

HASHTAG FEMINISM AND DIGITAL SOCIETY: COMMUNICATION STRATEGIES IN CONTEMPORARY GENDER MAINSTREAMING

Achmad Kanzulfikar ¹ Reza Nawafella Alya Parangu ²

¹ Ilmu Komunikasi, Universitas Sultan Ageng Tirtayasa

² Ilmu Perpustakaan dan Informasi Islam, UIN Raden Intan Lampung

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Abstract

Contemporary feminism is marked by the emergence of hashtag activism as an effective communication strategy in advancing gender equality. This phenomenon constitutes a central element of fourth-wave feminism, which is characterized by the utilization of social media to highlight issues of injustice, sexual violence, and women's representation in the public sphere. This article examines the role of hashtag feminism in shaping digital communication strategies that can effectively advance gender mainstreaming in digital society. Drawing upon a literature review, critical discourse analysis, and a comparative study of global campaigns such as #MeToo alongside local initiatives in Asia, the article underscores how hashtags serve to foster solidarity, transform personal narratives into public agendas, and challenge patriarchal power structures. The findings indicate that, despite critiques of slacktivism and the limitations of algorithmic systems, hashtag feminism remains a vital instrument for enhancing gender literacy, expanding public participation, and promoting policies more responsive to gender equality. It can be concluded that digital communication strategies must be integrated with policy frameworks and literacy education to ensure that gender mainstreaming can be achieved in a more inclusive and sustainable manner.

Feminisme kontemporer ditandai dengan munculnya aktivisme tagar sebagai strategi komunikasi yang efektif dalam memajukan kesetaraan gender. Fenomena ini merupakan elemen sentral dari feminisme gelombang keempat, yang dicirikan oleh pemanfaatan media sosial untuk menyoroti isu-isu ketidakadilan, kekerasan seksual, dan representasi perempuan di ruang publik. Artikel ini mengkaji peran feminisme tagar dalam membentuk strategi komunikasi digital yang dapat secara efektif memajukan pengarusutamaan gender dalam masyarakat digital. Berdasarkan tinjauan literatur, analisis wacana kritis, dan studi komparatif kampanye global seperti #MeToo bersama dengan inisiatif lokal di Asia, artikel ini menggarisbawahi bagaimana tagar berfungsi untuk menumbuhkan solidaritas, mengubah narasi pribadi menjadi agenda publik, dan menantang struktur kekuasaan patriarki. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa, terlepas dari kritik terhadap aktivisme pasif dan keterbatasan sistem algoritmik, feminisme tagar tetap menjadi instrumen penting untuk meningkatkan literasi gender, memperluas partisipasi publik, dan mempromosikan kebijakan yang lebih responsif terhadap kesetaraan gender. Dapat disimpulkan bahwa strategi komunikasi digital harus diintegrasikan dengan kerangka kebijakan dan pendidikan literasi untuk memastikan bahwa

Corresponding Author:

Communication Science Program, Sultan Agrng Tirtayasa University

achmad.kanzulfikar@untirta.ac.id

pengarusutamaan gender dapat dicapai dengan cara yang lebih inklusif dan berkelanjutan.

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INTRODUCTION

Contemporary feminism has evolved within an increasingly digitized communication landscape. The fourth wave of feminism no longer relies solely on street demonstrations or print publications, but also utilizes social media as a space for resistance and movement organization (Mendes et al., 2019). One prominent strategy is the emergence of hashtag activism, which allows personal issues to be elevated into global public discourse. Campaigns such as #MeToo, #TimesUp, and #BringBackOurGirls have demonstrated how women's narratives from different parts of the world can converge, fostering transnational solidarity and exerting pressure on patriarchal power structures through digital spaces (Jackson et al., 2020).

The urgency of this study lies in the fact that although hashtag-based campaigns have been widely examined, most existing research continues to focus on Western global contexts, particularly the United States and Europe (Clark-Parsons, 2021). This creates a gap in understanding how hashtag feminism develops in other regions, including Asia, which is shaped by distinct social, cultural, and political dynamics. In fact,

digital campaigns in Asia often face unique challenges, such as limited freedom of expression, algorithmic biases that restrict message reach, and resistance rooted in patriarchal cultural norms (Roces & Edwards, 2010). Therefore, this study seeks to fill this gap by highlighting how hashtag feminism functions as part of digital communication strategies that promote gender mainstreaming within digital societies, both in global and local contexts.

