

Sexual violence among female commuter line passengers in Jakarta

Kekerasan seksual pada penumpang perempuan commuter line di Jakarta

Ahmad Toni^{1✉} & Jauharotul Maknunah²

¹Departement of Communication, Faculty of Creative Communication & Design,
Universitas Budi Luhur

Petukangan Utara Pesanggrahan, Jakarta Selatan, DI Jakarta, Indonesia - 12600

²Departement Teknik Rekayasa Instrumentasi dan Kontrol, Politeknik Negeri Indramayu
Lohbener, Indramayu, Jawa Barat, Indonesia - 45252

e-mail of corresponding author: ahmad.toni@budiluhur.ac.id

Abstract

This topic of this research is sexual violence that occurred on commuter line electric trains in the Jabodetabek area. This study aims to investigate the experiences of women victims of sexual violence on commuter line trains. Taking a social setting in the Jabodetabek area, namely the Jakarta-Tangerang City, Jakarta-Rangkasbitung Banten, Jakarta-Bekasi West Java and Jakarta-Bogor West Java routes, the researcher also explored the factors of victims not reporting the violence experienced and the conditions after experiencing violence. This study uses a case study method, with 149 commuter line KRL passengers as research subjects. The findings show that 24 passengers on the Jakarta-Tangerang City route, 1 in 6 passengers experienced sexual harassment and occurred in 2018, and 2023. Data from 41 female users of the KRL computer line on the Jakarta-Rangkasbitung Banten route, 1 in 4 women have experienced sexual harassment. Meanwhile, data from 38 female passengers who were interviewed on the Jakarta-Bekasi route in West Java showed that 1 in 5 passengers experienced sexual harassment while they were using the KRL commuter line. Data from 46 female passengers interviewed showed that 1 in 4 women had experienced sexual harassment on the Jakarta-Bogor West Java KRL route. The conclusion of this study shows that the process of silencing victims of sexual violence because the stigma of the victim is negative, the victim is placed in the position of the guilty party, unable to protect themselves, obliged to accept this behaviour, and must be silent to accept their weak nature.

Keywords: commuter line; communication muted group; female passengers; sexual violence

Abstrak

Topik penelitian ini mengenai kekerasan seksual yang terjadi di kereta listrik commuter line di wilayah Jabodetabek. Penelitian ini bertujuan untuk mengetahui pengalaman perempuan korban kekerasan seksual di kereta api commuter line. Mengambil setting sosial di wilayah Jabodetabek, yaitu rute Jakarta-Tangerang Kota, Jakarta-Rangkasbitung Banten, Jakarta-Bekasi Jawa Barat dan Jakarta-Bogor Jawa Barat, peneliti juga mendalami faktor-faktor korban tidak melaporkan kekerasan yang dialami dan kondisi setelah mengalami kekerasan. Studi ini menggunakan metode studi kasus, dengan 149 penumpang KRL commuter line sebagai subjek penelitian. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa 24 penumpang jalur/rute Jakarta-Tangerang Kota, 1 dari 6 penumpang mengalami pelecehan seksual dan terjadi di tahun 2018, dan 2023. Data 41 perempuan pengguna KRL computer line jalur/rute Jakarta-Rangkasbitung Banten 1 dari 4 perempuan pernah mengalami pelecehan seksual. Sementara data 38 penumpang Perempuan yang dilakukan wawancara dengan jalur/rute Jakarta-Bekasi Jawa Barat menunjukkan 1 dari 5 penumpang mengalami peristiwa pelecehan seksual selama mereka menggunakan KRL commuter line. Data dari 46 penumpang Perempuan yang diwawancara hasilnya 1 dari 4 perempuan pernah mengalami peristiwa pelecehan seksual di rute/jalur KRL Jakarta-Bogor Jawa Barat. Kesimpulan dari penelitian ini adalah proses pembungkaman korban kekerasan seksual dikarenakan stigma korban bersifat negatif, korban ditempatkan pada posisi pihak bersalah, tidak mampu menjaga diri, diwajibkan menerima perilaku tersebut, dan harus diam menerima kodratnya yang lemah.

Kata kunci: commuter line; komunikasi kelompok terbungkam; penumpang perempuan; kekerasan seksual

Introduction

Sexual violence is an act or action that can belittle others, humiliate, dominate, and attack body parts and reproductive organs. This occurs because of power and gender relations that have an impact on psychological and physical suffering and interfere with reproductive health. Thus the definition of sexual

violence is an attempt to deprive a person of the opportunity to carry out education, social environment, and other freedoms optimally (Sbaihat 2022). Men and women can experience sexual violence due to the power possessed by one of them in the social system and living environment (Inayatillah et al. 2022). As reported by the National Commission on Women (KPAI 2019) 'inequality of power relations or gender is a situation where the reported party misuses the resources of knowledge, economy and community acceptance of their social status to be used to control the victim'.

