

Digital Resilience Construction in Indonesian Cinema: Victims' Perspective on Gender-Based Online Violence in "Budi Pekerti" (2023)

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Abstract: This paper has explored the construction of digitally mediated resilience in Indonesian cinema through a case study of the gendered online violence depicted in *Budi Pekerti*. The study of 16 scenes from the film has shown how the latter navigates digital harm through the lens of gendered resistance and collective familial response. The analysis has argued against the Western-centric model of digital resilience as an individual habitus, instead presenting it as a hybrid practice in which geographically displaced nurturing rituals and cultural elements, such as the Javanese language and symbolic food practices, are involved. The film presented digitally mediated resilience among Indonesian women as rooted in the nation's collectivist ethos, in which men and women enact resilience through different strategies. While women challenged digital harm through truth-seeking, linguistic correction, and media activism, men attempted to protect their reputation. This reveals how institutional barriers and media-economy structures render women's justice inaccessible in professional spaces. The film ultimately advocates a culturally-informed intervention to address techno-facilitated violence in the digital public sphere in Indonesia.

Keywords: cyberbullying; digital resilience; film analysis; Indonesian cinema; media representation

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Introduction

The digital transformation of contemporary society has drastically changed the way people communicate and socialize. It has opened new avenues for connection and conflict. While information democratization and civic participation are possible through digital technologies, they have also opened up new avenues for violence, including gender-based violence that is not limited by physical space and operates in digital space (Browder et al., 2023; Liu et al., 2024). Indonesia, increasingly, has undergone numerous significant initiatives to combat Online Gender-Based Violence, including the passing of the Sexual Violence Crime Law (UU TPKS) in 2022, which provides legal protection for victims of online sexual violence. However, legislative and technological efforts have not resolved the complexity of digital harassment. The multifaceted nature of cyberbullying and malevolent online misogynist attacks continues to pose substantial challenges for victims. This is particularly true for women experiencing intersectional vulnerabilities in digital spaces.

Digital resilience has emerged as a key framework for conceptualizing individual and communal responses to technology-facilitated violence (Chen et al., 2024). While the traditional understanding of resilience primarily focuses on the psychological adaptation of individuals, digital resilience takes a broader approach, encompassing a range of sociotechnical strategies that require personal, social, and institutional responses to online harm. Digital transformation plays a crucial role in organizational resilience, which is primarily achieved through innovation capability and agile, swift responses (Zhang et al., 2025). Nevertheless, little is understood about how these concepts are constructed, negotiated, and represented in cultural productions such as cinema. This study addresses those gaps, particularly when it comes to how gender-based online violence is portrayed and how victims' experiences of digital resilience are constructed narratively in the Indonesian media.

Indonesian film has long mirrored social realities and engaged in public discourse on matters of concern. From politicized cinema during the New Order era to the more socially conscious cinema of contemporary Indonesian film, discussions of power, resistance, and social justice have consistently addressed the body, identity, and agency of women in Indonesian film (Heider, 1991, 160). The representation of women in Indonesian cinema has been a focus of scholarly interest. Studies have explored how female cinematographers challenge stereotypical depictions of women and bring alternative representations of women in cinema (Tas'an & Rosnani, 2023). However, phenomena in the digital era, such as technology-facilitated gender-based violence and the dynamics of digital resilience, are still underexplored in Indonesian cinema. This represents a significant gap in media studies research and a missed opportunity for discussion on digital citizenship in the Southeast Asia region. "Budi Pekerti" film (2023) by Wregas Bhanuteja exemplifies how digital resilience is constructed in Indonesian cinema.

The movie tells the story of Bu Prani, a guidance counselor who becomes a victim of viral online humiliation after a video of her is misconstrued. The film, which elaborately traces the ripple effects of cyberbullying on an individual, a family, and a community, is ripe for exploring how digital resilience is constructed, contested, and remade in present-day Indonesian society. The "Budi Pekerti" narrative unfolds a series of digital harms and consequences, ranging from

reputational, professional, family, and social harms to resistance, adaptation, and recovery. From a sociocultural, sociopolitical, and sociotechnical perspective that informs digital resilience, the study draws on media studies, gender studies, and technology studies. Broadly, digital resilience refers to an individual's ability to anticipate, endure, recover from, and adapt to technology-related events and situations while maintaining their core values and roles (Ang et al., 2022). The concept of digital resilience is broader than the individual-focused category of psychological resilience, as it encompasses the collective/structural/sociotechnical aspects of interventions aimed at mitigating digital harm. Gender-based violence frameworks allow for richer analyses of how power relations, structural inequalities, and cultural norms, combined with the technological affordances, produce dynamic vulnerability and dynamic resistance responses in different users.