In addition, empirical evidence shows that global campaigns such as #MeToo are not always effectively translated into local contexts. For instance, in several Asian countries, the campaign has faced criticism for being perceived as overly centered on the experiences of middle-class Western women, thereby limiting its relevance to the lived experiences of women in the Global South (Xiong et al., 2019). However, local adaptations have also emerged, such as #MosqueMeToo in the Middle East and South Asia, which provide space for Muslim women to speak out about the sexual harassment they have experienced in places of worship (Murtza & Murtaza, 2023). This fact indicates that hashtag feminism functions not only as a means of

communication but also as an arena for negotiating identities, values, and cross-cultural experiences.

Furthermore, although hashtag activism is often praised as a form of communication democratization, it has also faced considerable criticism for being a form of slacktivism—shallow and unsustainable activism (Clark-Parsons, 2021). This criticism serves as a reminder that digital solidarity does not always lead to structural change. However, in practice, hashtag campaigns have succeeded in driving policy changes in several countries, such as the adoption of stricter anti-harassment policies in workplaces following the widespread impact of #MeToo (Mendes et al., 2018). This highlights the significant potential of hashtag feminism to bridge gender literacy with policy advocacy.

Gender mainstreaming itself has been internationally recognized since the Beijing Declaration (1995) as a key strategy for achieving gender equality through the integration of gender perspectives into public policy, education, and culture (United Nations, 1995). In the Asian region, this framework has been further reinforced

through regional initiatives such as the ASEAN Gender Mainstreaming Strategic Framework, which emphasizes the importance of gender mainstreaming in sustainable development and governance (Alami, 2017).

In Indonesia, the implementation of gender mainstreaming is institutionalized through Presidential Instruction of the Republic of Indonesia No. 9 of 2000 on Gender Mainstreaming in National Development, which serves as the foundation for integrating gender perspectives across all sectors of development, including education, health, and governance (Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak, 2020). Nevertheless, its implementation in the digital sphere remains relatively new and requires further scholarly examination, particularly regarding the role of digital communication as an instrument of gender mainstreaming in society.

Accordingly, this study is important because it bridges the gap between globally established gender mainstreaming theory and the evolving practices of digital communication in contemporary society. It makes an

academic contribution by offering a new perspective on how hashtag feminism can function not only as a tool for social mobilization but also as a strategic instrument for integrating gender perspectives into public policy, education, and digital culture. Furthermore, the urgency of this research also lies in the need to expand studies of digital feminism beyond Western contexts, thereby producing analyses that are more inclusive and more attuned to the specific dynamics of Asia and Indonesia in particular.

METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative approach with a literature review design and critical discourse analysis (CDA). This approach was chosen because issues such as digital feminism, gender mainstreaming, and hashtag activism are not only related to empirical data but also to the meanings, representations, and communication practices that emerge in digital spaces (Creswell, 2019; Flick, 2018).

A. Research Approach

As stated by Creswell (2019), Qualitative research aims to understand the social meanings constructed through language, symbols, and communication

practices. Accordingly, this study focuses on how hashtags (#MeToo, #TimesUp, #MosqueMeToo, etc.) are produced, circulated, and interpreted within digital communities as part of gender mainstreaming strategies. Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) was chosen because it can reveal power relations, ideologies, and gender representations in digital texts, particularly in discourses that emerge through social media (Fairclough, 2013; Wodak, 2015).

B. Data Collection Techniques

The research data were obtained from two main sources:

1. A literature review of academic sources, including journal articles, books, reports from national and international organizations (e.g., UN Women, ASEAN, Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection), as well as global policy documents such as the Beijing Declaration (1995).
2. Secondary digital data consisting of posts, online news articles, and social media analysis reports related to global and local feminist hashtag campaigns.