Sexual violence is an act of violence committed by someone by forcing unwanted sexual contact (Sent & van Staveren 2019). Sexual violence is a frightening spectre for its victims and often victims do not voice their rights because they are hindered by stigma (Lenze & Klasen 2017). Sexual violence is considered violence that damages, degrades, or changes the body (Kabeer 2020), sexual desire or reproductive ability (Aris & Rudiati 2023). Sexual harassment can be defined as behaviour characterised by unwanted sexual comments and sexually oriented physical approaches to others (Hossein 2021). Sexual harassment can be experienced by many groups including children, adolescents, women and men, but most cases of sexual harassment are women (Espinosa et al. 2023). Thus violence and sexual harassment are defined as actions that are dominated by power and gender owned by someone to another person and can occur in groups (Sesan et al. 2019); children, adolescents, adults, men and women, but the victims of violence and sexual harassment are more women.

The Survey on Life Experience of National Women (SPHPN) conducted by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (*Indonesian: Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak abbreviated kemen-PPPA*) together with the Statistics Indonesia (BPS) in 2016, physical and sexual violence experienced by women amounted to 42.7% and 3,4.4% of sexual violence in dating relationships (Sari 2016). Data on sexual violence in Indonesia as stated by the National Commission on Violence Against Women (*Indonesian: Komisi Nasional Anti Kekerasan terhadap Perempuan, abbreviated as Komnas Perempuan*) during 2015-2020, occurred in higher education (universities) and boarding schools (religious institutions) with a percentage of 27% in universities, 19% in Islamic boarding schools, 15% in public high schools (SMU), 7% in junior high schools (SMP), 3% in kindergartens (TK), elementary schools (SD), special schools (SLB) and Christian-based education (Saikuddin & Amrullah 2023).

Sexual violence in children according to Arist Merdeka Sirait during the COVID-19 pandemic experienced an increase of 59% during 2019-2020 (Aris & Rudiati 2023). Over the past 10 years 2012-2021 sexual violence in Indonesia has recorded 49,762 cases with the dominance of victims of sexual violence being women. Drawing from the latest data 2022 provided by the National Commission on Women, 3,014 cases of violence against women were received (Karlina & Prabowo 2014). Sexual violence against women in 2020 was recorded at 299,911 which consisted of 291,677 cases heard in the District Court and Religious Court (*Indonesian: Pengadilan Negeri dan Pengadilan Agama*), partner services of the National Commission on Women 8,234 cases, Referral Service Unit (*Indonesian: Unit Pelayanan Rujukan abbreviated UPR*) of the National Commission on Women 2,389 cases (Mabruri et al. 2016). In 2023 the National Commission on Women recorded 401,975 cases of violence against women with mental violence at 3,498 (41.55%), physical violence at 2,081 (24.71%), sexual violence at 2,078 (24.69), economic violence at 762 (9.05%) (Rukman & Huriani 2023). Data on sexual violence in 2023 in personal space reached 2098 cases, public space 1276 cases and state space (state institutions) 68 cases (komnasperempuan.go.id).

Sexual violence against women in public transportation occurs a lot during commuting hours in Indonesia, especially in the Jakarta area. Violence on trains in 2017 on the commuter line was 26 cases, in 2018 it reached 34 cases (Commuter Line), 2019 reached 35 cases (Commuter Line and Sembrani Train), in 2022 it reached 75 (Commuter Line, Argo Lawu, Dhoho) (Shalahudin & Hariyanto 2023). Many forms of sexual violence occur on the commuter line including photos of women without permission, sexual verbal, seduction, and physical violence such as touching and sticking genital parts (Aris & Rudiati 2023). Acts of sexual harassment and violence on trains are pretending to sit and approach the victim, looking at the victim's body, and physical actions (Karlina & Prabowo 2014). Using the commuter line with women-only carriage expressed the satisfaction of 31.8% of respondents and 36.4% of respondents

were satisfied with the priority of women-only seats (Azizah 2021). While the mode of sexual harassment on trains in the Yogyakarta area is touching the victim's limbs, the perpetrator touches the victim's body parts and touches them (Bendar 2020). Thus, sexual violence in public transportation, especially on trains, occurs a lot and is detrimental to women, even though there are women-only carriages, it is not proportional to the number of passengers on the commuter line electric train during rush hours.

The construction of reality that is silenced in the social system mostly occurs among marginalized social classes or the smallest part of the community system, in this case (Ilaa 2021), women and children are marginalized social classes in social life. The opinion of Adwin and Ardener in their study in 1975, states that women are most disadvantaged in the social class by male domination (Kustiawan et al. 2023), with men as gatekeepers in behavior and communication to silence women (Sriatmi & Patriajati 2024). Women in social life are still considered as the other sex which determines the mode of social representation, status, and role of women (Sari 2016).

