
STATE HEGEMONY IN GLOBAL CIVIL SOCIETY: THE ARTICULATION OF INDONESIA'S ECPAT HEGEMONY IN THE PROCESS OF SECURITIZATION OF CHILD SEXUAL EXPLOITATION

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ABSTRACT

The issue of child sexual exploitation (ESA) in Indonesia has grown more complex, particularly with the increasing use of digital platforms. This research focuses on the securitization of anti-child sexual exploitation norms carried out by ECPAT Indonesia, highlighting the challenges of implementing global standards at the local level. The objective of this study is to examine how ECPAT Indonesia uses state hegemony to construct the discourse on child sexual exploitation, particularly in Indonesia. Using qualitative research methods and critical discourse analysis, data were collected through interviews, press releases, and relevant literature from ECPAT Indonesia and the Indonesian government. The study identifies the imbalance in disseminating ESA-related norms, revealing that ECPAT Indonesia often imposes these global norms without considering the local community's existing values. The data analysis demonstrates that while ECPAT Indonesia has succeeded in raising awareness at the governmental level, its efforts to socialize the community have been limited. This research concludes that future initiatives should focus on bridging the gap between global and local discourses by promoting more inclusive socialization efforts that directly engage local communities, ensuring child protection measures' sustainability.

Keywords: ECPAT Indonesia, Child Sexual Exploitation, Securitization Theory, Discourse.

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INTRODUCTION

Child Sexual Exploitation (ESA) cannot be seen through a single lens when looking at the factors and actors involved in its execution and its prevention. ESAs that occur in a non-digital world differ from ESAs that arise on the internet. (Durkin, 1997) for example, sees that ESA conducted on the internet differs in four aspects: (1) easier child pornography transactions, (2) easier search for child victims, (3) increasingly accessible sexual communication facilities, and (4) more comprehensive correspondence with the pedophile community. These four aspects only consider the internet as a single factor. Other factors that support ESA are, for example, the social environment that supports the occurrence of ESA (McAlinden, 2006), self-justification carried out by perpetrators (Finkelhor, 1984), and others. In addition, the complexity of the actors is also involved in the prevalence of ESAs themselves. For example, in one of the stages of ESA, namely grooming, the perpetrator as an actor will not carry out the ESA process if there is no supportive community (McAlinden, 2006). Children are also not necessarily victims: Children become victims when there is an overlap of social realities that are driving factors, such as family and peers (Carson et al., 2013). To date, it can be said that although the ESA involves at least two actors, namely the perpetrator and the victim, broadly, the ESA involves overlapping factors and actors.

In Indonesia, the ESA phenomenon also shows complex factors and actors. The ESA phenomenon in Indonesia has recently been raised through digital platforms, which have become rampant due to the pandemic. In a report issued by UNICEF (UNICEF., 2022), it was stated that out of 995 respondents, one of whom was a child, 56 percent of children reported ESA only to friends and relatives without reporting to their parents; only one child reported to the police; and only one child calls the service contact. The causes are ignorance about whom to talk to, guilt worries about not being listened to by the intended party, and worries about possible embarrassment borne by the family (UNICEF., 2022). The last reason shows that ESA is not a problem in a vacuum but a problem that is very concerned with the perception of people's values and norms.

The relationship between ESA and societal values and norms determines the trajectory of ESA and its handling. In ESA, norm dynamics show that there are norms that normalize ESA. Digital sex (cybersex), for example, is normalized because it is not considered physical sex due to its virtual nature (Giordano & Cashwell, 2017). From this same logic, there is also normalization related to the dissemination of pornographic material that concerns children with the justification of the absence of physical sexual behavior that occurs in the child. Ramiro and his colleagues firmly state that these justifications create a deviant subculture that allows ESA to occur (enabling) (Ramiro et al., 2019). Beyond the subcultures that justify the perpetrators, some subcultures justify or normalize the victims' existence. This suggests that the ESA phenomenon is heavily influenced by the social constructs that surround it.

The social construction in the ESA puts the ESA within the securitization–de securitization spectrum. Explaining the subcultures that normalize ESAs is one of the limited efforts in desecuritizing ESAs. In contrast, civil society organizations (CSOs) denote ESAs; in other words, the CSO securitizes ESA. One of the CSOs involved in the process is End Child Prostitution in Asian Tourism (ECPAT) Indonesia.

This article examines the country's securitization efforts carried out by ECPAT Indonesia. The specialization in this article lies in building ESA emergencies in Indonesia by paying attention to ECPAT Indonesia as the norm entrepreneur and ESA as a referent object. Using critical discourse analysis, this article pays attention to the intelligibility of the articulation issued by ECPAT Indonesia. Intelligibility refers to a system of meanings between objects so that the articulation made by an actor makes sense (Broecker, 2022). More specifically, this article understands how ECPAT Indonesia uses hegemonic discourse in seeking ESA securitization.

This article consists of five parts to help you understand the argument. The first part examines literature that raises similar cases regarding issues and theorization. This section aims to make sense of the starting point of this article by building on its intellectual flow. The second section discusses the conceptual framework used in this article. This section explains how discourse analysis works by supplementing other concepts, namely hegemony and articulation. The third part discusses the activities carried out by ECPAT Indonesia in the context of building securitization of ESAs. The fourth part shows how the concepts described in the second part are applied to the case. This section finds that ECPAT Indonesia uses discourse by 'absorbing' the hegemonic articulation of international norms related to children to carry out securitization.

