

Chapter 11

Indonesian Christian Young People Resisting the Dominant Discourses of Men as Desiring/Dangerous and Women as Non-sexual/Vulnerable



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0 Introduction

1 Contemporary feminist studies have identified the ways that gendered power relations
2 have been the primary condition for intimate partner sexual violence (IPSV) to exist,
3 be seen as normal, and therefore, sustained (Boonzaier 2008; Clarke 2012; DeShong
4 2015; Kitzinger 2003; Marcus 2002; Mehta and Bondi 1999; Robinson 2005). Signif-
5 icant early work in this area is Hollway's (1989) conceptualisation of the *male sexual*
6 *drive discourse* and the *have/held discourse*. Through the *male sexual drive discourse*,
7 men are constituted as 'naturally' having a high need for sex, being aggressive, and
8 going to great lengths to have sex. In contrast, the *have/held discourse* positions
9 women as 'naturally' passive, non-sexual and vulnerable to violence. Studies have
10 revealed consequences of this dominant binary positioning, such as blaming the
11 victim for not taking up the passive and non-sexual subject position (Boonzaier and
12 de la Rey 2003, 2004; Hlavka 2014; Kiguwa et al. 2015; Mosha 2013; O'Neill 1998),
13 the use of sexual violence to build masculine status (Boonzaier 2008; Robinson
14 2005), and the positioning of women as gate-keepers in managing the risks of IPSV
15 (Carmody 2003; Marcus 2002).

16 While these previous studies have demonstrated how such binary positioning give
17 rise to intimate partner sexual violence, there are only a few studies providing exam-
18 ples of resistance towards these gendered power relations. For instance, at the end of
19 their articles, both DeShong (2015) and Boonzaier and de la Rey (2003, 2004) noted
20 that female survivors of (hetero)sexual violence participating in their study showed
21 a sense of strength and determination to challenge and overcome the violence they
22 had experienced, refusing to be positioned as passive and vulnerable. There are also
23 narratives from young men in Allen's (2003) and Wijaya Mulya's (2018) study who

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24 challenged the construction of boys as ‘naturally’ only wanting sex in their relation-
25 ships, drawing instead on a discourse of love and romance. Robinson (2005) discusses
26 an alternative narrative from a male student who challenged traditional meanings of
27 masculinity and sexual violence by joining a ballet club and standing up against
28 heterosexual harassment considered trivial by most of his male friends. The purpose
29 of this chapter is to extend the knowledge in this area by presenting underrepresented
30 narratives of resistance which might rework this gendered positioning among young
31 Indonesian Christians, particularly various contextual conditions—some of which
32 have not been identified in previous studies—that have enabled them to resist those
33 gendered power relations in their becoming sexual subjects.

34 In Indonesia, studies on IPSV have also identified this binary of men as
35 desiring/dangerous and women as non-sexual/vulnerable as the discursive context
36 from which IPSV occurred, particularly in heterosexual and marital contexts (Aisyah
37 and Parker 2014; Bennett et al. 2011; Hakimi et al. 2001; Utomo et al. 2014). In
38 Indonesia, such gendered binary have been supported by various cultural and reli-
39 gious discourses. Culturally, breaking the silence around marital sexual violence
40 risks family honour by bringing shame to the whole family (Hayati et al. 2011;
41 Idrus and Bennett 2003; Wieringa 2015). Indonesian researchers have also identified
42 how certain interpretations of religious texts have supported gendered power rela-
43 tions, such as when a wife’s complete submission to her husband is understood as
44 a divine order (Munir 2005; Wijaya Mulya 2010). However, these previous studies
45 only considered sexual violence within the context of heterosexual marriage, so that
46 research on everyday sexual violence beyond this context is lacking. This chapter
47 also seeks to extend existing studies by presenting and analyzing narratives of sexual
48 violence from LGBT+ and heterosexual Indonesian young people, and examining
49 different discursive contexts where those IPSV occurred, such as sexual violence by
50 boyfriends and girlfriends.

