" says: *"Where do you want to report? After all, if I go to... go to court, it's also the victim who's at fault, right? Then later the police said, 'why did you want [it] too, adek?' (laughs and then pauses for a moment). If you report the case to the police, you will be laughed at by the police, so [I'm] confused about to whom I will report [the case]."*

Like "T", "S" initially has lost her trust in anything related to handling cases of gender-based violence in Indonesia. This is because previously, she had taken legal proceedings for the domestic violence she experienced. The legal process did not side with her and instead positioned "S" as a very vulnerable party. "S" says: *"Then I was asked, what do I need from this institution? Then I said I don't know, I honestly don't know, because I tried everything myself but it didn't work. And before that I have experienced what was my child's case, when I was divorced, [since then] I started to have no trust."*

Even so, "S" still decided to report her case to the institution concerned. She also went through the mentoring and counseling process that was offered. What needs to be underlined in the story told by "S" is the fact that the legal handling of the KBGS case will not give great hope for justice. "S" was asked by her companion whether she wanted to proceed with the case in court or not. "S" also asked back what the percentage of success was, which was then answered "don't get your hopes up yet..." which means that the percentage for KBGS cases involving victims who win in court of law is very small.

This answer prompted "S" not to proceed with the case in law, but accepted the offer of counseling. Initially, "S" was offered to be referred to a counseling institution in Jakarta. After waiting a month, "S" did not receive a satisfactory answer. The counseling institution felt that it had not received any reference letter from the previous institution. When asked again by "S", the previous institution also did not provide a clear explanation regarding the reference letter and reference date. "S" also decided to come directly to the counseling agency and got the same answer as the one on the phone. Feeling that she had already arrived, "S" decided to do counseling, but was charged a fee of Rp. 220,000. - "S" said:

"Then yes, because I'm already there, I want to meet the psychologist, then they say, but the counseling fee is 220,000. Then after that it was okay, then I met the psychologist, That's all. It's just like what the heck... yeah like... it doesn't have any effect on me..."

We tried to ensure whether there had been any further communication from the previous agency and "S" replied that there had been none until now. The assistance that "S" went through with the collective was indeed free of charge, but she also had to pay for the time she went through to go to previous institutions, counseling institutions, and collectives without getting any benefit. This means that "S" still has to carry out other efforts herself to stop the violence that has occurred and must continue to have difficulties in maintaining her livelihood as a mother and also as a child who takes care of her mother.

Livelihood Strategy for Women Survivors of KBGS

Talking about the livelihood strategies of female survivors of KBGS, we try to focus on what steps the victims took to overcome the problems that occurred. Based on interviews conducted with both subjects, we can see one thing in common in the subjects, away from the circle of friends. "T" stayed away from friends who already knew her by blocking all access to social media and contacts, while "S" admitted that she stayed away from her friends, kept herself isolated, mostly at home, and didn't share anything with her friends.

Apart from moving away from the circle of friends, the discourse related to how the subject deals with violence that occurs also includes technical efforts, decisions to follow up cases legally, ways to deal with

health impacts, and sources of livelihood. It should be noted that “S” and “T” had different situations and backgrounds in life when the violence occurred. “S” is a single mother of a child and lives with her mother. She supports herself, her children and her mother. Meanwhile, “T” is a student who lives with her parents and does not have any dependents where she is supported by her parents.

Various challenges and attempts to survive

In the end, “S”'s experience became more complex. “S” said that she needed to rack her brains when she lost her job for the second time during the violence. She arranged the bills that needed to be paid first which were more important, took another job, and used her savings. To prevent the violence from escalating, “S” also made technical efforts, such as changing her number and deleting all of her social media and e-mails. The efforts made by “S” were considered successful, even though it took quite a long time, but it can be concluded that the threats and terror carried out by the perpetrators stopped since “S” really made sure that the perpetrators did not have any access to reach “S”. “S” admitted that she changed her e-mail address many times, deleted all social media, so she didn't have social media at all at that time, and changed her number. “S” says: *“If it's finished, that's why I'm taking preventive actions, I'm deleting emails and other things so he can't contact me anymore. And... I can only hope that he gets tired of doing that all the time, can only hope that he has other activities, that's all”*