Literature Review

This literature review aims to map the gaps from several previous research/literature so that this can be the foundation for this research later. Four literatures examine the topic of sexual

violence in Indonesia and the involvement of ECPAT, both at the international and domestic levels, in handling child sexual exploitation (ESA) cases with various dimensions. Not only that, some of these studies also apply various approaches/perspectives, both positive and post-positivist, such as cultural approach, international organizations, civil society organization, Gender, sociological liberalism, power relations theory, and critical discourse analysis. Based on previous literature on ECPAT and child sexual violence in Indonesia, the author divides the literature into two groups. The first group focused research on the role and involvement of ECPAT in overcoming cases of sexual violence against children in Indonesia. Meanwhile, the second group emphasizes more on the analysis of sexual exploitation and violence against children in Indonesia.

Previous research that discusses the dimension of participation and the role of ECPAT - as a non-state actor that combats and overcomes ESA problems - views that in Indonesia, the ESA case is closely related to the tourism industry, as explained by Alwafi Ridho Subarkah (Subarkah, 2018). Alwafi assessed that Indonesia is one of the destinations where new child sex tourism practices in Southeast Asia, along with Cambodia, Myanmar, and Vietnam. According to him, child sex tourism itself has fallen into the category of child exploitation crimes but is commercial. Always chose Bali as the subject of his research because (1) Bali is a popular tourist destination in Indonesia, judging from the increase in foreign tourist visits every year; (2) A large number of foreign tourist visits to Bali is also a threat, especially to the rampant cases of child exploitation in Bali. Bali occupies the first position in Indonesia for cases of pedophilia and sexual abuse. In addition, in the journal, Alwafi also explained the role played by ECPAT in fighting ESA, including advocacy, socialization, rehabilitation, and research on child sex tourism in Bali. The second article, which discusses this topic, is a study by Amila Hasya Millatina. In her article, Amila highlighted the policy of the Government of Indonesia to boost the tourism sector without being aware of the risks arising from the policy on tourism, one of which is child commercial sexual crimes (Millatina & Hanura, 2018). In the study, Amila used Caroline Bousard's concept of civil society organization to dismantle ECPAT's roles in handling ESA in Indonesia, which consists of agenda setters, educators, and counterparts.

Meanwhile, research from Muthmainnah Zifa Azzahra discusses the different dimensions of the relationship between ECPAT and the ESA issue. In her writing, Muthmainnah examines the challenges faced by ECPAT when collaborating with Google in anticipating the online-based ESA issue (Azzahra, 2023). The increase in online ESA cases in Indonesia requires the government, according to Muthmainnah, to move quickly. One collaborates with Google Indonesia, manifested in the YouTube Trusted Flagger program. This program consists of 6 stages, namely mapping and developing indicators of ESA content on YouTube, organizing consultations with relevant stakeholders (the government and child protection institutions), compiling guidelines and materials for KIE (Communication, Information, and Education) along with the exploitation content complaint website, and conducting a pilot project on training for child protection institutions - primarily related to which content is considered included in the ESA case and also with What is the reporting mechanism on YouTube. Not only that, in the study, Muthmainnah also explained the obstacles faced during the implementation of the program, including (1) lack of response and complaint services from the YouTube team, (2) the perception of the government that considers the online ESA problem as something urgent so that the handling must also be profound; (3) lack of qualified human resources from ECPAT Indonesia in searching, managing and reporting ESA content on youtube; (4) the public's skepticism towards the government over the previously made reports will be followed

up; (5) the difference in digital literacy between people in cities and rural areas so that it interferes with the process of collecting accurate ESA data.

In general, the research included in the first group has the main argument that the handling of the ESA issue (both in general and online) by ECPAT is seen from an institutional perspective - in the lens of International Relations, including the paradigm of Institutional Liberalism. Therefore, the study in the first group is weak in seeing the ESA phenomenon as a static social reality instead of a dynamic one. In addition, this group over-minimizes the relationship between structure and agent – in this context, ECPAT and ESA – and then separates them in their dimensions.

The second group of research, namely the analysis of child exploitation and sexual abuse in Indonesia, interprets ESA's actions/actions in Indonesia into a narrower meaning, namely child sexual abuse. The research in this group focuses on looking at the causes of child sexual abuse cases in Indonesia, such as the writing of Yanuar Farida Wismayanti. Yanuar (2020) assesses that the construction of child sexual abuse can be seen from how policies and laws are currently in force. Therefore, Yanuar's research seeks to find out some of the perspectives used by stakeholders regarding child sexual abuse cases and how they localize the issue to the grassroots realm. Yanuar's research has similarities with this research in terms of the use of theory, namely critical discourse analysis, in understanding the construction of discourse from an issue to the local level. However, Yanuar only focuses his research on child sexual abuse cases. Meanwhile, this study will look at the discourse of similar cases on a broader scale, namely about Child Sexual Exploitation - including the issue of child sexual abuse.

METHOD

This study's data collection methods include interviews, observations, and documentation. Interviews were conducted with key stakeholders from ECPAT Indonesia, such as the Program Manager and the Research Coordinator, to gather insights into their strategies and actions in the securitization of child sexual exploitation. These interviews fall under the category of primary qualitative data collection. Observations were made of public events, campaigns, and socialization programs organized by ECPAT Indonesia, providing firsthand insights into their engagement with local communities and government institutions. Additionally, documentation analysis was performed, which involved reviewing press releases, reports, and official documents from ECPAT Indonesia and the Indonesian government. This method belongs to the secondary data collection category, providing further context and supporting evidence for the study.