Muted group theory Little Jhon in 2021 this theory describes the practical methods used by a dominant group to suppress, silence, and discredit the subordinate group's words or thoughts (González et al. 2022). Edwin Ardener first proposed Muted Group Theory in his preface to a study examining the ritual practices of Bakweri women in Cameroon (Sjolie et al. 2024). Muted Group Theory fundamentally asserts that women are marginalized by the dominant power held by men, leading to a highly restricted role and presents for women in public sphere. Wall & Gannon-Leary (1999) suggest that woman, particularly those aware of their marginalization, face the choice of either confirming to a male-dominated communication system or remaining silenced. This dilemma forms the basis of the Muted Group Theory (Ariana 2022). The opinion West and Turner (Aminullah 2020) contend that groups in the highest social strata establish the communication norms of a culture (Wall & Gannon-Leary 1999). Less powerful groups, including woman, the poor, and people of color, must adapt to the communication systems defined by the dominant group (Friedmann & Efrat-Treister 2023). The central premise of Muted Group Theory is that member of minority group are often regarded as muted or non-fluent speakers (Sari 2016).

Furthermore, Muted Group Theory intersects with the concept of linguistic space (Jule 2018). The theory is anchored in two key propositions (1) society is composed of various groups or cultures, each with its own distinct worldview, and (2) not all groups within society have equal power (Syawal et al. 2024). In principle, social hierarchy in communication and cultural systems creates a dominant class and a subordinate class to exercise power from the dominant class to the subordinate class (Onaran et al. 2022). Muted group theory sees how social classes are built and constructed based on the power held by the dominant class over the marginalized class. This research looks at the role and position of women as a marginalized class in the area of public transportation, namely the commuter line as a public space.

The involvement of women in public sphere and their participation in the public sector remain prominent topics of discussion within Indonesia's multicultural context. The public sector is more identified with masculine characters who are assertive, brave, dexterous and quick in making decisions (Baranowska-Rataj & Matysiak 2022). The position of women in society and culture has experienced marginalization and discrimination, especially in developing countries that still see the position of women in the domestic area (Vasudevan & Raghavendra 2022). Marginalization and discrimination of women occur in many countries, especially Islamic countries, they experience discrimination caused by government policies, as is the case in Saudi Arabia (Szymborska 2022).

Juridically in the area of international law (Wong & Daminger 2024), legal instruments and legislation in Indonesia recognize the principle of equal rights between men and women, but women are seen as being left behind by men in the fields of economy, education, health, employment and politics (Halpin 2022). Recognition of equal human rights between men and women in Indonesia is stated in Article 27 paragraph (1) of the 1945 Indonesian Constitution which explains the equality of all Indonesian citizens. The nature of this equality is the basis of equal rights and law regardless of gender, ethnicity, religion and class. Gender is understood as a construct for identifying social and cultural differences between men and women, including aspects of sex, sexuality, and biological distinctions.

Women and public transportation in Indonesia is a dilemmatic condition, on one hand, public transportation is widely used by women and on the other hand women have become a marginal class in terms of safety and comfort of public transportation. Research Monalisa on public transportation in the city of Manado shows 60% choose safe private vehicles, 31% Gojek and Grab transportation (online taxis) and 9% choose city transportation (Public) (Monalisa et al. 2019). Survey results place Jakarta as the fifth most unsafe City for women using public transportation, after Bogota, Mexico City, Lima, and Delhi with criteria focus on (1) nighttime safety, (2) verbal harassment, (3) physical abuse, (4) public response abuse and, (5) city security. The satisfaction rate of using the commuter line specifically for women-only carriage with a Mean (average) of 2.44 on seat comfort, 2.83 on no physical violence, 3.12 on security, and 2.04 on passenger order on a scale of 4 (Saliman & Putranto 2020). The commuter line users per day based on the data reached 1,001,438 to 1,154,080 (Jayanti et al. 2021). The train routes used include the destinations of Rangkas (Banten) to Tanah Abang (Jakarta), Cikarang Bekasi (West Java) to Jakarta, and Bogor (West Java) to Jakarta.

Research Method

This research uses case studies. Case studies are useful for describing individuals, events, and processes that occur in pursuing the main goal, illustrating the case that occurs as an event that is worth studying. Research data is carried out by investigating victims, where this study involves 149 individual subjects, with passengers aged productive 18-35 years on four routes using KRL commuter line transportation. The case study approach utilized in this research is very appropriate because it provides a description and illustration (Ridlo 2023) of who and how women use the commuter line as public transportation in Jakarta and how the experience of sexual violence is a situation that puts women in a subordinate position. The case study approach used in this research is exploratory, revealing various motives of sexual violence and harassment in a transportation mode that is the commuter line in the Jakarta area.