51 Methodological Notes

52 The research adopts a feminist poststructuralist theoretical framework which
53 considers that power, through the circulation of discourse, governs which ways-
54 of-seeing are deemed intelligible and which ways of being (i.e., subjectivity) are
55 available in a society (Weedon 1987). It is predicated upon a premise that, since
56 discourse both enables and constrains one’s possibility to think, say, and do things,
57 the cultivation of alternative subjectivity is a form of political resistance (Foucault
58 1978, 1985). Such alternative subjectivity becomes possible because of the performa-
59 tive (Butler 1990) character of the subjectification process (Davies 2006), where one
60 continuously draws on the available (multiple, shifting) discourses to give meaning
61 to their experience. One’s agency within this resistance is not understood as coming
62 from one’s own autonomous self, rather, one’s agency lies in the ability to draw on
63 alternative discourses to cultivate new ways of being (Davies 1991). Taking these

64 poststructuralist theorisations of power, subjectivity and resistance into gender anal-
65 ysis, the purpose of a feminist poststructuralist research is, therefore, to identify,
66 analyze and circulate alternative subjectivities and alternative discourses given rise
67 to them (Willig 2013), in order to disrupt the dominant hetero-patriarchal discourses;
68 which in this chapter, are alternative subjectivities that do not position men as sexually
69 desiring/dangerous and women as non-sexual/vulnerable.

70 The study is a part of my doctoral research on contemporary Indonesian Christian
71 young people's sexual subjectivity (Wijaya Mulya 2017), in which I interviewed
72 22 participants using computer-mediated research methods (i.e., email interview,
73 instant messaging, and autobiographical writing). The interviews were conducted
74 in Bahasa Indonesia and translated into English for this article. Twelve participants
75 identified as male, nine as female and one as neither gender. Fourteen identified
76 as heterosexual, 4 gay, 2 lesbian, 1 bisexual and 1 non-sexual. At the time of the
77 interview, participants were college students (8 participants), high school students
78 (6 participants), employees (5 participants), a freelance journalist (1 participant), a
79 postgraduate student (1 participant) and an NGO activist (1 participant). All names
80 used in this article are pseudonyms. Thematic data analysis technique (Braun and
81 Clarke 2006) was applied to inductively analyse the data.

82 **Findings: Four Vignettes of Resistance Towards the Binary** 83 **of Desiring/Dangerous Men and Non-sexual/Vulnerable** 84 **Women**

85 Participants' narratives in this study display various examples of resistance
86 towards the binary of men as sexually desiring/dangerous and women as non-
87 sexual/vulnerable. Each of them have their own ways of opening up possibilities
88 of alternative sexual subjectivity and also their own limitations. This section divides
89 these resistances into four themes and discussed each or them in relation to discourses
90 on IPSV. The analyses presented here are not intended to be representative nor exhaus-
91 tive, but rather, to be disruptive towards the dominant discourses given rise to IPSV
92 and encourage further exploration of alternative subjectivities.

93 *'Don't Push Me!': Women Standing Up Against* 94 *the Desiring/Dangerous Men*

95 One participant who demonstrates a kind of resistance is Anggi (22, office worker,
96 female, heterosexual), who has shared her story about how she successfully refused
97 her ex-boyfriend's attempts to make her have sex with him. Anggi's narrative
98 represents an image of woman that is courageous and unyielding—as opposed to
99 vulnerable—in responding to a sexually coercive situation.

100 It was not easy to refuse him [boyfriend] at that time. I was alone, this is unsafe actually,
 101 in my flat in another town. I was on a management trainee program there for a few months.
 102 That night we hung out, had dinner, then he drove me home to my flat. Yeah, a little cuddling,
 103 smooching, then it's going a bit further. But I stopped it when it started to move to the bed.
 104 We're still in our clothes. I said I'm not ready. He asked why. I repeated that I'm not ready.
 105 It was not easy to convince him. He kept asking why I'm not ready. He said, "Come on, I
 106 promise I'll be gentle." I replied, "I'm just not ready. Don't push me!" Then, because my
 107 voice was raised, he stopped. Well, I understand why he was like that. It's because he was
 108 sexually active with his ex. Then he met me, who made it clear that if I say no it means no,
 109 and don't even try to push me. (Email interview)

110 Reading Anggi's narrative through the binary of men as sexually desiring and
 111 women as vulnerable, it can be considered 'normal' for her boyfriend to ask for sex
 112 in this situation. Her decision to take her boyfriend to her flat alone after dinner
 113 and then have 'a little cuddling and smooching' might be interpreted as 'asking for
 114 it', so that it was not her boyfriend's fault if she was forced into sex. However,
 115 Anggi does not subscribe to this way of understanding sexual violence. Rather, she
 116 believes no one should engage in sexual activity unless it is completely consensual.
 117 She made it clear to him that keep asking her to have sex is offensive. Anggi does not
 118 consider a boyfriend pressuring his girlfriend as a 'normal' or 'everyday' matter, but
 119 as something to be taken seriously. Although she is considerate of his sexual history,
 120 it does not justify his attempt to make Anggi engage in sex without her full consent.