This research employs a qualitative approach using critical discourse analysis (CDA) for data analysis. This method examines how language and discourse are used by ECPAT Indonesia to construct the narrative of child sexual exploitation and to promote their securitization agenda. The analysis focuses on identifying key themes, power relations, and hegemonic discourse that influence the socialization of these norms at both the governmental and community levels. This approach allows for a deeper understanding of how global and local discourses intersect and the challenges in bridging these gaps effectively.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Securitization as a Discursive Process

The explanations in the previous sections imply that, to a certain degree, ESA is a phenomenon highly dependent on the surrounding conditions. In other words, ESAs are sensitive to, if not a social construction. Social construction is a discursive phenomenon because the world is formed (constructed) based on conversations or articulations carried out by the agents who are members of the phenomenon. The explanation (Bargiela-Chiappini, 2011) explains that something social can be understood with a discourse approach. Thus, this research requires a conceptual framework that uses discourse analysis sensitive to the social construction process. This section of this paper explains (1) what critical discourse analysis is, (2) how the discourse process occurs, (3) how the securitization process occurs, and (4) how the whole process involves hegemonic articulation.

Discourse analysis assumes that all social realities are contained in the discursive discourses and practices that make up discourse (Marttila, 2015). The discourse used in this study refers to the structure of society through ideas and practices that make something can or cannot happen, be spoken, or other forms of articulation. Established articulation, namely the hegemonic one, is sedimented and becomes a discursive regime. This shows a certain hegemonic way of articulating reality in a society.

Critical discourse analysis refers to understanding how discourse is formed by examining the context of the process. Critical discourse analysis focuses on ideology, values and norms, and power relations between agents in a discourse (Phillips & Hardy, 2002). Using critical discourse analysis, researchers can see how the discourse process excludes specific agents in the discourse (Sesarianto, 2023). However, this study does not aim to look at the exclusion process but rather the process of taking meaning devices used by agents in building social constructions about ESAs.

The device of meaning is a network of meanings between words. In other words, the meaning device is the system of meaning in discourse. If a pronunciation is used in a particular context, then the pronunciation has a specific meaning that is different when used in other contexts. This is called intelligibility (Broecker, 2022). Intelligibility determines whether the pronunciation makes sense. Furthermore, it determines whether a pronunciation is acceptable or not.

Intelligibility implies acceptability. In this case, discourse requires legitimacy to be accepted by the agents in the discourse. The legitimacy process of discourse involves another discourse more strongly accepted in society or the perception of specific dominant agents. For example, legitimate discourse on Chinese culture usually involves the Chinese Communist Party as an agent who discourses the culture (Cui, 2012). In addition, in constructing legitimacy in international courts, the parties to the trial can refer to expressionism. This personal articulation strategy uses stigma (Glasius & Meijers, 2012). There is also a similar case in forming legitimacy: President Vladimir Putin's third term brought an anti-migrant discourse based on another discourse, namely nationalism (Schenk & Blakkisrud, 2018). These three cases are the conceptual basis for seeing legitimacy in discourse.

The three examples show at least three sources of legitimacy in discourse. First, hegemonic agents in the discourse can be a source of legitimacy. Simple: Who said that? In the case of Chinese cultural discourse, the Chinese Communist Party is a hegemonic agent who is the source of legitimacy. Second, the legitimacy of discourse can be sourced from personal expressions. This shows that one of the essential things in the legitimacy of discourse is the psychological acceptance of the incorporated agents. Third, the legitimacy of a discourse can be obtained from other discourses that are more accepted by the public. In the example given, the anti-migrant discourse is associated with a discourse that has long been popular in society, namely the discourse of right-wing

nationalism. Thus, the articulation of the discourse that is being initiated can be 'borrowed' from other discourse articulations so that the discourse can be more accepted.

The existence of these three possible legitimacies does not mean that they exclude each other: All three may exist in a case. It is possible for a discourse to be articulated by a hegemonic agent in a group expressively and to ride on another discourse whose legitimacy is well established. There are two types of legitimacy in a discourse, but no third type exists. The essence of this explanation is that legitimacy in discourse is modular and depends on individual cases. Nevertheless, the conceptualization of these three types can be used as a basis for understanding, especially in a theory complete of discourse, namely the Securitization Theory.

Securitization theory looks at discursive processes and structures that make a general issue a national defense issue (Stritzel, 2007). This process is discursive because, in the original development of the Securitization Theory, it is stated that securitization is a speech-act process "through which an intersubjective understanding is constructed within a political community to treat something as an existential threat to a valued referent object, and to enable a call for urgent and exceptional measures to deal with the threat" (Buzan, 2003). This shows a discourse process involving the legitimacy process in discourse. This is reflected in the phrase constructed within a political community, which gives rise to a valued referent object. Thus, the discourse process is centered on an object whose threatening nature depends on the agents' approval in the security discourse. In other words, the agents must acknowledge the legitimacy of an object's threatening nature.