This research location was chosen in Jakarta Indonesia. The commuter line users per day based on the data reached 1,001,438 to 1,154,080 (Jayanti et al. 2021). The train routes used include the destinations of Rangkas (Banten) to Tanah Abang (Jakarta), Cikarang Bekasi (West Java) to Jakarta, and Bogor (West Java) to Jakarta. The buffer zones where workers in Jakarta live are the regions of Tangerang Regency and South Tangerang, encompass stations such as Cicayur, Cisauk, Rawa Buntu, Jurang Mangu, Sudimara, Pondok Ranji, Kebayoran, Palmerah, and Tanah Abang stations. Tangerang City includes stations like Tangerang City Station, Tanah Tinggi, Poris, Batu Ceper, Rawa Buaya connecting to Jakarta. The Bekasi Regency and City area includes Cikarang, Bekasi, Kranji, Klender, Jatinegara, Matraman stations, extending to Jakarta Kota.

The primary data in this study are the experiences of Commuter Line passengers obtained through interviews, both in-person and online interviews with victims of sexual harassment. Interviews were conducted in an investigative and structured manner based on the psychological state of sexual harassment and their level of readiness (Soe'oad & Toni 2020). Data collection in case studies includes letters, memoranda, and agendas. Reports of events, articles, archival recordings, surveys, personal recordings, open-ended interviews, direct observation, physical and cultural devices and others (Kusmarni 1989).

Secondary data from this research are documentation related to sexual harassment and violence against women that occurred on commuter line, reviews and news in the mass media, data from the National Commission on Violence Against Women and related sources (Yazan 2015). Case studies emphasize in-depth analysis of one case in conducting a single event study in qualitative research (Are 2023). From the above explanation, the researcher employed a data triangulation process to ensure objectivity, integrating primary and secondary data sources (Gao et al. 2023). The pattern of triangulation of data sources is carried out to find the depth of research results and is objective from victims of sexual harassment and violence on the commuter line in Jakarta, especially when using the train during commuting hours (06.00-09.00 AM) and leaving hours (4.30-9.00 PM).

Results and Discussion

Sexual violence against women in Indonesia still occurs, especially in public transportation. Most sexual violence occurs between women and male perpetrators. Case of sexual violence in public areas continue to increase, although perpetrators often receive legal sanctions and social sanctions but this still continues to happen. Many women worry about this condition regarding the safety and comfort of public transportation, especially during work departure and return hours. Many female workers in Jakarta and surrounding areas are victims of sexual violence on public transportation. This is a big warning for public transportation organizers to ensure women from forms of harassment and violence against women.

Sexual violence on public transportation

Incidents of sexual harassment on public transportation, as reported by the Safe Public Space Coalition (*Indonesian: Koalisi Ruang Publik Aman abbreviated KRPA*) include. As Table 1 explains sexual harassment and violence on buses for school children reached 35.08%, city transportation (*angkot*) 24.49%, commuterline 18.14%, online-base (apps) transportation 4.79% and base taxis 4.27%.

Table 1.
Sexual harassment – public transportation

Type of public transportation	Percent (%)	Description
Bus	35.08%	All routes nationwide
Angkot (city transportation)	29.49%	All routes nationwide
Commuter Line	18.14%	All Jakarta and buffer zone routes
Online Ojek (Gojek, Grab, etc.)	4.79%	All routes nationwide
Conventional motorcycle taxi	4.27%	All routes nationwide

Source: katadata.co.id and KRPA (2023)

Table 2.
Sexual harassment and violence in commuter line Jakarta

Year	Number of sexual harassment and violence	Commuter line route	Description
2017	25 cases of sexual harassment	All routes	None of the victims reported
2018	34 cases of sexual harassment	All routes	20 victims reported to the law officer
2019	34 cases of sexual harassment	All routes	Report to the officer
2020	7 cases of sexual harassment	All routes	Report to the officer
2021	1 case of sexual harassment	All routes	Report to the officer
2022	70 cases of sexual harassment	First, Majority of Bogor-Manggarai-Kota, Jakarta Kota route	
		Second, Tanah Abang (Jakarta)-Rangkas-bitung route	40 %
		Third, Bekasi-Jakarta Kota route	60%on three routes
		Fourth, Tangerang City-Jakarta Line	
2023	2 cases of sexual harassment	All routes	Report to officer
2024	2 cases of sexualharassment	Manggarai-Cikini Line	- Reporting to the officer - The victim is a female journalist
		Sudirman-Klender Line	- The initial of the victim is EB - The perpetrator wore a sarong without underwear

Source: commuterline.id, sindonews.com, idntimes.com, Kompas.com (2023)

The types of sexual harassment are carried out in the form of whistling teasing, pecking sounds, comments on the body, vulgar comments about sexual activity, sexist and body eroticism, racism, glances, photos without permission, peeping, vehicle horns followed by swearing in a sexual tone, vulgar body gestures, showing genitals, masturbation, forcibly confronted and hugged, showing photos or videos containing eroticism and sexuality, forcibly grabbed, aggressively kissed, followed secretly, touched body parts, touched breasts, touched buttocks, rubbed with genitals and others. Data on sexual harassment during the 2017-2024 period that occurred on commuter line and reported incidents include (see Table 2).