121 Drawing on the notion of 'sex must be consensual' has enabled Anggi to resist
 122 the positioning of women as vulnerable. Her narrative presents an example of how
 123 women need not be passive and weak, but able to speak up and stand up for what
 124 they believe. In her situation, the strategy of 'just say no' seemed to work, in that, it
 125 stopped her boyfriend. However, there are also limitations to this act of resistance. As
 126 feminist scholars have noted, the strategy of 'just say no' is problematic on several
 127 grounds (Gavey 2005; Holland et al. 1998). Firstly, it still locates the responsibility of
 128 preventing sexual violence to women. It reinforces the idea that men are 'naturally'
 129 desiring, so that women need to manage the risks of sexual violence by refusing or
 130 stopping them. In other words, women are still the 'gate-keepers' of sexual violence.
 131 This positioning of women leads to the next limitation of this strategy, that is, it still
 132 reproduces victim-blaming logic. Since women are the gate-keepers, they can be
 133 blamed if violence eventually occurs. It is still her fault for not stopping the violence
 134 from happening. Another limitation is that it still denies women as legitimate sexual
 135 subjects (Allen 2005). The strategy of 'just say no' implies that women do not have
 136 sexual desires, so that they can easily say 'no' because they have no desire to engage
 137 in sexual activity. This relocates women to the non-sexual subject position. The next
 138 subsection will discuss another vignette of resistance, which specifically challenges
 139 this presumed non-sexuality of women.

140 ***'It's Me Who Is Aggressive in This Relationship': Women***
 141 ***Initiating and Taking Control of Sex***

142 Lusi (22, female, heterosexual) was a medical student when I interviewed her. She
 143 was in a relationship and has engaged in sex with her boyfriend. One of the main
 144 themes in her narrative is her identification of herself as sexually 'aggressive'—a
 145 word often used by Indonesia youth to refer to the more active and desiring partner
 146 in an intimate relationship. Below is her story around her sexual experience with
 147 her boyfriend which might pose a form of resistance towards the dominant binary of
 148 men as desiring and women as non-sexual:

149 Coming from a not-so-good family relationship, I want more love and intimacy. So I have
 150 sex with my boyfriend. I think nowadays such a thing is quite common, depending in which
 151 community you are. My boyfriend tends to be passive in our dating relationship. We've been
 152 together for one year and he never took initiatives, even like holding my hand. Quite the
 153 opposite, it is me who is aggressive in this relationship. The first time we did it was when
 154 we went for a vacation. To save money we only booked one hotel room. A twin-bed. But
 155 because of the hotel's mistake we ended up in a double-bed room. That was the first time we
 156 slept together in a bed. At first nothing happened. We just slept at the opposite ends of the
 157 bed because we were still shy. But because basically I'm an aggressive person, I started to
 158 hug him and kiss his lips when we were on the bed. After a couple of vacations like that, our
 159 relationship has developed into what we do now (i.e., sex). Usually when we want to do it,
 160 we just book a hotel room. But most of the time, we did it when we were on vacation. I have
 161 to hold myself back a little bit, because I know my boyfriend is a passive person. (Email
 162 interview)

163 In a way Lusi's story is a reversal of Anggi's narrative, in that she—instead of
 164 being pressured to have sex—is the one who wanted, initiated, and took control of
 165 the sex. She even had to 'hold herself back a little bit' to balance the relationship
 166 with her boyfriend. Lusi also does not hesitate to label herself as 'aggressive' in her
 167 relationship, as compared to her boyfriend who is described as sexually 'passive'
 168 because he 'never took initiatives'. Lusi views her sexual engagement and initiative
 169 as 'normal' and common among her peers ("such a thing is quite common, depending
 170 in which community you are"). She expresses a sense of entitlement to her sexual
 171 desire (Fine 1988), in which she believes she deserved to experience love and intimacy
 172 through sex with her boyfriend because her family upbringing did not really satisfy
 173 her need for love and intimacy. The way Lusi understands herself as a sexual subject
 174 reversed the binary of men as sexually desiring and women as non-sexual. Her
 175 narrative demonstrates a reversal of this binary, in which she as a woman is positioned
 176 as desiring and her boyfriend as lacking in sexual desire.