Media representation theory has informed how media products, such as cinema, contribute to the construction of public meanings. Cinema not only reflects social relations and cultural meanings, but also actively produces meaning. Through its narrative structure, character development, visual aesthetics, and thematic focus, it can shape public discourse on social responsibility, the nature of victimhood and agency, and possibilities for change at both the individual and social levels. In the context of digital resilience, films are essential resources for viewers to understand and respond to digital violence. In line with recent research on gender violence in Indonesian cinema, the film "Posesif" (2020) represents the theme of domestic violence and control, offering more relevant findings on the representation of gender-based violence in Indonesian cinema (Safitri & Al-Ma'ruf, 2024). The Indonesian context also adds a layer of complexity. The cinemas in Indonesia have also adopted unique patterns in the representation of women, with the work of contemporary women directors offering more nuanced and layered depictions that challenge the predecessor portrayals of women (Hasan et al., 2025).

History, culture, and politics are the factors that determine the patterns of gender-based violence, as well as the resources for resistance and recovery. Rapid digitalisation in Indonesia, with its varied social imbalances, gender inequities, and shifting norms of social acceptability, has produced an unusual pattern of violence enabled by technology that may differ from the patterns identified in other nation-state contexts. Understanding how the cinema of Indonesia portrays these dynamics of violence is crucial to understanding the forms of digital resilience expression and the patterns of cultural response to technological change in that context. While many countries work toward regulating online behavior, restoring victims of digital violence, and fostering healthy digital communities, cultural representations of these issues take on particular importance in the spaces of meaning-making and norm-building (Wijaya et al., 2025). Cinema, with its emotional impact and ability for deep thinking, can be a particularly effective medium for exploring the complexity of digital resilience and envisioning different forms of digital citizenship.

There are still few studies on digital resilience in media representations, and almost none in the non-Western context. Most existing research focuses on psychological or technical factors in digital resilience, with less attention to how resilience is constructed, understood, and enacted

in specific cultural contexts (Suslovic & Lett, 2024). Most studies of Indonesian cinema have focused on traditional themes, such as gender representation, symbolic violence, and cultural identity (Clark, 2004; Murtagh, 2013), with little attention given to contemporary digital phenomena. This study fills a gap by analyzing in-depth how one significant Indonesian film constructs narratives of digital resilience and how it addresses key questions surrounding gender, power, and technology.

This study has three objectives. Firstly, to investigate how the film "Budi Pekerti" constructs digital resilience by representing the victims' responses to gender-based online violence. Secondly, to analyze the gender dimension of the concept of digital resilience, as portrayed in the film, with a focus on how gendered power dynamics shape both women's vulnerability and resistance in digital spaces. Thirdly, to examine the broader implications of the depiction of these cinematic representations in thinking about digital citizenship and social justice in contemporary Indonesian society. Through analysis of key scenes and narrative elements, this study seeks to contribute to both Indonesian film studies and the broader conversation about media representations of technology-facilitated violence.

Methods

This research employs a qualitative approach, including critical discourse analysis (CDA) and qualitative content analysis, to investigate the construction of digital resilience in "Budi Pekerti" (2023). The combination of CDA and qualitative content analysis is suitable for examining gender-based online violence in Indonesian cinema, as it encompasses both the visible and invisible aspects of film discourse. It recognizes that media texts actively construct and negotiate social reality, such as power, gender, and technology (Lazar, 2007). The study uses a case study design. "Budi Pekerti" (2023) is a notable example. The film was chosen for three reasons.