Table 2 explains the amount of sexual harassment data that occurred in 2022, which occurred on the Bogor–Manggarai route South Jakarta, which reached 40%, while for the three routes, namely Rangkasbitung Banten, Bekasi West Java, and the city of Tangerang it reached 60%. conditions of Great violence and sexual harassment occurred during the COVID-19 pandemic. Motives for the actions of verbal abuse perpetrators joke-oriented (Rahayu & Legowo 2022). They experience form of sexual violence such as perpetrators looking at sensitive body parts, teasing by whistling, jokingly flirtation or education, even forms of sexual violence physically, namely the perpetrator squeezed body to the victim's body (Aris & Rudiati 2023). The perpetrators use women as material jokes and objects of jokes that harm women in acts of verbal harassment are classic reasons, reasons that are considered trivial uttered by the perpetrator as a form of self-defense in various cases that occurred.

Sexual harassment experience on commuter line

Based on the data from interviews with 41 female users of the commuter line on the Rangkas-Jakarta route, 1 out of 4 women have experienced sexual harassment. The activities of the incident include; touching the body, touching the buttocks, touching the thighs, touching the shoulders, and seeing the genitals displayed. As stated by informant WAT: “usually sexual harassment activities are carried out in commuting for work when the commuter line conditions are crowded, based on experience suddenly someone's hand holds a part of my body, and I avoid it.” While informant PUT stated “the crowded conditions on the commuter line are widely used to grope women's body parts, I have experienced it once, so now I prefer to be in the women-only carriage.” Furthermore, informant NIK said, “actually, there are not many perpetrators of sexual harassment on the commuter line, but at certain hours it can be done when the passengers are crowded and vice versa when there are only fewer passengers. At that time, I experienced it when there were no passengers, a man showed me his genitals while smiling at me.”

The incidents of sexual harassment that they experienced caused trauma in their activities because what they experienced occurred in 2021 and 2022. The trauma conditions experienced by them provide a sense of security and comfort in traveling using the commuter line, determined by the choice of carriages with security guards.



Figure 1.
Working hours on the commuter line Jakarta
Source: Researcher

Figure 1 provides an illustration of the condition of commuter lines which are crowded, especially during work departure and return hours, providing opportunities for perpetrators of sexual harassment, sometimes accompanied by forms of verbal and physical violence. There is no distance between one person and another so that passengers do not have room for comfort and safety when using this electric train in the Jabodetabek area.

The incident of sexual harassment experienced by informant SAR on the Bogor-Jakarta route occurred in 2019 but she did not report the incident to the authorized officer because she still did not understand the reporting mechanism. *"the incident occurred during leaving hours, around 5.00-6.00 PM with the condition that the train was crowded. Suddenly a man's hand slipped under my hand and grabbed my breast. I hurriedly moved away and the culprit was very handsome, in my opinion as a female. His body posture is ideal, handsome, cool, ideal male posture, but he did it in a public place."* Informant IME's confession, *"the incident was around 2022 when I went home from work (around 8.00 PM) the train was still full, around Depok station suddenly I was hugged from behind forcibly and the man tried to kiss me, I pushed his body and immediately moved away and changed carriages."*

The same experience happened to informant IMA, a housewife who was travelling from Jakarta to Bogor in the afternoon (1.00 PM),

"a young man took out his penis and masturbated in front of her, I immediately felt sick and got off at the nearest station". Entin also experienced sexual harassment *"first I was sitting and falling asleep, suddenly from Citayam station a passenger got on and sat next to me, but I woke up because his hand stroked my thigh, I was afraid because he was glaring (intimidation) and I immediately moved my seat."* (Informant IMA).

The incidents that occurred put women in the silenced area not to report the incidents they experienced with various considerations, whether the report of the incident would be believed by the officer, evidence, witnesses and others, so they did not report to the officer. Data from 46 female passengers interviewed showed that 1 in 4 women had experienced sexual harassment on the Commuter Line Bogor-Jakarta route.

Meanwhile, data from 38 female passengers interviewed on the Bekasi-Jakarta route showed that 1 in 5 passengers experienced sexual harassment during their time on the commuter line. Informant MUR testimony, *"as long as I went to school using the commuter line, so almost 3 years. That morning I left at noon because there were no teaching and learning activities at school, the train was not full but suddenly an old man. looked at me sharply, I was afraid, then sat closer and asked if I had a boyfriend yet, where my house was, my phone number while his hand held my thigh."* Informant ALI's experience, *"if I ride the train alone now I think and am a little traumatized, at that time my shoulder was once embraced by a man I did not know, then whispered inviting me to the hotel."* The incident that made informant SAF feel scared at the time of the incident at Kranji station, *"I felt dirty because I was suddenly squeezed on the buttocks by a person, I did not know on the commuter line and the person seemed innocent, smiling satisfied and I was disgusted to see it, the crime was when I go for work (07.00 PM)."*

The incidents that they experienced as women in public transportation gave them a sense of fear, discomfort, and unsafe in a crowded carriage during commuting hours and when the train had only a few passengers. Women are the aggrieved party of the incidents and do not dare to report the incident due to lack of information and guarantee of personal protection.