177 This kind of reversal narrative is very rare in my research and previous research
 178 among Indonesian young people, and possibly rare more generally as well given the
 179 sexual mores of Indonesian society. In order to explore (discursive) conditions that
 180 might have given rise to her alternative subjectivity, here I will investigate Lusi's
 181 narrative closely particularly her family, religion and education backgrounds. Lusi
 182 describes herself as coming from a family that 'struggles financially' and her parents
 183 wanted their children to 'understand the condition'. Her parents demanded 'academic

184 achievement' of their children so that they can have a better future. Her mother left
 185 for work in another town when she was 10 years old, and her father passed away when
 186 she was in high school. She describes her studying in medical school as the result
 187 of her hard academic work. She used to take care of herself and makes decisions
 188 independently quite early, such as when she decided to go to church alone riding her
 189 bicycle when her mother left for work in another town. She also decided to leave the
 190 church after she was disappointed with the lack of support from the church when
 191 her father passed away. Throughout the interviews, Lusi expressed herself as an
 192 independent, hard-working and courageous person. In terms of sexual experiences,
 193 Lusi explored and engaged in sex chats with foreigners when she was in intermediate
 194 school (Wijaya Mulya 2019). She started to think about having sexual intercourse
 195 when she studied at the university.

196 There was a subject on the biology of human development which taught me that desire for
 197 sex is basically normal. It is a normal human need. It's only the moral and religious values
 198 that repress this need. Some of my friends at uni often talked about their sexual experiences.
 199 What they think is quite the same with me: as long as you maximize the protection, sex is
 200 all right. (email interview)

201 By drawing on the biological discourse that sexual desire is 'normal' for a human
 202 being (not just for men), Lusi has been enabled to understand herself as a legitimate
 203 sexual subject who is entitled to engage in sex. This discourse is predominant among
 204 her friends at the university too, so that Lusi was able to see this understanding of
 205 sex as 'common' or 'normal'. Additionally, her disappointment with, and distancing
 206 from, the church has enabled her to doubt the authority of religious moral discourses
 207 that repress this 'human need' ("it's only the moral and religious values that repress
 208 this need"). Her family upbringing, religious experiences, university education and
 209 circle of friends in some ways have also contributed to her sense of independence
 210 and confidence in making decision, including her decision to engage in sex with her
 211 boyfriend.

212 However, Lusi's alternative sexual subjectivity that resists the binary of desiring
 213 men and non-sexual women also entails some limitations. One limitation is that it still
 214 operates within a heteronormative model of a sexual relationship, in which sexual
 215 relationship (including the possibility of sexual violence within it) occur among
 216 opposite sexes. The next subsection discusses another vignette of resistance towards
 217 this binary through a narrative of same-sex sexual violence.

218 ***'Why It Has to Be Her Who Forced Me?:' Women*** 219 ***and Same-Sex Sexual Violence***

220 Another participant in this study, Bianda (24, office worker, female, bisexual), demon-
 221 strated how disruption towards the binary of men as desiring/dangerous and women

222 as non-sexual/vulnerable might be found in her difficulties to give meaning to same-
 223 sex sexual violence. Below is her narrative about her experience of sexual coercion by
 224 her girlfriend, which might challenge the heteronormative foundation of this binary.

225 *Bianda:* My first time was when my ex [-girlfriend] forced me. She threatened to
 226 leave me if I refused. So I reluctantly did it.

227 *Teguh:* How do you feel about it?

228 *Bianda:* That first experience made me hate her, [I was] emotional, and regretful.
 229 I regretted why it has to be her, my ex, who forced me and not somebody
 230 else. But it is a lie if I say I didn't enjoy it. But still, in doing it I felt so
 231 unwilling. After that incident, I started to get used to doing it [sex]. I feel
 232 like I have broken my promise to myself [about not having sex], so what's
 233 the point, let's go all the way. But I make a new commitment: I will only
 234 have sex with women, not with men. (Instant messenger interview)