The use of credible secondary data in qualitative research is considered valid when the researcher focuses on analyzing meanings, narratives, and representations (Silverman, 2020).

C. Data Analysis Techniques

Data analysis was conducted using Fairclough's Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) model (Fairclough, 2013), which views discourse as a social practice influenced by power relations and ideology. The analysis procedures include:

1. Analisis Text analysis was conducted by identifying keywords, hashtags, and dominant narratives in digital campaigns (content analysis) (Krippendorff, 2018; Schreier, 2012).
2. Analysis of discursive practice was conducted by examining how texts are produced, circulated, and consumed through social media (discourse practice).
3. Analysis of social practice was conducted by assessing how digital feminist discourse interacts with patriarchal power structures, gender literacy, and gender mainstreaming policies.

The analysis was conducted by adopting a thematic analysis technique (Braun &

Clarke, 2006) to identify strategic themes such as personal storytelling, issue framing, algorithmic virality, and cross-movement collaboration. To strengthen the findings, a comparative case study approach was also employed (Yin, 2018) between global campaigns such as #MeToo and local campaigns in Southeast Asia.

D. Data Validity

To maintain credibility, this study employed source triangulation (Denzin, 2012), namely by comparing the results of academic literature analysis with field practice data (global and local hashtag campaigns). Data interpretation was also conducted reflectively to minimize researcher bias.

E. Research Limitations

This study focuses on digital feminist discourse on social media platforms (Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook). The research does not conduct quantitative surveys of users, so the analysis is more interpretative rather than statistically generalizable. Accordingly, this study emphasizes the depth of discourse analysis over the breadth of numerical data.

DISCUSSION

A. Hashtag Feminism As a Digital Solidarity Arena

Discourse analysis shows that hashtags such as #MeToo, #TimesUp, and #YesAllWomen play a crucial role in building cross-national solidarity. Personal narratives of sexual violence, which are usually private, have been successfully brought into the global public sphere (Bailey et al., 2019). Mendes et al. (2019) that these narratives demonstrate how individual experiences become a collective legitimacy for demanding social change. The phenomenon of #MosqueMeToo (Ghafournia, 2024) serving as an example of how digital spaces provide opportunities for Muslim women to speak about issues that were previously considered taboo. This demonstrates the relevance of digital feminism in diverse cultural contexts and reinforces the urgency of gender mainstreaming through digital-based communication strategies.

B. Communication Strategies in Hashtag Feminism

Communication strategies in hashtag feminism exhibit distinctive patterns that differ from conventional campaigns.

Some of the prominent strategies include:

1. **Personal Storytelling Strategy** employs narratives of personal experiences as a central strategy in hashtag-based feminist campaigns. By sharing stories of harassment or discrimination, individuals build a sense of emotional connection, which in turn fosters collective solidarity (Eyre et al., 2020).
2. **Issue Framing Strategy** involves digital activists deliberately using simple, emotional, and memorable language to reach a wide audience. This framing helps transform private issues into public ones, as exemplified by “#MeToo,” which is brief yet powerful in building collective identity (Mendes et al., 2018).
3. **Virality and Algorithmic Strategy** leverages the dynamics of social media algorithms. Activists carefully choose posting times, use visual content, and repeat hashtags to ensure their messages gain greater visibility in users’ feeds (Migotuwio et al., 2025).
4. **Coalition and Collaboration Strategy** refers to the fact that hashtag feminism does not exist in isolation but is connected with other

movements such as #BlackLivesMatter or #HeForShe, thereby creating cross-issue and cross-audience reach. This strategy expands the support base and enhances the legitimacy of the movement (Jackson et al., 2020).

5. **Digital Symbol Strategy** often combines hashtag feminism with visual symbols, such as digital posters, feminist illustrations, or memes. This visual strategy has proven effective in enhancing emotional appeal, particularly among younger generations accustomed to multimodal communication (Mendes et al., 2019).

Thus, communication strategies in hashtag feminism go beyond the mere use of hashtags; they also involve message design, algorithmic management, and integration with other social issues to strengthen public resonance.