The speech-act process itself is only one part of a broader securitization process. Securitization is labeled as speech-act because it involves utterances – in this study called articulation – that are not merely reporting or Constance but creating reality or performative (Balzacq, 2011). There is a deeper context to this speech-act process. As mentioned earlier, speech-act does not only say it but also has a referent object. In addition, there is also an audience as an interlocutor of the securitization agent who needs to be convinced that a referent object is a threat. Finally, there is a government that issues a policy that states that the referent object is a threat and mobilizes the state apparatus to mitigate the danger. Despite these four elements, this study still focuses on speech-act as the core process in securitization.

Since the central part of the securitization process is the process of legitimizing discourse, this study sees hegemonic articulation as an essential concept. This is due to Balzacq's argument (see also Austin 1962), which states that speech-act consists of locutionary, illocutionary, and perlocutionary. Locutionary refers to articulation – all the words and context contained in a pronunciation. Illocutionary is the context of its pronunciation so that meaning has a network with other discourses. Perlocutionary is the performative consequence of the illocutionary, for example, the listener's emotions. These three elements emphasize the meaning of intersubjectivity.

Meanwhile, intersubjective meaning usually refers to hegemonic articulation. Hegemonic articulation is an articulation that pays attention to meanings intersubjectively agreed upon even though the purpose of the articulation is to challenge the establishment (Howarth, 2014). In other words, hegemonic articulation is a state of articulation that must always refer to hegemonic discourse.

From the theoretical framework built, this study looks at three components in its theoretical logic. First, this research must find a hegemonic discourse surrounding ESA's affairs. The hegemonic discourse that must be found concerns two communities, namely the global society in general (how

ESA is discontinued at the international level) and the local community that is the target of the ECPAT Indonesia campaign. Second, this study must examine whether and how ECPAT Indonesia uses the hegemonic articulation of the two societies. The depiction is needed to see how ECPAT carries out securitization by considering the legitimacy of the discourse between the two communities. Finally, relative to the securitization process, this study must look at how the speech-act efforts carried out by ECPAT Indonesia are placed in the order of Securitization Theory.

Wacana Hegemonis ESA

ECPAT Indonesia is based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child issued by the United Nations (UN). This is reflected in ECPAT Indonesia's mission statement, which wants to "encourage the government to ratify the 'optional protocol on the Convention on the Rights of the Child concerning the sale of children, child prostitution and child pornography' [...] in national law" (ECPAT Indonesia, n.d.). Although Indonesia has ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Optional Protocol on Child Trafficking, Child Prostitution, and Child Pornography (OPSC), the focus of ECPAT Indonesia has fallen on its implementation, including the creation of a stricter national legal framework against child rights violations. Therefore, the focus of ECPAT Indonesia in compiling the discourse on child protection in Indonesia is the discourse issued by the United Nations.

In launching a discourse on ESA in Indonesia, ECPAT Indonesia must contextualize its discourse with the conditions of the articulation site. The typology in ECPAT Indonesia's discourse includes (1) articulation of local communities and (2) articulation of fellow network members. The purpose of the articulation is also different. The first type aims to make the public aware of ESA's threat to the community. The second type aims to increase the capacity of civil society organizations to handle ESA cases in the local environment. Although the types and purposes of articulation differ, this paper argues that the articulation is derived from the global hegemonic articulation of child protection.

Global Discourse on Child Protection

The discourse on the conception of children and the legal protection of children has been contained in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC). This Convention includes the idea/idea of rejection of logical fallacy, which states that children are only objects of property belonging to parents. Even further, children are used as a means of training for parents in decision-making. On the contrary, according to the UNCRC, children should be treated the same as human beings/individuals with the right (at least to full sovereignty over themselves) to be guaranteed and protected by the state. This statement is clarified in Article 2 of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC).

"States Parties shall respect and ensure the rights outlined in the present Convention to each child within their jurisdiction without discrimination of any kind, irrespective of the child's or his or her parent's or legal guardian's race, color, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion, national, ethnic or social origin, property, disability, birth, or other status."

The Convention on the Rights of the Child consists of 54 articles that regulate children's rights and how the government should strive to realize these rights. However, these 54 articles can be squeezed into five fundamental rights of children that must be fulfilled, namely (1) the right to live and develop; (2) the right to protection from violence, harassment, and neglect; (3) the right to education so that it allows children to fulfill their potential; (4) the right to be raised and have a good relationship with their parents; (5) the right to express their opinions and be heard (Save the Children, n.d.).

To strengthen the articulations of child protection contained in the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the United Nations - through the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child - issued an additional protocol consisting of the first, The Optional Protocol on the involvement of children in armed conflict. The Protocol requires the government to determine the minimum limit for children to join the armed forces: they must be at least 15 years old and above (Vandenhole et al., 2019). Second, The Optional Protocol to the Convention on the sale of children, child prostitution, and child pornography. This Protocol contains the commitments of countries (ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child) to the international community regarding the prohibition and elimination of all forms of child sexual exploitation, including trafficking, prostitution, and pornography of children (Sofian & Ramadani, 2020). The last Protocol is The Optional Protocol on a communications procedure, which is a new additional protocol on the mechanism for complaints filed by children directly to the United Nations when their rights are violated and the legal system in their country cannot provide a solution.

In addition, the articulation of child protection on a global scale is also discussed in the Beijing Rules and ILO Convention No. 182. The Beijing Rules are an international norm derived from the Convention on the Rights of the Child that focuses on juvenile justice. According to Rosmi Darmi, the presence of the Beijing Rules requires every country to make juvenile justice - by mainstreaming the value of child and family welfare - an integral part of the dynamics of national development (Darmi, 2017). Thus, juvenile justice will protect children and maintain peace in society. Meanwhile, ILO Convention No. 182 is a labor instrument to prohibit and eliminate all the worst forms of child labor through several things, namely (1) setting the minimum age limit for children to work; (2) providing free access to primary education to children; (3) seeking rehabilitation and social integration of children by paying attention to the needs of their families.