Another effort that “S” did, was related to her health. “S” decided to follow the offer from one of the KBGS complaint agencies in Indonesia to refer her case to a counseling agency. “S” also underwent a counseling process with the institution's psychologist in one meeting, but concluded that the process she did had no effect on her. “S” also underwent counseling with her personal psychiatrist. She was given medicine and underwent several therapies for victims of violence, but it still had no effect on her. “S” says: *“I went to a psychiatrist, then I told stories, then I got medicine, then I got therapy. But also, in my opinion, the therapy is not that useful, right hehe. From yesterday the therapy failed completely haha. The medicine doesn't have any effect either.”*

From the beginning of talking about “S”'s experience, “S” often said that she actually just wanted to live in peace and not be bothered by the perpetrators anymore. To achieve this, “S” had tried to report it to the police's cyber-crime department, but ended with the response *“yes, at least it's someone close to you, just trace it yourself”* which means the police didn't want to follow up on the case that happened to “S”. “S”, who at first had no intention of following up and reporting to any institution, finally gave in after being persuaded by her friend to report to a collective that was quite concerned about the KBGS issue. Through this agency, “S” was referred to the KBGS reporting agency and counseling agency, but all of these efforts yielded no results.

No action was taken to stop the perpetrators, but “S” received help from a support system from knowing the people in the collective. By getting to know them, “S” admits that she can finally trust people again and has the courage to open up again. “S” tells: *“Finally, in 2019, I was brave like one time I was invited to the collective to meet new people. Then they calm me down. There are people who still believe in you... I believe I have a good support system now, so I don't feel easy to manipulate anymore.”*

Feeling afraid and limiting access to communication

In contrast to “S”, “T” is a student whose financial needs are borne by her family, so the financial source of livelihood during the violence does not become an obstacle in “T”'s story. “T” said that when she found out that her intimate photos were taken, “T” immediately contacted the perpetrator, who then replied by blocking the contact. Not receiving an explanation from the perpetrator, “T” also tried to contact the perpetrator through the perpetrator's Instagram account on her personal cell phone. However, she also received no answer. “T” also changed the password from the perpetrator's Instagram account, which she said was in return for the perpetrator who had spread her intimate photos. However, this step was not successful where the perpetrator was able to return his Instagram account back.

To overcome her embarrassment and fear that the photo would be spread more widely, “T” blocked all contacts and social media of her friends who knew about her intimate photos being shared. “T” says: *“So, this is a problem for me, and if the people who know contact me and ask about the problem... I'll be starting to shake. I immediately blocked them, I thought about how my pride would end up... it's already safe like that. At any rate, everyone knows that will get blocked. The most important thing for me now is that I feel safe.”*

Regarding efforts to overcome the health and economic impacts experienced by “T”, “T” did not say much. She only stated that the money borrowed by the perpetrator had not been returned to this day, and she did not want to charge it to the perpetrator, for fear of being threatened by using these intimate photos of her.

Discussion

Sphere within the STV framework is not only a physical location, but also social gender practices that occur throughout and within the space itself (13). In the context of the case of "T" and "S" as victims of cyber gender-based violence (KBGS), these spheres include "S"'s work sphere, friendship or social sphere, virtual sphere (technology and internet), and sphere for assistance institutions. In these spheres an unequal gender relationship was created which then put "S" and "T" in an insecure position as victims of KBGS. There are two work spheres for "S", namely the office built by "S" and the perpetrator and "S"'s new office after leaving the office with the perpetrator. In an office that they built together; the perpetrator has a higher position than "S" in terms of managing finances. The gender relations that are created are unequal, so that "S" does not have the power to defend her economic rights. Then, at the next office, "S" was forcibly terminated after several weeks of work because the office was aware of "S"'s mental health records that were spread by the perpetrator. "S"'s work sphere is not a safe place for "S", because she does not understand "S" as a woman with multiple roles and a victim of violence.

Then in the social or friendship sphere, "T" and "S" both experience layered violence. "T" and "S" do not get a good informal support system (6) from their family, friends and environment. "T" is looked down upon by her ex-boyfriend and her intimate photos are made the main issue rather than asking who the perpetrators behind it. Meanwhile, most of her friends do not trust "S", she is shunned because she is seen as a troublemaker, and is blamed for wanting to date the perpetrator. Likewise in the internet space, with an unlimited reach and time, the internet space is a disadvantageous space in the case of the distribution of photos and personal data experienced by "T" and "S". In the end, what used to be a space for pleasant interactions for both of them has become a space that threatens the lives of both. This is consistent with the results of previous research where technology is seen as not gender neutral. Both features, social networking sites, and other aspects of communication technology blur the boundaries of privacy and facilitate the objectification of women through the creation, exchange, collection, ranking, and display of images (14,15). The digital space contains a misogynistic and patriarchal culture that harms women in every way, especially sexuality (16,17).