235 As previous studies have noted (Kramer 2015; Malinen 2013), same-sex sexual
 236 violence has disrupted the heteronormative assumptions behind the binary of men as
 237 desiring and women as non-sexual. Same-sex sexual violence is difficult to compre-
 238 hend through this binary (Braun et al. 2009; Gilroy and Carroll 2009), such as the
 239 confusion among police officers regarding whom to arrest when they arrived at a scene
 240 after receiving a report of same-sex domestic violence (Knauer 1999). Similarly, this
 241 heteronormative binary cannot be drawn on to understand Bianda's experience of
 242 sexual violence on the part of her girlfriend: if women are passive and non-sexual,
 243 why did her girlfriend do it? Bianda's experience does not just position women as
 244 desiring, but also able to perform sexual violence—a situation which goes entirely
 245 against the positioning of women as non-sexual and vulnerable.

246 This situation might be heteronormalized again by designating the female pepe-
 247 trator as taking up the 'male' role in the relationship. However, Bianda did not give
 248 meaning to her experience through such a way. Instead, Bianda finds her experience
 249 of sexual violence difficult to comprehend. She is confused as to why her intimate
 250 partner did it to her ("Why it has to be her, my ex, who forced me?"). In a way, being
 251 forced into sex by her girlfriend was unthinkable for her. Her girlfriend is a woman,
 252 not a man who is 'naturally' desiring and sexually aggressive. She was also unpre-
 253 pared to experience a mixture of feelings during the incident, such as how she used
 254 the phrase '*it is a lie* if I say I didn't enjoy it'—as if she should not say it is enjoyable
 255 but because she wanted to be honest, she said it. Previous studies have documented
 256 that some survivors of sexual violence experienced a sensation of pleasure during
 257 the incident (Allen 2012; Angelides 2004; Ford 2009). Some of these survivors felt
 258 guilty about it, because such pleasure incited a degree of self-blame. To some extent
 259 Bianda also took the blame as seen in how she said *she* had broken her 'promise to
 260 not having sex', instead of her girlfriend forcing her. After the incident Bianda stayed
 261 in the relationship, and she consented to the subsequent sexual activities ("I started
 262 to get used to doing it."). As Elizabeth (2003) has noted, lacking discursive resources
 263 to understand sexual violence has made survivors unable to make decisions to leave
 264 or confront an abusive partner. Bianda's narratives show her experience of same-sex
 265 sexual violence has disrupted the heteronormative binary of men as desiring and

266 women as non-sexual. However, the dominance of this binary has also resulted in
 267 a lack of other discourses for her to draw on in giving meaning to same-sex sexual
 268 violence.

269 **‘From Tricking Girls to Pursuing Sexual Purity:’**
 270 **Evangelical Christian Men Disrupting IPSV**
 271 **but Reproducing Traditional Gender Roles**

272 So far, examples of contestation of the binary of desiring men and non-sexual women
 273 discussed here are from female participants. The final vignette presented will be a
 274 narrative from a male participant, Daniel (17, high school student, male, hetero-
 275 sexual). Daniel has engaged in sexual activities with his girlfriends in the past. Since
 276 he became a born-again Christian, his intense involvement in church activities has
 277 changed his way of seeing life, including sexuality. His narrative below demon-
 278 strates how the dominant meanings around men, women and sexual violence can be
 279 reworked, but at the same time also still reproduce this binary.

280 I have decided to repent and leave all my past sins. Through all the teaching, mentoring, and
 281 especially three Promise Keepers camps I have gone through, I have made a commitment to
 282 not tricking girls anymore. Now I believe that sex is created by God to be enjoyed in a true
 283 relationship (i.e., marriage). I know I am still weak and often fall in this sin, but I try as best
 284 I can to pursue purity. My heart becomes restless when I’m living in sin. Now I am always
 285 honest, no more lies in any relationships. I don’t want to date girls anymore. Dating is only
 286 for fun, seeking reputation as a boy who can get many girls. Now I will only engage in a
 287 committed and respectful relationship. (Autobiographical writing)

288 Daniel has made a commitment to refrain from any sexual practices (“to pursue
 289 purity”), such as sexual intercourse, masturbation and pornography. One important
 290 milestone in this process is the Promise Keepers camp which he had attended three
 291 times. It is a worldwide evangelical Christian men’s movement which promotes
 292 moral, spiritual and sexual purity (Claussen 2000; Donovan 1998; Williams 2001).
 293 In Indonesia, their camps and rallies were often conducted on a massive scale, and
 294 filled with strong messages, testimonies and challenges for men and boys to radically
 295 change their lives. Some of these challenges include a return to the functional role
 296 of father as the leader in the family, a promise to be faithful to their wives (or to be
 297 sexually abstinent before marriage), and most importantly, a commitment to pray,
 298 go to church and follow Jesus’ example (Claussen 2000; Donovan 1998).