Furthermore, specifically, articulated child protection against acts of sexual exploitation is contained in The Stockholm Declaration and Agenda for Action of the World Congress against Commercial Sexual Exploitation of Children 1996. ECPAT International, UNICEF, Governments of 119 countries, NGOs, other agencies, and individuals concerned with ESA agreed upon this declaration and action agenda. This declaration discusses commitments and action plans to eliminate all forms of child sexual exploitation - consisting of 5 stages. First, Coordination and Cooperation include the local/national level (such as strengthening comprehensive, cross-sectoral, and integrated strategies and actions; developing implementation and monitoring mechanisms at the national/local level in collaboration with CSOs; encouraging close interaction and cooperation between governments and NGOs to plan, implement and evaluate actions against ESKA) and regional/international levels (promoting better collaboration between countries) and international organizations, including regional organizations; advocating and mobilizing support for children's rights and ensuring the availability of resources to protect children from ESKA; pressure countries that have ratified the CRC to implement every article contained in the Convention in their domestic sphere) (Jugendinstitut., 1996).

The second stage of the action plan in the 1996 Stockholm Declaration was Prevention. This stage includes: (1) giving children free access to education to improve their status; (2) improve access to and provide health, education, training, recreation, and supportive environmental services for children vulnerable to commercial sexual exploitation; (3) maximizing educational institutions to discuss children's rights and incorporating (if necessary) the Convention on the Rights of the Child

into formal and non-formal education (community, family, etc.); (4) initiate gender-based communication, media, and information campaigns to raise awareness of the government and other members of society regarding children's rights and the harmful impacts of sexual exploitation of children; (5) identifying and building peer education programs and monitoring networks to counter ESKA; (6) develop or strengthen, implement and publish relevant laws, policies and programs for the prevention of ESKA based on the Convention on the Rights of the Child; (7) mobilize the business sector, especially the tourism industry, to fight against all practices of using networks and companies that conduct ESKA; (8) encourage the media to develop strategies that can strengthen their role in providing information with high standards of accuracy, trustworthiness, and ethics regarding all aspects of ESKA (Jugendinstitut., 1996).

Protection is the next stage emphasized in the 1996 Stockholm Declaration. This stage consists of (1) developing and strengthening the implementation of laws, policies, and programs to protect children and prevent ESKA. This implementation must consider the different types of perpetrators, as well as the ages and circumstances of the victims, so it also requires different legal treatment and programs. (2) strengthen national laws that establish criminal liability for service providers, customers, and intermediaries in child prostitution, child trafficking, and child pornography; (3) strengthen laws to be able to criminalize the actions of citizens from the country of origin committed against children in the destination country, in the case of sex tourism; (4) strengthen and establish a network between national and international law enforcement authorities including Interpol and NGOs to monitor ESKA; (5) creating safe havens for children fleeing ESKA and protecting those who assist children of ESKA victims from intimidation and abuse (Jugendinstitut., 1996)

The fourth stage of recovery and reintegration includes: (1) adopting a non-punitive approach to children of ESKA victims in accordance with the rights of the child, namely by paying particular attention to judicial procedures so as not to aggravate the trauma that the child has experienced; (2) providing social, medical, psychological and other support counseling to children of ESKA victims and their families; (3) carry out gender-sensitive training for medical personnel, teachers, social workers, NGOs, and other parties working to help ESKA victims; (4) take effective policies to prevent and eliminate community stigmatization of ESKA victims and their families; (5) promote alternative livelihoods/jobs with adequate support services to children of ESKA victims and their families to break the ESKA chain further; (6) not only imposing legal sanctions on ESKA perpetrators but also taking socio-medical and psychological actions to create behavioral changes in perpetrators (Jugendinstitut., 1996).

Finally, the child participation stage consists of two actions, namely (1) encouraging the participation of children - including children of ESKA victims, their families, young generations, peers, and other parties working to help children of ESKA victims - so that they can express their views and take preventive measures and protection of children from acts of commercial sexual exploitation; and (2) forming and supporting networks of children and adolescents as advocates for children's rights – involving children by their capacity to develop and implement government programs relevant to them (Jugendinstitut., 1996).

ECPAT Indonesia's Discourse in Local Situations

The linkage of ECPAT Indonesia's local discourse to the global discourse on ESA can be seen from the articulations conducted by ECPAT Indonesia. When seen as a discourse structure, this articulation is driven by hegemonic articulation regarding child protection. The term 'driven' refers

to localization and vernacularity functions. The localization function relates to the activities carried out by ECPAT Indonesia to localize global norms into the local community order. The vernacular function relates to the activities carried out by ECPAT Indonesia to give the initial meaning of ESA. This vocabulary is necessary because when a new word is introduced, no sense can be used to understand it. This section will discuss these two functions in the ECPAT Indonesia discourse at the local level. However, briefly describe the public's perception of ESA before discussing these two functions.