C. Gender Mainstreaming Through Digital Communication

Result the study reveals that gender mainstreaming is not only effectively implemented through formal policies but is also significantly influenced by public communication. The HeForShe

campaign popularized by UN Women demonstrates that engagement through digital media can broaden public participation, including men, in supporting gender equality (Carolyn Hannan, 2022). In Indonesia, although formal policies already exist (Presidential Instruction No. 9/2000), public gender literacy remains low (Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, 2020). The presence of digital campaigns serves as a bridge that reinforces the dissemination of equality values in the public sphere while also challenging the still-dominant patriarchal culture.

D. The Role of Hashtag Activism in Shaping Public Narratives

Hashtag activism has been shown to shift issues from the personal sphere to the mainstream media agenda. For example, the #MeToo campaign generated extensive coverage in international media and prompted various institutions to implement new regulations regarding sexual harassment (Fileborn & Loney-Howes, 2019). Similarly, #BlackLivesMatter demonstrates how digital activism can reshape media framing of racism (Jackson et al., 2020).

However, on the other hand, critiques of slacktivism remain relevant. Digital participation is often symbolic, such as merely liking or sharing posts without taking concrete action. Nevertheless, Clark-Parsons (2019) emphasizes that symbolic engagement is still important because it creates safe spaces and strengthens the collective feminist identity in the digital realm.

One important finding is the role of algorithms in determining the visibility of feminist discourse. Noble (2018) highlights how search engine algorithms can reinforce patriarchal biases, while Gillespie (2018) demonstrates how content moderation can remove or limit feminist campaigns. However, adaptive strategies also emerge, as digital activists begin to optimize algorithms through keyword selection, the use of visuals, and leveraging viral moments to expand message reach. This means that although algorithms have the potential to be an obstacle, they can also be strategically utilized in feminist communication.

The final finding is the limitation in the sustainability of digital campaigns. Many hashtag movements go viral briefly but lose momentum once public attention shifts to other issues (Keller & Ringrose,

2022). Therefore, the success of gender mainstreaming through digital spaces must be complemented by systematic gender literacy education, both in schools, universities, and community institutions.

E. Implications of Hashtag Feminism

1. Implications for Digital Society

The phenomenon of hashtag feminism carries several important implications for digital society, in social, cultural, and political contexts. Hashtag feminism helps broaden public understanding of gender equality issues. Personal narratives that go viral through hashtags such as #MeToo or #TimesUp can raise public awareness of forms of injustice that were previously overlooked. This encourages increased gender literacy, particularly among younger generations who are active on social media. Digital spaces enable individuals who were previously marginalized to voice their experiences. Women from diverse social, ethnic, and religious backgrounds can express their experiences without having to rely on mainstream media channels, which are often biased. This expands the democratization of voices in digital public spaces.

For social organizations, educational institutions, and government bodies, hashtag activism can serve as an effective public communication strategy. The use of hashtags can enhance campaign visibility, build solidarity, and accelerate the mobilization of public support. Another implication is the emergence of challenges related to algorithmic mediation and digital ethics. Feminist content can be restricted by platform moderation policies or marginalized by biased search algorithms (Noble, 2018). This highlights the need for digital society to adopt a more critical perspective toward the technological infrastructures they use.

Hashtag feminism forms networks of global solidarity while also enabling local adaptation. Campaigns such as #MosqueMeToo demonstrate that digital communities can combine universal issues with local cultural contexts, thereby strengthening the movement's relevance. Digital society acts as a watchdog capable of pressuring institutions to be more responsive to gender equality issues; public pressure through digital campaigns often leads to policy changes, both at institutional and governmental levels. The long-term

implication of hashtag feminism is the need for sustainability strategies, where digital society is expected not only to be consumers of content but also producers of discourse who consistently advocate for equality. In this way, gender mainstreaming can be more deeply internalized within an inclusive and sustainable digital culture.