First, the film focuses on a female victim of online violence and her approach to digital resilience. Second, the film presents a rich representation of gender-based online violence in the Indonesian context. Third, the film won the Grand Jury Prize for Best Film at the 2024 Santa Barbara International Film Festival. The case study design enables an in-depth investigation of digital resilience within a specific cultural and cinematic context (Stake, 1995). The analysis focuses on 16 scenes. Scene selection follows theoretical sampling in qualitative content analysis to ensure theoretical relevance and empirical richness (Bengtsson, 2016).

Scenes were selected during the initial viewing based on three criteria: the presence of digital violence, digital resilience, and the consequences of online violence. In each scene, digital resilience construction, gender-based online violence representation, and responses to online harm are analyzed. The analysis loosely follows the three dimensions of CDA by Fairclough (1995). The three dimensions include: (1) textual features, which refer to linguistic and non-linguistic aspects, such as dialogue, visual imagery, and narrative structure; (2) discursive practice, which refers to how texts are produced, circulated, and consumed, as well as the intertextual associations; and (3) sociocultural practice, which describes the broader social and cultural practice within which the texts are embedded and which the texts embed. F

ollowing Bateman (2017) multimodal CDA, this study treats film as a multimodal semiotic system, meaning that the meaning is constructed through the interaction of different modes: visual, spoken, musical, and narrative. This multimodal approach is useful for analyzing power relations embedded in film's representation of gender-based online violence (Machin & Mayr, 2012). The multimodal approach recognizes that film is a multimedia communication, which means that analysis must consider how different modes combine to construct meaning, such as digital resilience and gendered violence. Qualitative content analysis corroborates CDA by providing systematic procedures for identifying, classifying, and interpreting themes in film texts (Schreier, 2012).

The method enables the systematic analysis of digital resilience construction at the personal, collective, institutional, and technological levels. The combination of CDA and content analysis allows detailed research on micro-level texts while also exploring macro-level thematic patterns. The analysis continues over several steps. First, the film was watched in its entirety to gain familiarity with the overall narrative arc. Second, the selected 16 scenes were watched repeatedly to conduct a close examination. During this stage, detailed notes were taken on the dialogue, facial expressions, camera angles, shot lengths, and close interpersonal interactions. The analysis takes on a combination of deductive and inductive methods.

In the deductive analysis, qualitative content analysis is employed to identify predetermined codes of digital resilience dimensions (personal, collective, institutional, technological, and recovery) and gender-based online violence. This stage includes systematic coding, condensation of meaning units, and pattern identification (Graneheim & Lundman, 2004). The inductive analysis uses CDA to identify the themes and discursive strategies that emerge. At this stage, analysis examines how linguistic choices, visual and iconic representations, and narrative structures contribute to the construction of particular understandings of digital resilience and gendered violence. This inductive phase remains open to unexpected patterns and cultural specificities that existing theoretical frameworks may not cover.

The validity of the research is confirmed through the use of triangulation strategies. Theoretical triangulation combines multiple frameworks, such as CDA, qualitative content analysis, and feminist theories of gender-based violence, to achieve a comprehensive understanding of the text (Denzin, 2012). Data source triangulation involves the use of character, narrative, visual, and dialogue data. Methodological triangulation combines systematic content coding with interpretative discourse analysis. The reliability was confirmed through transparent documentation of the analytical decisions and the systematic application of the analytical frameworks to all selected scenes. The consistency of the findings with the research questions and theoretical assumptions provides evidence of reliability. However, like any interpretive research, the data are a product of the researcher's analytic perspective. The researcher's choices result in a particular reading of the text, and as such, the text can be read and interpreted in many ways (Tracy, 2010).

Although the research analyzes publicly available media and does not directly involve humans, ethical considerations remain important. The analysis maintains respect in engaging with the film's representation of violence and trauma. The film is fiction, but it represents the experience of victims of online violence. The research approach acknowledges this, but does not fully explore the trauma and vulnerable experience for the sake of academic integrity. The character's identity in the film is explored through narrative analysis, rather than judgment or evaluation of the characters.

Results

From 16 scenes selected from "Budi Pekerti" (2023), which explores the construction of digital resilience through the representation of gender-based online violence and its consequences, we identified five thematic categories: truth-seeking behaviors, family protection, professional adaptation, media resistance, and emotional processing. The category themes were coded to the resilience behaviors representing the selected scenes, with the selection of themes based on three criteria: their appearance in more than one scene, their contribution to the film's narrative, and their contribution to understanding the gendered dimension of digital resilience. The findings show how "Budi Pekerti" constructs digital resilience strategies while also highlighting the gendered elements of online violence and the recovery process.