From the aspect of the time frame, we can conclude that both "T" and "S" spend quite a bit of time going through their recovery process. Especially "S" which has an impact on her productivity as a mother and worker. So when "S" has to spend time looking for protection, she is also interrupted when she receives threatening messages from the perpetrator, and looks for ways to block contacts so that the perpetrator would not contact her again. In addition, the time aspect can also be seen as an unlimited aspect in cases of cyber gender-based violence that has an impact on the victim's psychological health, such as excessive anxiety, depression, and paranoia/fear [8,9,10]. In accordance with previous research, the cyber gender-based violence experienced by "S" and "T" also had an impact on their psychological health. "S" and "T" admitted that they felt paranoid, overly anxious, and afraid of the presence of the perpetrator.

In terms of the framework of violence, we can see how the state does not have a significant role in protecting women victims of violence with the various roles it assumes. So far, classical economics has not looked at the role of women in running the economy, where there are some women who work, carry out their biological reproductive role, and at the same time carry out their social reproductive role [13]. "S"'s role as a woman who is a single mother with a child, has to pay for the child and her mother, and at the same time also has to take care of her child, and also as a worker, is not seen by the state as an important role in running the economy. This can be seen in the absence of any compensation provided by the state for "S" as a victim of cyber gender-based violence (KBGS). The psychologist assistance institution, which is originally a permanent reference, set certain fees for "S", so that "S" has to pay at her own expense. When reporting to the authorities, the police refuse to follow up on "S"'s case because they thought that "S" could solve it herself. "T", on the other hand, has lost her trust in the state, because she believes that law enforcers will not use the victim's perspective and will not follow her case up.

From the explanation above, we can see that Indonesian regulations are still not friendly to women who experience violence. Indonesia is a country that has not used a feminist perspective in discussing its political economy.

Conclusion

Women who experience cyber gender-based violence (KBGS) will feel a negative impact on their psychological health. Women who are victims of KBGS will feel excessive fear, anxiety, and depression. The violence that occurs is intertwined with life and the spaces in it. Workspaces, social spaces, internet spaces, and spaces for facilitation institutions (state) are still spaces that are not safe for women who are victims of KBGS. These spaces still perpetuate unequal gender relations, so that women are disadvantaged and feel layered violence. The layered violence in question is that the violence felt by women victims is many times over, namely violence from the perpetrators and then violence from these spaces.

In the internet space, the context of space and time in the STV framework discussed by Elias and Rai can also be discussed where the internet is something that is not limited by space and time, so that violence has a much greater possibility of keep occurring without time and space limitation. Elias and Rai

(2019) for example, discuss the relationship between the concepts of space and time with examples of women's mobility from work and home which has the potential for violence to occur in that space and time. In the context of cyber gender-based violence that occurs in everyday life, violence occurs without any limitations in space and time. At any time, the perpetrator can commit violence, such as hacking, like what "S" experienced, or spreading non-consensual intimate content, like "T" experienced.

In terms of livelihood strategy, both of them do everything possible to be able to maintain their livelihoods in the recovery process. "S" is a mother who has dependents for children and her mother does a lot of efforts to recover and maintain her livelihood, starting from technical, financial, and health recovery efforts. While "T", with her background as a student who has no dependents, she does more technical efforts.

In the end, women have not yet received an equal position in the spaces of everyday life. Until now, there are no laws and regulations that can fairly handle cases of gender-based violence, let alone talking about cyber-gender-based violence whose violence is facilitated by technology. Violence that occurs directly, such as domestic violence, is sometimes difficult to follow up on and obtain compensation from employers and the state. The state needs to have laws or policies regarding guarantees for women who experience violence, especially cyber gender-based violence. Preventive efforts also need to be carried out, for example by conducting education regarding cyber gender-based violence, mental health, access, and real action after the violence occurred, so that women can be more protected from cyber gender-based violence and victims can easily get a good support system for the recovery process. When the state helps and guarantees access to health for victims of KBGS recovery, it will be easy for victims to regain their productivity which will surely affect the country's economy well.

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