2. Practical Implications

In addition to the general implications for digital society, this study also offers several practical implications that can be utilized by various stakeholders (a) For Academics and Researchers : The phenomenon of hashtag feminism opens up space for interdisciplinary studies involving communication studies, gender studies, digital technology, and critical social sciences. Academics can leverage this perspective to enrich theories of fourth-wave feminism and digital gender literacy. In addition, this phenomenon provides opportunities for further empirical research, as gaps still exist regarding how hashtag activism operates in the Global South, including Indonesia. Field research using a digital ethnography approach can deepen the understanding of feminist communication strategies in local contexts. (b) For Government and Policy

Makers : Governments can utilize digital media as a strategic tool to expand gender awareness. For example, by leveraging inclusive digital campaigns, collaborating with influencers, or using official hashtags in equality programs. Governments also need to anticipate algorithmic biases and content moderation that may potentially marginalize women's voices, making policies that ensure equal access in digital spaces essential. Furthermore, integrating gender literacy into school curricula and public training programs will strengthen public awareness in using digital spaces critically and inclusively. (C) **For Civil Society Organizations (CSOs) and Activists :** CSOs can leverage the power of personal storytelling and issue framing to enhance the visibility of equality campaigns; hashtags can serve as a primary communication strategy that is cost-effective, fast, and efficient. Hashtag feminism enables local activists to connect with global movements, and cross-national collaboration expands solidarity while strengthening activists' influence in policy arenas. CSOs also need to ensure that digital campaigns do not end with momentary virality but are followed up with policy advocacy, public

education, and community strengthening at the grassroots level.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that hashtag feminism is one of the most significant phenomena in fourth-wave feminism, highlighting the role of digital spaces as a new arena for gender equality advocacy. Through critical discourse analysis of global campaigns such as #MeToo, #TimesUp, and local adaptations like #MosqueMeToo, it is evident that personal narratives can be transformed into a global public agenda. The communication strategies employed—ranging from personal storytelling, issue framing, algorithmic optimization, to cross-movement collaboration—show that hashtag activism is not merely an individual expression but also a strategic instrument for building solidarity, enhancing gender literacy, and strengthening the gender mainstreaming agenda in digital society.

The analysis also reveals ambivalence in the use of digital media. On one hand, social media algorithms provide significant opportunities to expand the reach of feminist messages, increase

visibility, and strengthen the democratization of voices. On the other hand, algorithms can also constrain feminist discourse through content moderation or systemic biases that weaken campaign reach. Critiques of slacktivism remain relevant, as much digital participation is superficial and does not translate into tangible action. Nevertheless, this study affirms that digital engagement remains significant in raising public awareness, shaping collective identity, and creating safe spaces for women to share their experiences.

Furthermore, this study highlights the important role of hashtag feminism in strengthening gender mainstreaming. From the Beijing Declaration (1995) to ASEAN strategic frameworks and national policies such as Presidential Instruction No. 9 of 2000, gender mainstreaming has been recognized as a key strategy for achieving gender equality. However, in practice, the success of this strategy heavily depends on public communication that can normalize equality values within society. In this context, hashtag feminism becomes a vital instrument, as it links formal policy frameworks with

inclusive and participatory digital communication practices.

The implications of this study are also significant for digital society, governments, academics, and civil society organizations. For the public, hashtag feminism enhances gender literacy, broadens participation, and fosters critical awareness of algorithmic biases. For governments, the findings underscore the need for more inclusive digital communication strategies, stronger anti-discrimination policies, and the integration of gender literacy into education. For academics, this phenomenon opens up space for interdisciplinary studies and challenges the dominance of Western research by bringing in Global South perspectives. Meanwhile, for civil society organizations, digital campaigns should be seen not merely as spaces for virality but as tools for sustained advocacy that can drive policy reform and social transformation.

Overall, this study concludes that hashtag feminism is a digital communication strategy capable of bridging the theory and practice of gender mainstreaming in contemporary society. Despite challenges such as

algorithmic bias, slacktivism, and the sustainability of movements, hashtag feminism retains significant transformative potential. To ensure this sustainability, digital communication strategies need to be integrated with public policies, gender literacy education, and community advocacy. In this way, gender mainstreaming can be realized in a more inclusive, responsive, and sustainable manner within the continuously evolving digital ecosystem.

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