Table 1: Digital Resilience Construction in "Budi Pekerti" (2023)

Scene	Time	Type of Digital Violence	Resilience Strategy Portrayed	Gender Dimension	Impact Level
Scene 24 - Salon	19:30-19:59	Viral misrepresentation, negative comments	Initial denial and truth-seeking	Female victim stigmatization	Individual/Social
Scene 26 - Angkringan	20:33-21:37	Public shaming, viral harassment	Family protective strategies, silence as coping	Gendered family roles in crisis management	Family/Social
Scene 30 - Video Viral	27:00-27:53	Remix culture mockery, reputation damage	Self-verification through language analysis	Female identity distortion in digital space	Individual/Cultural
Scene 38 - Muklas Denial	33:19-34:24	Identity exploitation, familial defamation	Strategic disavowal for brand protection	Male content creator privilege vs female victim	Individual/Professional
Scene 44 - Library	42:13-42:30	Evidence manipulation, trending hashtags	Collective information gathering	Sibling solidarity across gender lines	Family/Digital
Scene 56 - Senam Failure	58:25-58:43	Professional sabotage, petition campaigns	Institutional withdrawal as protection	Professional women's vulnerability	Professional/Social

Scene	Time	Type of Digital Violence	Resilience Strategy Portrayed	Gender Dimension	Impact Level
Scene 43 - Teacher Meeting	41:10-41:50	Institutional pressure, career threat	Truth assertion despite consequences	Female authority challenged in the workplace	Professional/Institutional
Scene 47 - Gaung Tinta	45:05-46:16	Media exploitation, clickbait targeting	Direct confrontation and truth-telling	Female agency in media resistance	Social/Media
Scene 58 - School	01:01:09-01:05:04	Historical weaponization, context manipulation	Educational mission preservation	Maternal protection instincts in crisis	Professional/Ethical
Scene 60 - Studio Band	01:04:13-01:05:27	Collateral damage, association punishment	Transparency and legal justification	Female solidarity breaks down under pressure	Social/Professional
Scene 64 - Muklas Attacked	01:07:46-01:08:06	Physical violence escalation from digital	Seeking family support while maintaining dignity	Male vulnerability to offline violence	Individual/Physical
Scene 65 - Front Store	01:06:36-01:09:15	Psychological isolation, public avoidance	Silent contemplation and emotional processing	Female internalization of public shame	Individual/Psychological
Scene 67 - Didit Missing	01:09:32-01:11:00	Crisis amplification, strategic disclosure	Negotiating public appeal vs dignity	Gendered mental health vulnerability	Family/Crisis
Scene 82 - Resignation	01:40:52-01:40:58	Career termination, professional exile	Dignified departure, relationship preservation	Female professional sacrifice for family	Professional/Social
Scene 83 - Moving	01:42:46-01:43:26	Geographical displacement, social exile	Material reorganization, priority reassessment	Family unity through spatial displacement	Family/Social
Scene 84 - Journey	01:43:26-01:44:44	Ongoing social stigma, identity reconstruction	Collective care, nurturing behaviors	Female nurturing as a resilience foundation	Family/Emotional

Table 1 maps the chronologically ordered digitally facilitated violence and resilience responses from the film's beginning to its end. It shows the escalation of violence from viral misrepresentation (Scene 24) through geographical displacement (Scene 84). Four analytical dimensions are captured for each scene: the type of violence, the resilience strategy, gendered aspects of both victimhood and response, and the level at which harm operates (individual, family, professional, social). The progression shown in the chronology moves from initial victim-

centred responses of truth-seeking and denial in the face of digital violence, to more collective family strategies as the violence intensifies. The gender column shows that female characters (Bu Prani and Tita in particular) are stigmatised and professionally endangered.

In contrast, male characters (notably Muklas) both enjoy content-creator privilege and experience vulnerability. The level column demonstrates that digital violence rarely remains at the level of the individual, but radiates outwards to affect professional networks, families, and communities. The chronological presentation of resilience in the table shows that the film constructs digital resilience not as a single moment of resistance but as a series of evolving responses to escalating threats.