Data from 24 interview informants on the Jakarta-Tangerang City route showed that 1 in 6 passengers experienced sexual harassment and it happened in 2018, and 2023. Informant SAN, *"the incident in 2023 a year ago, I took the train from Batu Ceper station, and the train conditions were not too crowded, I sat on the priority bench when I wanted to sit down, a man was unzipping his pants and showing his underwear. I was shocked and immediately stood away."* A similar incident was experienced by informant DIN, *"suddenly a man was smiling at me, at first I pretended not to see him, but gradually he sat closer*

and put his left hand on my thigh, pretending to be familiar. I felt uncomfortable, I glared at him until he ran away.” The same thing was experienced by informant MEI, “I felt uncomfortable riding the commuter line because of one incident in 2023 ‘There was an old man who kept looking at me from head to toe, I felt intimidated, then he asked for an acquaintance, asked for a telephone number while holding my hand.’”

The pattern of sexual harassment experienced by the victims is not accompanied by coercive behavior and positions women in a subordinate condition, such behaviour shows that men use power and strength in public spaces (public transportation) to intimidate and sexually harass women as victims.

Sexual harassment has increased from year to year, the number of violence and sexual harassment during 2018-2022 continues to increase and the highest in 2022 occurred on the KRL (commuter line), Argo Lawu, Dhoho (Shalahudin & Hariyanto 2023). Act of sexual harassment have a negative impact (*trauma*) on the victim and society, and an authorized institution is needed to support the victims (Setiadi et al. 2023). Sexual violence and harassment is not only carried out by men as perpetrators, but can also be carried out by women, but more perpetrators are men (Wewengkang & Sumarwan 2020). The opinion provides an illustration of how sexual harassment and violence on commuter lines continues to increase and it is a collective responsibility to combat it's as a commitment from various parties to build public transportation that is friendly to women. The special carriages for women prepared by the commuter line are not able to accommodate female passengers during working hours.

Women-only carriages and anti-sexual harassment campaigns

Women-only carriages are facilities provided by the commuter line as a priority facility for women in the first carriage and the last carriage of the train. The sources in the study reached 149 (individual subject) consisting of 41 female passengers of the Commuter Line Rangkas-Jakarta route, 46 female passengers of the Commuter Line Bogor-Jakarta route, 38 female passengers of the Commuter Line Bekasi-Jakarta route, and 24 female passengers of the Commuter Line Jakarta-Tangerang City route showed satisfaction and comfort using the women-only carriage, including 69% feeling satisfied and comfortable, 25% feeling normal or the same as other carriages (men and women), 6% feeling the attitude and behavior of passengers in women's carriages were not friendly to fellow women.

The reasons and explanations are as follows: Satisfaction and comfort of using the women-only carriage is due to the belief factor of fellow women feeling safe. This perception encourages female passengers to jointly create a quality transportation space and utilized the facilities provided by the commuter line as a privacy space for women. Satisfaction and comfort are influenced by the presence of security officers in the women-only carriage. There is no difference in security between the women-only carriage and the mixed carriage (men and women). Passengers in the women-only carriage seem to be unconcerned and unfriendly to fellow female passengers. Passengers in the women-only carriage sometimes lack empathy for elderly passengers. Passengers in the women-only carriage push each other and overlap during commuting and leaving hours.



Figure 2.

Commuter line, women's carriage

Source: Researcher

Thus, the condition of the women-only carriage on the commuter line is at the level of comfort and safety for the quality of women’s transportation but there are still perceptions of behavior, attitudes, and a sense of empathy and sympathy that have not been manifested in the activities of using the women-only carriage perceived by the women passengers themselves.

Figure 2 describes the atmosphere of a special train carriage for women, this is useful for providing protection for the safety and comfort of female passengers provided by the KAI commuter line. Anti-sexual harassment and violence campaign activities carried out by the commuter line centred at Tanah Abang, Bogor, and Cikarang Bekasi stations in collaboration with the Indonesian Consumers Foundation (*Yayasan Lembaga Konsumen Indonesia abbreviated YLKI*) and the Train Lovers Community (*Komunitas Pencinta Kereta Api namely Rail Fans*).

