A submission to the Special Rapporteur on the Promotion and Protection of Freedom of Opinion and Expression

Gender Justice and the Right to Freedom of Opinion and Expression
(Malaysia)

By KRYSS Network, Malaysia
With inputs from the Centre for Independent Journalism (CIJ) and Women’s Aid Organisation (WAO)

Dated 22 June 2021
A. Background

1. KRYSS Network is a not-for-profit organization that has observed and researched how there is unequal access to freedom of opinion and expression in Malaysia, particularly for women, girls and marginalized communities such as LGBTIQ persons. Our work, among others, focuses on promoting safer online spaces for all peoples to freely express their lived realities, experiences, opinions, and thoughts without threats of harassment and violence.

2. In Malaysia, while gender inequality is often and rightly addressed in terms of gender-based violence and its discriminatory impacts. However, the impact of gender inequality in the access and exercise of freedom of opinion and expression is largely unaddressed. A framework for an unrestrained freedom of opinion and expression means very little to women and gender non-conforming persons if it ignores the inherent unequal power dynamics in our access to human rights and equal protection under the laws.

3. This submission offers arguments and an overview of the inherent inequalities in one’s access and exercise of freedom of opinion and expression (shortened to freedom of expression herein) based on one’s gender identity and other identity markers. The submission is drafted by KRYSS Network with inputs from the Centre for Independent Journalism and Women’s Aid Organisation.

B. Issues, barriers and challenges faced by women in exercising freedom of expression

Online gender-based violence

4. Recent years see the exponential growth of digital technology and creation of new spaces for freedom of expression in ways that were unimaginable before. In a country like Malaysia where ethno-religious ideology is highly politicised, women, girls and LGBTIQ persons are unable to fully express themselves, their opinions and sexuality without risks of being stigmatised and incarcerated. The internet also opens up space for women and girls to speak up on politics, injustices, rape culture and misogynist practices in society, within their community, in their schools, at workplace or at the home.

5. As a result of their expression, they often face online gender-based violence, including but not limited to sexual harassment, non-consensual dissemination of intimate images, unsolicited nude images, hate and extremist speech, rape and death threats, blackmailing, trolling, doxxing, online mobbing of a targeted individual or a group of people. The brazenness of these attacks are often framed within an ethno-religious framework and more often than not, are further underpinned by sexism and misogyny. Such forms of targeting affect not only the targeted individual but also create a chilling and silencing effect on others who have seen how women are abused on social media.

6. Recently, in April 2021, a 17-year-old girl spoke out about a rape joke made by her schoolteacher on her Tik Tok account, and it erupted a nationwide conversation that largely took place over social media, which led to more stories about sexual harassment and misogyny in school experienced by others. This covered a wide range of incidences – from slapping and pinching to rape threats and

1 Lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and queer
body-shaming – all perpetrated by boys and male teachers. Even with the mounting evidence, many people—from government authorities to teachers and students—attempted to discredit the young girl by saying she was “too emotional”, “seeking attention”, and labeling her “child of Satan wearing a hijab”. In addition, she also received rape threats from her schoolmate and countless forms of harassment online. The immediate response from the then Deputy Inspector General of Police (now appointed as the IGP) at a media update that discussed the rape threat and related police reports lodged by her, reportedly stated: “The second report is regarding what may be a joke from her classmate, which she couldn't accept”. Speculating that it may have been a joke shifts the attention and responsibility from the real threat of rape and alluded to victim-blaming.

7. In June 2021, a woman was under attack after posting photos of the Chief Minister of the state of Kedah test-driving a new car, an activity that is prohibited under the Full Movement Control Order. The woman was cursed and threatened on her personal Facebook account, among others, with many disbelieving her story and accusing her of fabrication and making a false allegation against the Chief Minister. Photos of her family members were also circulated widely online. The Chief Minister’s political secretary did indeed confirm it was him in the photo but insisted that there was no test drive and was silent on the attack against the woman. The distrust of her expression is deeply seated in prejudices against the credibility and validity of women’s voices.

8. It is in this context, that online gender-based violence is effectively weaponised against women, and LGBTIQ persons’ freedom of expression and by an extension of that, their public and political participation. In a research written by Juana Jaafar on women’s freedom of expression on social media, it was documented that 8 out of 15 women who experience online gender-based violence were forced to leave social media platforms (both temporarily and permanently). Not only does this form of violence reinforce gender inequality and a culture of impunity that protects perpetrators, online gender-based violence also has a severe impact on women’s right and equal access to freedom of expression as these forms of violence are often weaponised to drive women out of online spaces, and inevitably, their ability to speak up against discrimination and inequality, and unjust policies and laws, is severely undermined.