Table 2: Thematic Analysis of Digital Resilience Strategies

Resilience Theme	Frequency	Primary Gender Expression	Narrative Function	Social Implications
Truth-Seeking Behaviors	6 scenes	Female-led (Bu Prani, Tita)	Establishing moral authority	Challenges of post-truth digital culture
Family Protection Strategies	8 scenes	Cross-gender collaboration	Collective vulnerability management	Redefines traditional family roles
Professional Adaptation	4 scenes	Female authority negotiation	Career-dignity balance	Highlights gendered workplace dynamics
Media Resistance	3 scenes	Female confrontation of power	Counter-narrative creation	Questions of media ethics in the digital age
Emotional Processing	5 scenes	Female internalization patterns	Psychological resilience building	Gendered coping mechanism representation

Table 2 condenses the resilience strategies mapped across all scenes into five thematic categories, illustrating how characters relate to digital harm. Truth seeking, which is featured in 6 scenes, is generally depicted as an effort by female characters to establish moral authority and factual correctness against the viral misinformation. Family protection, the most frequently highlighted strategy across eight scenes, depicted characters working together across gender to address their collective vulnerability. This challenges the narratives of digital resilience that follow the individualistic models deemed prevalent in the Western context. Professional adjustment, evident in four scenes, captures the effort of female characters, such as Bu Prani, to strike a balance between maintaining their professional authority within a hostile environment and protecting their personal dignity.

Media resistance, represented in 3 scenes, depicts characters confronting and pushing back against the media's power and establishing counter-narratives. Emotional processing, which is featured in 5 scenes, reveal gendered patterns on how characters internalise and

address their experiences of online violence, with female characters often depicted engaging in silent contemplation and psychological work. The narrative function column captures how each resilience theme is integral to the film's story, while the social implications column reveals what these portrayals signify about Indonesia's digital culture. In terms of distribution, the film favors relational and collective resistance over individual resistance, which reflects the culturally specific understanding of resilience embedded in the family and community network rather than individual agency.

Table 3: Gender Dimensions of Digital Violence and Resilience

Aspect	Female Experience (Bu Prani/Tita)	Male Experience (Muklas/Didit)			Family Collective Response
Initial Response	Truth assertion, moral defense	Strategic protection	denial, brand		Protective silence, unity
Professional Impact	Career termination, authority loss	Income damage	loss, reputation		Economic vulnerability
Coping Mechanisms	Internalization, maintenance	ethical	Withdrawal, mental crisis	health	Mutual care, spatial relocation
Resilience Expression	Maternal care, truth-telling		Vulnerability acknowledgment		Collective nurturing
Recovery Process	Identity reconstruction through care	Gradual re-engagement			Family-centered healing

Table 3 presents a comparison of how digital violence and resilience take gendered and collective family forms. The tabulation organizes the attributes of the digital violence experience according to five aspects: initial response, professional impact, coping mechanism, expression of resilience, and recovery process. By contrasting the female perspective, predominantly voiced through Bu Prani and Tita, with the male perspective, as conveyed through Muklas and Didit, against the family collective response, the table illustrates that victimization and resilience are gendered. Female characters engage in truth-telling and moral defense but often experience worse professional repercussions, including job loss and institutional repercussions. Their coping mechanisms are more likely to be internalization and moral upholding, while their expression of resilience relies on maternal care and truth-telling.

Male characters initially employ strategic denial and brand protection, only to be burned in terms of income and reputation, which differs from the total professional exile of Bu Prani. Muklas and Didit's vulnerabilities emerge through withdrawal and mental illness, challenging the invulnerable male narrative. As the family collective response column illustrates, the film constructs resilience as a relational rather than an individual concept. Protective silence, mutual care, and residential relocation are family-level strategies that involve all family members, regardless of gender. Women and men both heal by restoring identity from family care, with

women rebuilding their identity through care, and men gradually come out with family support. The table reveals that resilience is gendered in its expressions yet collective in its foundations, suggesting that digital resilience in responding to techno-facilitated violence in Indonesia is both gendered and collective.