This campaign expects that victims of sexual harassment or violence must be brave enough to report it. The purpose of this campaign is for commuter line to become a role model for public transportation and the protocol for preventing and handling sexual harassment can be a reference (standard) nationally. This campaign provides education about commuter line facilities that have an Analytic Recognition system (CCTV Analytic) that can identify facial records of perpetrators of sexual harassment and violence that are integrated with the database system, victims of sexual harassment can submit reports to official social media and call centre at 021-121 as well as protection and assistance of victims in the legal process.



Figure 3.

Anti-sexual harassment campaign – commuter line
Source: Kompas.com and republik.co.id 2023, 2024

Figure 3 the anti-sexual harassment and violence campaign was carried out by commuter line with the main objective of victims of sexual harassment being able to speak up and report to officers and people closest to the scene of the incidents. This becomes an educational process for female passengers to be brave and position public transportation that is friendly to women. The existence of women’s trains or two women-only carriages is not effective in preventing sexual harassment (Sakinah 2024). This is due to the density of passengers before going to work and coming home from work. Research data illustrates 42.3% of the safety and comfort of women-only carriages and prevention of sexual harassment on commuter lines (Najib et al. 2024). This explains the women-only carriages and the level of train density during work and after-work hours is not commensurate with capacity, resulting in discomfort felt by female passengers.

The role and position of victims of sexual harassment

The process of marginalization and silencing of victims of sexual harassment as vulnerable people/groups in public transportation illustrates that the political power possessed by men in the public sphere provides wounds and trauma for women. The experience of each passenger who experienced sexual harassment and violence illustrates the perception of women as agents of change talking about sexuality is still weak, especially regarding sexual harassment and violence. This is influenced by culture and religion that view victims of sexual harassment as dirty individuals (disgrace). The view of victims as a social disgrace underlies the victims of sexual harassment and violence on the commuter line to be silent

(muted) not reporting the incident to security officers and law officers. The process of silencing (muted) is also influenced by the attitude and support of the closest people who prohibit victims from reporting incidents of sexual harassment and violence, the closest people referred to are parents, siblings, friends, and companions. They give advice not to report the incident because of the consideration of the stigma of victims of sexual harassment is negative in social life. In addition, the process of silencing (muted) victims of sexual harassment on the commuter line is also influenced by the fear of perpetrators who take revenge both physically and in other violent ways. This is a concern for victims to be able to talk about the truth and facts. The process of silencing the victims is shown in the following Figure 4.

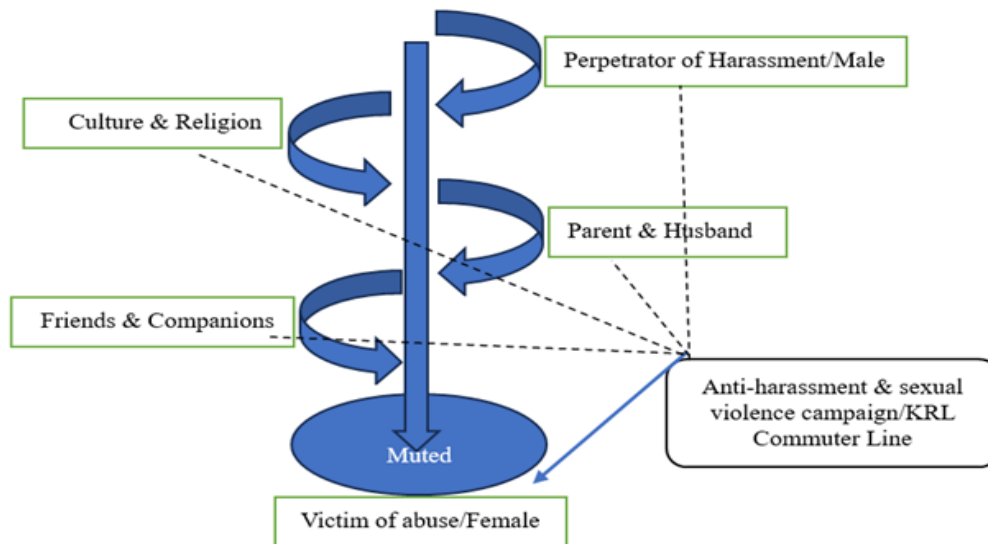


Figure 4.