Moral policing and the abuse of cultural and religious relativism

9. One of the persistent challenges to women’s freedom of expression is the continued abuse of cultural and religious relativism to morally police and control girls’ and women’s behaviour and expression. The increased visibility of women, LGBTIQ persons in public spaces, including the digital space, has been viewed as a threat to the patriarchy and its interpretation and enforcement of laws, policies and societal norms and orders.

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10. Muslim women, from all walks of life were especially targeted for not wearing hijab on social media to the extent that death threats were made against them. The stigmatisation of women removing or not donning the hijab remains a prominent feature of online gender-based violence. The harassment is often aggravated by groups online who habitually police Muslim women, particularly women who are visible in public spaces, who are influencers or have a significant number of followers, and who do not don the hijab. These violent acts are sometimes done within private/closed chat groups or online fora. Three Malaysian women who de-hijabed were mobbed online and threatened with investigation for speaking at a forum titled “Malay Women and De-hijabbing”. The backlash against the women came largely from social media and from those who did not attend the discussion. The negative backlash, including violent comments and death threats, eventually garnered attention from the religious authorities and the then Minister in charge of Islamic affairs confirmed in his statement that the three women were under investigation.

11. On May 2020, Thivyaanayagi Rajendran, a 20-year-old woman Indian Malaysian committed suicide after a series of malicious attacks and insults were railed against her on a Facebook page—all done in response to her TikTok video. The video featured Thivya and her Nepali co-worker acting out a scene from a Hindi song, where both of them appeared to be sitting behind the cashier counter at a convenient store they worked at. The video was reshared on one anonymised Facebook page with a caption stating (in Tamil), “How did this girl fall in love with a Bangla7... everyone would surely bless you”. The post invited thousands of derogatory remarks attacking her for being “an easy character” because of her association with a migrant worker. She left a suicide note in which she apologised for being part of the video that brought shame to her family.

The aggression against Thivya was rooted in her status as a young Indian woman and the derogatory remarks of her being “easy” stems from the patriarchal subjugation of the woman’s status as “property” of her ethnic community, and intimate interactions with outsiders are used to question her chastity, purity and modesty. While the perpetrator who shared Thivya’s video on Facebook is the obvious culprit in this tragedy and is now the key suspect in the police investigation, the violence experienced by Thivya is rooted in the widespread legitimisation of gender-based violence that forms part of our cultural beliefs and practices which had an inevitable impact on her access to redress.

12. Terms such as morality and decency have been regularly used to constrain women’s agency over their bodies and expression. Online moral policing is particularly harmful as it seeks to defend and uphold the current status quo where bodies and expressions of women and LGBTQI persons are controlled and silenced, rendering them invisible or unimportant in the public sphere.

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https://www.freemalaysiatoday.com/category/bahasa/2019/02/08/8 selebriti-on-off-pakai-tudung/ ;
7 A derogatory remark to categorise migrant workers
No effective mechanism to collect gender disaggregated data on the violations

13. In Malaysia, despite it being an everyday occurrence, there is no data on harassment and bullying towards women, girls and LGBTIQ persons. CyberSecurity is a registered company, now under the purview of the Ministry of Communications and Multimedia, and was set up as a specialist agency to provide cyber security services in preventing or minimising disruptions to critical information infrastructure. To offer emergency response on computer security related matters i.e. cyber harassment, hack attempts, MyCERT was set up by CyberSecurity. MyCERT has recorded a total of 596 cyber harassment related cases in 2020.\(^9\) Cyber harassment includes bullying, stalking, sexual, religious and race based harassment.\(^10\) The data does not disaggregate cases between men, women, and LGBTIQ persons.

14. The inaction and lack of mechanisms on receiving reports on the violations suffered by women and LGBTIQ persons in terms of exercising their freedom of expression are reinforced by gaps and “absence”/invisibilisation in data. Such invisibility effectively erases and silences the needs and experiences of women and LGBTIQ persons when it comes to their right to and equal access to freedom of expression.