Discussion

The analysis reveals that "Budi Pekerti" explores digital resilience that is multidimensional and multilayered, drawing on both patriarchal and matriarchal cultural values while responding to the challenges of digitally mediated gender-based violence. The film represents digital resilience across personal, family, professional, and collective levels. The film shows how technology is increasingly a weapon of choice to perpetrate gender based online violence in the digital context. The film shows the scope of digital resilience or digital resistance through different gender lenses.

First, digital resilience at the individual level is based on gendered differences. Bu Prani's attempt to fight back against online violence centers on truth-seeking as a response to online attacks. Her use of Google Translate to search for truth and assert her own agency (*"ah suwi"*, not *"asu"*) demonstrates what can be referred to as "linguistic digital resilience"—using technology to correct misinformation with facts (Schmid et al., 2024). This aligns with previous research revealing that online violence against women and girls in digital spaces is increasing and poses serious threats to their safety and well-being. Women require innovative coping strategies to combat digital violence and abuse using the same technologies employed by their attackers.

In contrast, Muklas' digital resilience is through strategic disavowal and brand protection, i.e., denying that he is the son of Bu Prani to protect his content creator job (see scene 43). The gendered differences in digital resilience approaches in the film reveal that technology-facilitated abuse occurs in 99% of gender based violence situations. Still, it is fought with different strategies depending on gender positioning and social capital in the digital space. The scene with Tita speaking with Gaung Tinta (see scene 47) illustrates what can be considered "activist digital resilience," i.e., self-advocacy, where victims of digital violence challenge the media and demand accountability. This aligns with the growing presence of women in the Indonesian film sector following the New Order era (Wahyuni & Mohd Adnan, 2022). Tita's activism, therefore, reflects the broader trend of women's presence and agency in cultural productions.

Family-based digital resilience in "Budi Pekerti", the digital resilience approach is more "collective" rather than individual, which challenges Western-centric digital resilience frameworks that view it as individual psychological coping strategies (Ang et al., 2022). The family-based approach to digital resilience in the film shows what can be considered as "distributed digital resilience", i.e., all family members adopt different strategies in response to online attacks, while maintaining family support. In scene 67, for instance, the family is negotiating between seeking digital assistance and maintaining social dignity, with Muklas proposing a strategic public apology while Bu Prani defends her innocence. The film's

representation of family-based digital resilience reflects the cultural value of collective responsibility in Indonesia, while also showing how the pandemic has expanded the space for the perpetration of violence. This led to the use of new strategies to cope with violence as a collective family.

The family's decision to move (see scene 83-84) is an example of "geographical digital resilience," physically moving to avoid digital violence, revealing the limitations of purely digital-based solutions to technology-facilitated violence. Professional and institutional digital resilience, "Budi Pekerti," provides a critical representation of the institutional response to online violence, particularly in schools. The scenes in the Teacher and Staff Meeting (scene 43) and the Head of School Confrontation (scene 58) show that the institution prioritizes protecting its reputation and benefits over supporting the school principal. Bu Prani's insistence to maintain her educational mission despite the demands of the institution exemplifies what we can term as "mission-driven digital resilience", i. e., commitment to professional identity and mission as sources of strength to fight back against digital mob or online attacks. This professional approach to digital resilience aligns with our previous research, which shows that the director's gender influences the representation of women in Indonesian films.

"Budi Pekerti" presents the struggle of professional women in Indonesia as they fight digital violence differently from men. Bu Prani's resignation (see scene 82) suggests the limitations of individual digital resilience and the need for systemic change in addressing gender based digital violence in professional space. Media literacy and counter-narrative construction, as seen in "Budi Pekerti," offers a perceptive understanding of digital media. The film presents the digital media dynamics of GLAM, particularly remix culture (see scene 30) and the exploitation of the influencer economy (see scene 38). The film's representation of how Bu Prani's words were remixed into DJ shows the violent potential of digital culture to de-contextualize and weaponize ordinary words, particularly by women whose public words often become a target to attack and punish. The confrontation of Tita with Gaung Tinta (see scene 47) shows what can be considered as "media literacy as digital resilience", i.e., using the understanding of the digital media economy and ethics to fight digital violence. The claim by Tita that Gaung Tinta used "*clickbait untuk cari duit*" [clickbait to make money] demonstrates an understanding that digital violence is often motivated by economic interests in Indonesia. The film, in line with the International Telecommunication Union (ITU), reflects that technology is used to threaten, harass, bully, embarrass, assault, extort, coerce, torment, and socially exclude individuals for economic gain. The film "Emotional and Psychological Digital Resilience" by Budi Pekerti highlights the emotional and psychological aftermath of digital and online violence, which is rarely the focus of digital resilience discussions.