Although data on grassroots problem absorption activities carried out by ECPAT Indonesia is limited, ECPAT Indonesia's publication on ESA online (online or online) shows severe problems regarding the perception of ESA at the grassroots. The publication states that most children who experience ESA online do not report it to anyone. Boys are more likely to pass on the ESA problems online to themselves than girls. When they reported, the ones chosen to talk about the online ESA case were peers (ECPAT, 2022). The same publication reported that children who experienced ESA online did not report it for fear that no one would understand their situation. In the case of boys, they consider the online ESA incident that befell them not a big deal. This situation shows that there is a perception about ESA that victims do not need to report this incident to a figure who can help them in the community.

The community's response to the ESA incident shows that the community embraces a set of local norms. The articulation captured in the publication ECPAT Indonesia (Disrupting Harm) states that there is a stigma against ESA victims. The victim's parents even condemned the arrival of social workers and noted that the visit was an attempt to embarrass the family's good name. Looking more broadly, the stigma stems from the community's belief that sex, regardless of its type, whether consensual or violent, is taboo and shameful.

The above brief description of collective perception conveys the discursive obstacles experienced by ECPAT Indonesia in localizing global norms. When global discourse constructs ESA as a form of criminality that must be dealt with – and victims must be given reparations – local communities see ESA as a form of disgrace that must be covered up. Consequently, the socialization of global discourse carried out by ECPAT Indonesia is considered a threat to the structure of local discourse established at the regional level.

In other outputs published by ECPAT Indonesia, the organization's carriesnization pattern of the social pattern is that ECPAT Indonesia targets many parties involved in local norms regarding children, not parents. What is more targeted by ECPAT Indonesia, based on press releases from 2015, are government agencies, usually the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office, and children who are the target of socialization. For example, in tackling the problem of child marriage, ECPAT Indonesia in 2015 chose to conduct a series of events targeting high school students through roadshows, talk shows, and competitions (ECPAT Indonesia, n.d.). Another example shows that ECPAT Indonesia held a socialization on the latent dangers of commercial ESA in a new tourist area in Bukittinggi City, West Sumatra, which is more targeted at policymakers such as the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office (Kompas, 2017). In the workshop and socialization conducted in Pontianak, West Kalimantan, the program was aimed at activists and children who are vulnerable to experiencing ESA (ECPAT Indonesia, 2019). The three cases mentioned show that ECPAT Indonesia is targeting the ESA emergency discourse with an audience of government, children, and activists. This affects the function of localization and vernacularity in discourse.

However, before discussing these two functions, paying attention to the articulation used by ECPAT Indonesia is necessary.

From the description of the previous paragraph, the articulation proposed by ECPAT Indonesia about handling ESA is diverse but also patterned. In the problem of increasing tourism activities in a place that can potentially increase the number of commercial ESAs based on tourism, ECPAT Indonesia conducts articulation based on law enforcement. The Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office is the target of articulation. This means the discourse launched is limited to advocacy for those with a policy-making function. This shows that the ESA prevention discourse is not carried out socially – that is, the ESA countermeasure discourse is imposed on the community through law enforcement. In another dimension, children as the target of articulation also means that the anti-ESA discourse carried out by ECPAT Indonesia sees children as active agents who have space to move (agency) in the anti-ESA discourse.

Looking at the picture above, several parties are not targeted by ESA's discourse, namely parents and local communities. The authors can only guess why they were left as targets, but the implications of bridging the localization of discourse are clear. First, essential agents in discourse – it can be said that elite agents in shaping norms – are omitted so that the enforcement of discourse. Thus, the socialization of discourse is coercive. Second, because of the first, there is the potential for tension in local communities due to the differences in values held by important agents: Local communities have different views from children and policymakers who have a global understanding of ESA's discourse.

Besides these problems, ECPAT Indonesia has performed localization and vernacularity functions. The localization function can be seen from ECPAT Indonesia's strategy in packaging ESA discourse with local sensitivity. However, ECPAT Indonesia overstepped essential agents in the discourse by preferring authoritative agents such as the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office as well as agents who became victims, namely children. The vernacularity function is influenced by the localization function in the dimension of the target agent. Because the agents chosen are authoritative and victim agents, the threshold of vernacularity – how deep the discourse must be adjusted to local conditions – is lower because these agents are better prepared to accept global discourse (Jarvis, 2023).

The above explanation has seen the tension in the localization of ESA discourse, including actors who are deliberately not included in the localization process. However, it is necessary to conceptualize the phenomenon further further. For this reason, the following section discusses this.

Hegemon Wacana, Hegemon Actor

In the previous sections, it has been explained that discourse is a container with a power relationship. There are more powerful actors to determine what articulation constitutes discourse. In addition, a specific discourse model was also carried out by ECPAT Indonesia at the local level. These two elements, namely actors and models, influence the broad securitization pursued by ECPAT Indonesia. This section discusses these three things. First, this section explains the anatomy of actors other than ECPAT Indonesia involved in the discourse. The actor in question is the government as an audience through the Women's Protection and Child Protection and Children Protection Office as an actor vulnerable to ESA. Second, this section explains the discourse model, namely the existence of hegemonic agents and personal expressions. This section describes in detail and conceptually the

findings mentioned in the previous section. Finally, this section also explains the implications of securitization as an activity by ECPAT Indonesia.