Self-censorship

15. In a research titled “Voice, Visibility and Influence: Towards Mapping Agents of Change for Gender Equality in Malaysia” by KRYSS Network and Institute of Journalists Malaysia, it was found that journalists are more likely to self-censor themselves when it comes to gender equality issues and more so when it is about LGBTIQ issues. Journalists have to self-censor because they do not want to be seen as only interested in covering one type of issue, even if there is a big gap in media coverage. It also affects their perceived professionalism and marketability of skills. Gender equality advocates on social media, on the other hand have to self-censor their feminist ideologies, or their rage because of the resulting injustices, always mindful that bystanders will be influenced negatively by any aggression on their part.\(^11\)

16. Further, attacks against women journalists on the basis of their news articles or broadcast also tend to be amplified into online gender-based harassment and abuse. An example was the online harassment and racial attacks against a journalist from an online digital portal over an article she wrote on the Minister of Environment defending logging in a state on the northeast of Malaysia. These attacks, coming on top of the government’s current crackdown against the media who are deemed to be critical of the government and a strict media regulatory framework, have the potential to result in further self-censorship of media in order to avoid having legal actions initiated by the state against journalists and the media outlet.\(^12\)

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9 See: https://www.mycert.org.my/portal/statistics-content?menu=b75e037d-6ee3-4d11-8169-66677d694932&id=2650ed29-88be-4cec-86cc-13f8e07ae228
10 See: https://www.mycert.org.my/portal/full?id=44976922-60b2-4740-8cbf-0839907f8c
Abuse of freedom of expression to silence women

17. In 2015, a Facebook post went viral, with a description of how the author planned to break into the house of 69-year-old Noor Farida Ariffin, and sexually assault her after she called for a review of the Sharia laws, including on those related to *khalwat* (close proximity between persons of the opposite sex). She is the spoke person for G25, a group of former high-ranking civil servants that encourages rational and progressive discourse on Islam. When told off on Facebook by someone else that it was not funny to joke about sexual assault, the author of the said post scoffed and retorted that it was his right to freedom of expression.

18. In a separate incident, one woman was harassed on multiple social media platforms as a result of her calling out sexism in an article that conflated the purchase of a pair of cufflinks with fellatio as a great gift to one’s boyfriend or husband for Christmas. Among others, the attacks denied the article as sexist and claimed she was unable to take a joke. The demand for an apology and retraction of article by feminist activists were deemed as a form of censorship and therefore self-defeating to the principle of freedom of expression.\[13\]

19. Freedom of expression is often used to justify and validate hate speech and discriminatory (sexist, homophobic, transphobic, racist etc) speech against women and LGBTQI persons. In some cases, it is disguised as merely “advice” given “to teach” the woman, girl or LGBTQI persons. Given how sexism, misogyny, trans- and homophobia are normalised, the demand for an absolutisation of freedom of expression without understanding these gender power dynamics, and the call for a blanket rejection of any form of censorship, risk silencing and punishing women. When a person’s self-expression is designed for the purpose of inflicting harm, annihilating and denying the voices of another vulnerable group, making it impossible for others to engage equally in a conversation, it should not receive protection under the right to freedom of expression. Allowing the expressive autonomy of aggressors or persons who perpetuate discrimination to go unchecked would run in contradiction to the very fundamental principles of freedom of expression. The definition of hate speech must consider gender-based violence and how women, girls and LGBTQI persons are affected and whose freedom of expression remain unprotected under the current limited definition.

Shrinking spaces for public participation

20. While, there are increased protests happening on online platforms and more pandemic information and support services rely on online dissemination, this is not accessible to all due to infrastructure, financial and literacy limitations. Participation is limited and often becomes a choice between livelihood and civic participation. This is especially so for those in communities at high risk such as indigenous, refugees and the migrants communities. There is also an increase in burden of care at home for women, which inadvertently, affects their ability to carry out professional responsibilities and reduces time to participate in communication, protests and in accessing information.

21. We also see reduced opportunities and spaces and increased health and safety risk when it comes to exercising freedom of expression and assembly on the ground. This is amplified through the prevalence of threats of arrest and persecution due to increased control by State authorities.

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https://www.loyarburok.com/2014/02/05/serious-fellatio/
Women politicians were also subjected to gender-based harassments and attacks in parliament, with use of derogatory and sexualised remarks when they were seen to be challenging the prevailing male status quo. This ultimately adds to the barriers that limit women’s public and political participation.14 15

C. A feminist perspective to freedom of expression

Unequal gender-power dynamics in the access and exercise of right of freedom of expression

22. A feminist perspective to freedom of expression will recognise that such freedom is not equally and justly accorded to everyone, and even when one is given the platform to speak, it does not mean they are heard. Gender norms and social inequalities define how people from diverse genders can and should express, behave and socialise with others. They also determine how women and LGBTQ persons are treated everywhere, including how their expression will be treated by others. In this context, the unequal gender power dynamics based on one’s identity pre-determines who can say what and in what way one can appear in public; who is at heightened risk to be abused, investigated, harassed and threatened; and who will fail to be protected by the law and the police.