In scene 65, for instance, Bu Prani is portrayed as a silent figure, sitting alone in the front shop in deep contemplation, while the sound of children playing in the playground can be heard, thus reflecting the irony of her isolated state. In the end (scene 83-84), the film presents what can be called "nurturing digital resilience", i. e., recovering through acts of nurturing, feeding, and caring the family. Tita presents *bakso* (a distinctive Indonesian meatball) to each family member, reflecting the family's collective effort to overcome digital violence together. This

representation illustrates how traditional gender roles in Indonesia can be both constraining and empowering.

Cultural specificity and digital citizenship. In representing digital resilience, the film shows how digital resilience is always culturally embedded. The film's focus on language (Javanese "*ah suwi*" versus Indonesian profanity), food culture (*putu, bakso*), and social relations in Indonesia reflects how digital resilience must be understood contextually, based on the culture, rather than a universal model. The film's representation of digital resilience is conveyed through a bilingual dialogue and includes diverse cultural references. This indicates that digital resilience in Indonesia cannot be divorced from its local cultural context and practices. In other words, digital resilience in Indonesia is not something that can be translated or brought from outside, but rather something that is produced and must be navigated with cultural embeddedness. The dialogue and cultural elements in the film suggest that digital resilience for Indonesian women must be navigated in the intersection of global digital platforms and local, culture-specific practices (Hasan et al., 2023).

We can consider this as "culturally-embedded digital resilience". The film, therefore, challenges the universal digital safety approach that assumes platform-specific representations in the Indonesian digital space to be the same. This representation of digital resilience suggests that digital resilience is never a simple process, but a complex one that encompasses all dimensions, including digital, personal, professional, family, and cultural. The film shows that digital resilience for Bu Prani is not just about her individual story, but also the story and struggle of all Indonesian women in the digital space. The film, thereby, contributes to the growing research on technology-facilitated gender-based violence through critically representing the nuances of Indonesian women's digital resilience.

Conclusion

"Budi Pekerti" (2023): Culturally Grounded Digital Resilience of Indonesian Society in Resisting Gendered Online Violence through Collective Responses. The film refutes Western-centric resilience, which prioritizes individual coping, and instead highlights collective and communal resilience within familial, professional, and societal contexts. Sixteen selected scenes provide three key findings. First, digital resilience undertakes a gendered practice: female characters testified to truth-seeking and media activism, while male characters focused on reputation management, which demonstrated unequal vulnerabilities. Second, resilience operates collectively, rather than individually, through the distributed family roles of silence, geographical dislocation, and solidarity. Third, institutional failure and media complicity make systematic barriers to justice, and professional women's careers become collateral damage of the on-set violence.

The film's incorporation of Javanese language and symbolic practices, such as food and family rituals, demonstrated that resilience is effectively gendered, culturally contextualized, and collective rather than individualistic and Western-centric. While Bu Prani's protection of

educational integrity and Tita's media-literacy confrontations align with Indonesia's influencer economy context, where social media platforms exploit gendered identities for profit, the family's geographical displacement and nurturing rituals underscore the limitations of digital solutions, instead providing a culturally hybrid, physical-digital solution. In summary, this research contributes to the digital citizenship discourse on gendered practices, cultural specificity, and collective resilience, rather than individualistic and Western-centric resilience.

Author Contribution Statement

Chatarina Heny Dwi Surwati: Conceptualization and Research Design; Data Curation and Investigation; Methodology; Project Administration; Writing - Original Draft; Writing - Review & Editing. **Desas Noel Pitaloka:** Methodology; Writing - Review & Editing; Validation. **Monika Sri Yuliarti:** Formal Analysis and Visualization; Writing - Review & Editing. **Rina Herlina Haryanti and Tri Rejeki Andayani:** Validation, Visualization; Writing - Review & Editing.

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