299 While the Promise Keepers movement and Daniel’s narrative do not challenge
 300 traditional gendered power relations, they at least have opened up a possibility to
 301 rework the positioning of men as sexually desiring and dangerous in relation to
 302 sexual violence. Being a man is no longer associated with a ‘Rambo-like figure who
 303 make sense [of] his world only through violence’ (Deardorff 2000, p. 85). Instead, it
 304 is about love, integrity, faithfulness and ‘leadership [over women] through humble
 305 servitude’ (Deardorff 2000, p. 85). Here, violence becomes unacceptable for gaining
 306 masculine status (Flood 2015; Robinson 2005). As Hartley (1994, p. 99) puts it:

307 'Our masculinity is not determined according to the size of our biceps. Instead, our
 308 masculinity is determined in part by how effectively we can embrace our wife and
 309 draw her close to our side'. Daniel articulates his redefinition of sex and masculinity
 310 by highlighting his commitment to 'not tricking girls anymore' and to engage with
 311 them in a 'committed and respectful relationship'. Drawing on this understanding of
 312 men, women and violence, the blame in an incident of sexual violence is now removed
 313 from the women survivors to men's failure to live in God's truth. While men's sexual
 314 desire is still understood as 'normal', the violent and unethical expressions of it are
 315 not. In this way, men and boys are acknowledged as sexual subjects, but these subjects
 316 also have to control their desires and pursue an abstinent lifestyle.

317 Daniel's narrative presents an alternative way to resist the normalization of
 318 sexual violence through the binary of men as desiring/dangerous and women as
 319 asexual/vulnerable. While his narrative in a way still reproduces this binary posi-
 320 tioning of men and women, it rejects the *normalization* of sexual violence tradi-
 321 tionally associated with it. By drawing on this redefinition of masculinity from a
 322 Christian evangelical movement, Daniel has been enabled to de-naturalize violence
 323 in young people's sexual relationships and focus on building respectful relationships.

324 Conclusion

325 To conclude, in this chapter I have discussed possibilities to contest the binary of
 326 desiring men and non-sexual women in the constitution of Indonesian Christian
 327 young people's sexual subjectivities. By illuminating how resistance might unfold in
 328 their becoming of sexual subjects empirically and contextually, this chapter seeks to
 329 provide everyday examples—not as a template to follow, but—as a means of enacting
 330 alternative possibilities of destabilizing dominant discourses underpinning intimate
 331 partner sexual violence.

332 It is important to note that each vignette of resistance discussed in this chapter
 333 always entails its own discursive limitations. For instance, Anggi's act of rebuking
 334 her boyfriend may reproduce the notion of women as gate-keepers, and Daniel's
 335 pursuit of sexual purity is based on and may perpetuate traditional gender roles. As
 336 in any other act of resistance, each practice that reworked the dominant discourses is
 337 always both enabling and limiting the subject in different ways. Readers are advised
 338 to be cautious in interpreting and applying the findings of this study.

339 The implication of this analysis is twofold. Firstly, parental and educational initia-
 340 tives around IPSV prevention might find benefit in acknowledging non-traditional
 341 ways Indonesian young people understand themselves as sexual subjects. The image
 342 of desiring young woman like Lusi, for example, might be circulated and normalized
 343 with the purpose of relinquishing women from their gate-keeping role. Secondly, a
 344 recognition of the possibility of IPSV in various contexts other than marital and
 345 heterosexual ones—which future studies in Indonesia may also explore further—
 346 might provide alternative discourses for young people to give meaning to their expe-
 347 rience and, in turn, enable various preventive actions. Recognizing the possibility

348 of IPSV in a lesbian relationship like Bianda's experience, for example, may enable
 349 young people to better prepare themselves against IPSV; but cautionary measures
 350 need to be considered so that it is not further demonizing LGBT+ sexualities in
 351 Indonesia.

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Author Queries

Chapter 11

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| AQ1 | Reference 'Davies (2006)' is cited in the text but not provided in the reference list. Please provide the respective reference in the list or delete this citation. |  |
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