An inclusive understanding of freedom of expression

23. The dominant discourse around freedom of expression often and rightly focuses on State prosecution and persecution against individuals who speak up against abuse of power by the State or corporations and other forms of power. Many other forms of expression are shared online every day and when these come under attack, they are not seen as human rights violations but merely differences of values and opinions. They are opinions about a variety of issues people encounter every day i.e. an “outfit of the day” picture, a wedding picture between lesbian couple, story told by a Covid positive person, fundraising messages for refugees community.

24. KRYSS Network’s anecdotal cases show that women and LGBTQ persons are at risk of attacks regardless of the nature of their expression. Women and LGBTQ persons are persecuted and harassed just by being themselves i.e. a lesbian couple posting their wedding picture on Twitter received death threats; women’s everyday photos on social media were downloaded and reuploaded on a Telegram group chat without their consent, with the intention to sexualise them16; a woman educates others on how to breastfeed received lewd comments on her TikTok video.17

25. Such forms of expression are equally important, if not essential to the full enjoyment of a wide range of other human rights. Violations and impediment to these expressions must be equally

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addressed, in particular when it means being unable to access other human rights—freedom from violence, right to privacy, right of consent, etc.

26. In a digital age, the boundaries between private and public are further obscured. Women are directly accessing public spheres, creating contents on their social media in the comfort of their private spaces, usually at their homes or in their bedrooms. Our digital identities, expressions, photos and all other data entry to the digital space are an extension of our embodied self. Yet, there are very few safeguards in place to protect our safety digitally. Our digital self and expression online are often deemed as "not real" and therefore incapable of experiencing real harm. Stories from survivors of online gender-based violence across the world have repeatedly shown that these forms of violence have real impact on them physically, financially, emotionally and psychologically.

Limitations to freedom of expression cannot be religious-based or politically motivated

27. Any restrictions placed on freedom of expression cannot be religious-based or politically motivated. Prohibition on freedom of expression by existing laws should be reviewed especially if it only serves to further the interests of those with power and privilege. Restriction on freedom of expression should examine power and privilege, the harms done and how the harm can be perpetuated through the expression.

Inability to identify the perpetrator(s) of the violations and harms done should not mean that equal access cannot be assured

28. A feminist perspective to freedom of expression will understand that the inability to identify the perpetrator(s) of the violations and harms done should not mean that equal access cannot be assured. There has to be measures in place to ensure that the views/perspectives are heard, especially if there are policy and legal implications.

29. A research by KRYSS Network titled “Power X Expression X Violence: A Research on Women’s Freedom of Expression on Social Media in Malaysia” found that our language and discourse are not neutral but they engage with various structures and institutions of power to regulate our freedom of expression. In one case documented, an aggressor, who shared that she disagreed with LGBTIQ rights as it is against her religious belief, merely invited her Twitter followers to think about the presence of pride flags at the women’s march held in Kuala Lumpur in year 2019. Although she did not incite violence or call for LGBTIQ persons to be punished or prosecuted, her tweet was reshared widely and invited violent, hateful and abusive comments from her followers. The absence of violence in her language should not be interpreted to release her of her culpability in perpetuating discrimination and erasure of the voices and visibility of LGBTIQ persons.

30. Our expressions have to be contextualised against the situated context, and in Malaysia, it is the rise of ethno-nationalist religious ideology that places Malay Muslim as the supreme and native category of citizen within the nation. These types of “non-violent” expressions are possibly some of the most dangerous as they encourage the infliction of psychological harms on the targets, justify the violence, and can reverse any advancements in the promotion and defence of gender equality and human rights.
D. Current protection for women’s freedom of expression

31. The Malaysian government has rectified CEDAW. The central issues remains that CEDAW has yet to be incorporated into domestic law. While Article 8(2) of the Federal Constitution explicitly spells out prohibition of discrimination on grounds of gender, it is limited in its interpretation and coverage. There is no gender equality legislation in place providing for the comprehensive realisation of substantive equality of women in both public and private spheres of life.

32. There are no specific laws in place that protect women’s and LGBTIQ persons’ rights to freedom of expression. The Malaysian government has made several commitments to the elimination of all forms of violence against women as a state party to CEDAW, yet the enforcement remains inadequate due to the prevailing culture of impunity and unequal gender power relations enmeshed in society.