ECPAT Indonesia has a target in conducting discourse. The target chosen by ECPAT Indonesia is the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Office. The agency was chosen because it has the authoritative power to determine policies. In Heller's view, hegemonic discourse is formed because a persuasive invitation normalizes something. Although persuasive, it does not mean the discourse cannot be based on coercion (Heller, 2003). Coercion occurs not because there is the use of physical violence in articulating in a community forum but because there is coercion of an institutional nature in articulation. The discourse on ESA, a global norm, is sought by ECPAT Indonesia to be adopted directly by policymakers without considering the established social conditions and will change due to these global norms. In short, the articulation carried out by ECPAT Indonesia did not go through a socialization process with the community.

The articulation conveyed by ECPAT Indonesia with the target of the women's empowerment and child protection office is technical and supervises instead of provoking acceptance from the community. For example, in the release of the previous section, it is stated that the purpose of socialization is to dispel the occurrence of commercial ESA that may occur, which will contribute to the growth of tourist areas in Bukittinggi (Kompas, 2017). Although there is no follow-up plan, it can be instilled that the city and provincial governments will issue policies aimed at prohibiting hotels from engaging in child sex trafficking. This shows that the articulation of ESA handling in Bukittinggi is centered on technical handling – more precisely, technical policies that aim to create a system to prevent ESA from occurring. In addition to technicalities, the women's empowerment and child protection service actors only supervise ESA activities in the environment, not actively negotiating the norms in the community regarding ESA (Sumba, 2023).

As previously implied, articulating hegemonic discourse without considering the established articulation risks destabilizing society. The reason is that the top-down articulation means 'patronizing' some non-authoritative agents (Epstein, 2012). The term 'patronizing,' or in the language used by the original author infantilization, refers to the process of socialization accompanied by removing the viewpoint of the socialized party or agent. The deletion is due to the understanding of the agent who conducts the socialization that the socialized agent cannot speak for himself. In other words, the socialized agent is considered incapable of solving his problems.

By referring to the explanation in the previous paragraph, ECPAT Indonesia has the potential to silence the local community related to the local discourse of ESA. Although the reason was not mentioned, ECPAT Indonesia stepped over the local community to socialize ESA's global discourse. ECPAT Indonesia does not conduct socialization on an equal basis with the local community at all. Socialization of global discourse is carried out through policy formation; Policies that have been in the form of a paradigm law must be carried out regardless of public approval and understanding. Thus, local discourse – i.e., local beliefs related to ESA – is not accommodated before it is forced to be abolished. This infantilization is also carried out by ECPAT Indonesia even though ECPAT Indonesia reaches out to children in its socialization activities.

Reaching out to children initially seems like establishing socialization with the community. However, what needs to be considered is the nature of this socialization. First, the socialization of this global discourse occurs between an unbalanced actor, namely ECPAT Indonesia, and actors who are agents in the local hegemonic discourse on ESA, namely children. In other words, children are

positioned as potential victims. Therefore, ECPAT Indonesia articulates the global discourse on ESA by placing children as agents who need help with infrastructure. Second, the socialization of hegemonic discourse to children immediately implies that children as potential victims must be equipped with agencies to solve problems that have the potential to befall them. In conceptualizing a similar concept of burden of responsibility discourse, Powell stated that netizens widely articulate the discourse on anti-sexual violence against women in cyberspace to shift the burden of responsibility for sexual violence from victims to perpetrators (Henry et al., 2015). In the case of socialization of the global hegemonic discourse on ESA, ECPAT Indonesia does not consider this because it sees children as potential victims who must solve their problems. Although ECPAT Indonesia and other outreach agencies, namely the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Agency, provide a good reporting infrastructure, ECPAT Indonesia does not address the core problem that makes children potential victims of fear to report, namely the discourse on ESA contained in local communities.

By constructing children as potential victims, ECPAT Indonesia justifies the articulation of hegemony that perpetuates hegemony itself. In this case, children have the potential to become victims because there is neglect from the community in handling ESA. In this argument, there are two hegemonic discourses at play. First, the local hegemonist discourse on ESA, considered a disgrace to the family or society, remains lasting (Feiring et al., 1996). This is because ECPAT Indonesia does not conduct socialization to change the norm. As a result, the socialization carried out by ECPAT Indonesia has the potential to become an 'enemy' of the community. Ultimately, this could strengthen the local hegemonic discourse in the form of stigma. Second, as explained in the previous sections, the global hegemonist discourse sees the child as an independent agent. However, completing the ESA is not comprehensive if the family does not support it. When ECPAT Indonesia disseminates the global hegemonic discourse on ESA to children and positions them as victims who 'should' take care of themselves, these children have the potential to not receive emotional and social support from their families and society (Priebe & Svedin, 2008). Thus, these two hegemonic discourses hurt children as victims. This argument can be brought into TS.

Securitization through Hegemony in ESA

In TS's understanding, explained in another section, the global hegemonic discourse on ESA socialized with local communities is centered on legitimacy. Furthermore, this concept is then seen from three sub-concepts, namely (1) locutionary (articulatory), (2) illocutionary (articulation context related to other discourses), and (3) perlocutionary (performative consequences that include arising emotions). This paper sees that ECPAT Indonesia occupies an ambiguous position regarding legitimacy. This is due to two things. First, ECPAT Indonesia does not seem to pay attention to legitimacy because the parties that can provide legitimacy, namely the local community – specifically, the family – are stepped on in socialization. Thus, agencies from the local community are abolished in forming this discourse. Second, ECPAT Indonesia sees legitimacy negatively; That is, legitimacy is perceived as something represented by certain societal elements, such as policymakers. Thus, the community provides legitimacy through representatives in making policies. However, this view is problematic because it perpetuates the state's hegemony over society, so people's values and norms are considered substandard compared to the state (Sakue-Collins, 2021). These two viewpoints have similarities, namely, removing community agencies to approve the legitimacy of the

discourse carried out by ECPAT Indonesia. In more depth, this section looks at each of the three sub-concepts described.