33. Section 233 of the Communications and Multimedia Act 1998 (CMA) provides that it is an offence for anyone to make “any comment, request, suggestion or other communication which is obscene, indecent, false, menacing or offensive…with the intent to…harass another person.” Sharing or dissemination of “obscene content”, including women’s sexually explicit photos recorded the highest filed by MCMC under Section 233 of the said Act.\(^{18}\)

Criminalising dissemination of women’s sexually explicit photos under obscenity laws should be critically reviewed. The power to punish under such laws vest in the idea of women’s body being a matter of public morality and national honour and the visibility of women’s nude photos is deemed as a threat to the country’s morality and religious principles. Underlying this is the desire to censor expression of women’s sexuality and bodily autonomy in public spaces.

There is a need to understand that the criminalisation of such actions must mean examining the unequal power dynamics between the victim and the perpetrator. The more appropriate offence should be violation of one’s bodily autonomy and privacy. For example, who owns the images, to what extent and to whom and by whom were the images disseminated without consent, who profits (in cash or in kind) from the dissemination of these images and for what purposes, etc.

34. Redress mechanism by social media companies are also far from adequate. In KRYSS Network’s research “Power X Expression X Violence: A Research on Women’s Freedom of Expression on Social Media in Malaysia”, 23 women interviewed had said that their complaints to Facebook, Twitter and Instagram were often not entertained or the platforms will say the contents do not violate community guidelines and therefore they cannot remove them. This include cases where women’s photos and personal information were disseminated along with derogatory remarks without their consent.

35. In one documented case, a Muslim woman’s post criticising polygamy regularly gets reported by conservative groups as nudity and sexual activity on Facebook. As a result, her Facebook account is suspended, sometimes for a week and sometimes for a month and inevitably results in the violation of her freedom of expression. The lack of ability to understand nuance, other languages,

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context, etc. severely impacts on the ability of social media platforms to help ensure equal access to freedom of expression.

E. Recommendation

State government

36. The State to develop a comprehensive roadmap that looks at ensuring peoples’ right to freedom of expression from a gender lens, including through law and policy reforms, social change through consciousness raising and preventive strategies.

37. To conduct nationwide empirical research to better understand people’s experience with online gender-based violence, including why people perpetrate hate and violence online and who uses and manipulates these people and their content. The collection of data is key in understanding where it happens, who does it happen to, who are the perpetrators and why does it happen. The findings could then inform the design of victim-centric policies and laws, as well as the use of alternative approaches to ensuring justice for the victim, thereby increasing the effectiveness and relevance of such laws to the victims/survivors of online gender-based violence. It could also help contribute to gender-responsive designs for social media platforms.

38. To employ good prevention strategies and victim-centric redress mechanisms in learning institutions, including schools, colleges and universities.

39. To review the standard operating procedures (SOP) of government agencies and the Police in dealing with complaints of online gender-based violence to be completely victim-centric, timely, and proactive.

40. To address the systemic nature of online gender-based violence and criminalise the use of hate speech as a political tool by political parties, its members and supporters.

41. To conduct an evaluation and audit on existing responses by law enforcers and the police in addressing online gender-based violence and to provide recommendations for improvement, including establishing gender desks with the necessary expertise for response, and to add specific content/guidelines for online gender-based violence cases, detailing approaches to adopt to address online gender-based violence, or more specific guidelines to address specific forms of online gender-based violence.

42. To set up a response team for online gender-based violence where content takedown is urgently needed. This is especially for cases involving the non-consensual distribution of intimate images and personal data.

43. To address internet etiquette and behaviour, as well as the importance of having non-discriminatory and respectful interactions online through educational programmes and suitable self-regulatory and monitoring mechanisms.
44. Ensure equal and diverse representation of people of all gender in Parliament, the cabinet, Ministers, Senators, State Assemblypersons, and other key decision-making roles within the government.

45. To conduct regular public campaigns on raising awareness on hate speech and gender inequalities.

46. Enact the Gender Equality Act and the Sexual Harassment Act and offer equal protection to people of all diversity, including LGBTIQ persons. At the same time to amend or repeal laws that curb and restrict freedom of expression, and guarantee that any restrictions placed on freedom of expression adopts international human rights standards of legitimacy, necessity and proportionality.

47. Establish an Inter-Ministerial coordination mechanism and conduct regular multi-stakeholder consultations with the relevant Ministries, government agencies, civil society, academics, media and social media platforms.

**Internet Intermediaries**

48. Digital platforms to collect and share gender-disaggregated data on gender-based violence and harassment for analysis and to use that information to improve these platforms in terms of safety for women users, investing in providing internet access and better infrastructure to women and girls in need (redistribute the profits of their companies for elevation of human rights), using their platforms to disseminate information and promote gender equality and fight against gender discrimination

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