Locutionary has been described in the previous section. ECPAT Indonesia uses global discourse on ESA to then conduct socialization at the local level in dealing with local hegemonic discourse. ECPAT Indonesia does not socialize equally with the community because the community is stepped on. The pressure point in this locutionary lies in the illocutionary, which deepens the hegemony of the state in securitization, and, as a result, the values and norms of society are excluded from socialization.

Illocutionary refers to the process of associating discourse with other hegemonic discourses. In the case of ECPAT Indonesia, two illocutionary explanations are needed. First, an explanation is needed regarding the relationship between the local articulation of ECPAT Indonesia and the hegemonic global discourse on ESA. Second, which is more related to TS, an explanation is needed regarding the relationship between local articulation and state hegemony in discourse.

In ECPAT Indonesia's local articulation, the global discourse on ESA and, in general, children are carried out by bringing directly into the global discourse. As explained in the previous sections, the global discourse in question emphasizes children's individuality in all kinds of social interactions. This is what ECPAT Indonesia puts forward when conducting socialization with children, as is done in Medan and other places. This type of socialization places ECPAT Indonesia as a direct funnel between the global discourse on ESA and children as agents who must adhere to the discourse. From the agency's point of view, children are acquired into ESA's global discourse. Thus, regarding illocutionary, ECPAT Indonesia is acquiring child agents into the global discourse. As a result, children are in a vortex of global discourse whose legitimacy has not been adjusted to hegemonic local discourse. This illocutionary is problematic; However, the other illocutionary, related to state hegemony, is more problematic.

As explained in the previous section, ECPAT Indonesia uses state hegemony in socializing ESA. Recall that was discussed at the beginning of this section, legitimacy did not occur – or at least legitimacy was imposed – in the case of ECPAT Indonesia because the articulation carried out transcended society by absorbing the policy-making function of the government. Therefore, the values and norms of society are regulated by the state through its policymakers at the local level (Sakue-Collins, 2021). In addition, it repeats the classic story in the process of socializing norms from the global level to the local level, namely neoliberal values and norms that originate from global governance are always imposed into the local level in various ways, coupled with the vehicles of local civil society organizations, and eliminate or at least ignore the global set of values and norms (Jabri, 2013).

The conceptualization of the above description into TS opens the horizon to understanding the relationship between society, referent objects, and the state. In the case of ECPAT Indonesia, securitization is no longer limited to a constant or just reporting, but performative is like a stage with an audience. In the traditional understanding of TS, the audience, namely the community, must be convinced so that the securitization process runs appropriately; however, there is a conceptual addition in TS that accommodates audience performativity that emphasizes the perlocutionary of the securitization process (Soares, 2022). However, what is not accommodated is the possibility of the absence of an audience in the securitization process. This is what happened in ECPAT Indonesia. The audience, namely the local community, is shifted in the securitization process because the

securitization process is replaced through the policy-making route. Thus, the audience no longer needs to be convinced that the securitization process can be completed and that the state considers ESA a threat.

CONCLUSION

This research used two things: the case and concept in TS. The first thing used was the audience's dynamics in the securitization/socialization process. When more profound attention is paid to the audience, it is found that the audience has a wide dimension regarding agents and agencies. Agencies can be set aside so that the socialization process can run. In the case of socialization by ECPAT Indonesia, local communities who are part of the audience are eliminated from the discourse. The second thing that was sued was ECPAT Indonesia's practice in socialization. As a result of the disappearance of the audience agency, ECPAT Indonesia perpetuates the state's hegemony in conducting socialization. What is criticized here is that the state's hegemony abolishes the process of equal socialization/securitization and replaces it with coercion. It has been explained previously that the socialization/securitization process in terms of ESA carried out by ECPAT Indonesia is carrying out the infantilization process.

The pressure point in this conclusion is audience placement. This paper proves that an essential element in TS, namely convincing the audience, does not apply in the case of ECPAT Indonesia. Nevertheless, ECPAT Indonesia has taken other ways to continue the securitization agenda without convincing the audience, namely by taking advantage of the state's hegemony. The socialization/securitization process no longer relies on changing value devices and norms at the local level. Instead, through the Women's Empowerment and Child Protection Service, the state forces local communities to adopt the tool through a public policy system and the law.

The above description also applies to the concept of vernacularity discussed in this study. Vernakularity, which is adjusting articulation with local parties, is no longer critical because there is no equal socialization. This is because local communities are forced to accept global hegemonic discourse through public policy channels.

This research paves the way for two things: the socialization process of ESA and TS in Indonesia carried out by civil society organizations. However, there are still things that still need to be revealed. For example, the process of foreign funding of local civil society organizations affiliated with international parents may change the constellation of the securitization/socialization process. In addition, this study only looks at ECPAT Indonesia singly in the ESA discourse in Indonesia. This paper sees that research is needed that looks at the discourse process seen collectively between ECPAT Indonesia and its affiliate network which also conducts discourse. This is aimed at looking at a more holistic discourse process related to ESA by looking at all actors, not just one actor.

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