Process of silence victims of sexual harassment

Source: Researcher novelty by author

The explanation of Figure 4 is women victims of sexual violence on commuter line are the silenced party of a patriarchal system in political power and public space dominated by men. First, in this case, the process of silencing victims of sexual violence 79% did not report the events they experienced because the stigma of the victim is negative, the victim is placed in the position of the guilty party, unable to protect themselves, obliged to accept this behavior, and must silently accept their weak nature. Stigma further worsens the psychological condition of victims and often experience depression, do not dare to speak out, do not dare to report incidents of sexual violence to the authorities. Indonesian culture still views women as traps in every activity in public spaces, including in public transportation. Depression is a general impact experienced by victims including a sense of hopelessness, loss of control, emotional burden, mood swings, and hinders the victim's ability to function socially and work (Rukman & Huriani 2023). Nationwide Personal Transportation Survey (NPTS) data on female users of public transportation, especially commuter lines, reached 46.5% (Mowri & Bailey 2023), social views that place women as domestic workers and the stigma of victims of sexual violence that are unclean (najis) are considerations for victims to be able to report the incidents they experience. Stigmatization of victims of sexual violence leads to mental health problems, including depression, anxiety and post-traumatic stress disorder (Rukman & Huriani 2023), it also affects physical health, chronic pain, headaches, and digestive problems (Oktavilantika et al. 2023).

Second, family pressure such as fathers, mothers, brothers, sisters, and husbands are the main parties who prohibit victims from reporting violence against women on the commuter line on the grounds of maintaining the good name of the family from the stigma and views of others based on the culture and religion they adhere to. The principle of covering shame and disgrace wrapped in the reason of maintaining the good name of the family and religion is understood as an absolute principle. Third, friends and companions, especially in the workplace, become a consideration for women not to report

the incidents of sexual violence they experience because it becomes a disgrace to the work environment and other colleagues, friends sometimes connect it with the good name of the company where the victim works if they report the incident and become mass media coverage, then the good name of the company or the image of the place where the victim works becomes bad.

The reason that women are increasingly silenced by the system and the wrong perspective of friends or companions in the work environment further exacerbates the role and position of women as victims of sexual violence (Heiselberg & Raun 2024). Fourth, victims of sexual violence are silenced by the social system and patriarchal political perspectives that place victims of sexual violence as parties who bear disgrace (shame), perspectives that are rooted in the social system and legitimized by patriarchal religious interpretations (Islam) increasingly place victims of sexual violence silenced, the process of patriarchal cultural hegemony, especially Javanese, Betawi, and Sundanese culture makes women in an increasingly marginalized position.

The implications of this research in view of muted group theory on passengers. Women who experience violence and sexual harassment do not have space to talk about their experiences to minimize the psychological impact and trauma that accompanies it. Various systems and institutions related to public transportation related to public commuter line transportation policies build power dominance in value and language systems that are oriented towards the stigma of female victims who are considered weak and do not fight back, giving the impression of power to the perpetrators in carrying out acts of harassment. Women as a subordinate group learn the linguistic structure of the perpetrators to speak to the general public about the trauma they experienced in order to gain independence in the commuter line area by carrying out resistance in the form of a campaign to reduce and prevent the recurrence of the events they experienced.

Conclusion

Women victims of sexual violence on the commuter line in the Jakarta Bogor, Jakarta-Bekasi route, Jakarta-Banten and Jakarta-Tangerang City routes experience cultural silencing and social systems, they do not dare to report the incidents because the role and position of women and the negative stigma on victims of sexual violence are the main factors they dare not speak up and report to the authorities. At the level of understanding about sexual violence literacy in public transportation, women still see mere slogans without being able to provide real reactions that can fight back and speak out in public facilities and transportation.

The process of silencing women is dominated by social interpretations dominated by patriarchal hegemony, religious interpretations, especially Islam, which are equally dominated by men and negative impressions and stigmas by the social system resulting in them not being able to speak and their position increasingly confounded. Suggestions for the transportation authorities of the commuter line should be that the anti-sexual violence campaign is aimed at how to change the paradigm of the role and position of women as victims of sexual violence as subjects who dare to move, dare to speak, guarantee confidentiality, and safety so that women dare to disclose the incidents they experience. Women are given guidance and counselling by psychologists or psychiatrists facilitated by the commuter line authorities as psychological protection so as not to experience severe depression.

References

- Aminullah M (2020) Komunikasi dalam pemikiran Richard West dan Lynn H Turner untuk menjadikan komunikasi yang beretika. *At-Tabayyun: Journal Islamic Studies* 1 (1):1-17. <https://journal.iainlhokseumawe.ac.id/index.php/attabayyun/article/view/1729>.
- Are C (2023) An autoethnography of automated powerlessness: Lacking platform affordances in Instagram and TikTok account deletions. *Media, Culture and Society* 45 (4):822-840. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437221140531>.

- Ariana R (2022) Refusing color-blind myths in black feminist otherwise spaces. *Gender & Society* 36 (2):239-263. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432221075098>.
- Aris S & Rudiati E (2023) Respon perempuan terhadap kekerasan seksual (Studi kasus di kereta rel listrik Jabodetabek). *KHIDMAT SOSIAL: Journal of Social Work and Social Services* 3 (2):120-129. <https://jurnal.umj.ac.id/index.php/khidmatsosial/article/view/17775>.
- Azizah N (2021) Aliran feminis dan teori kesetaraan gender dalam hukum. *SPECTRUM: Journal of Gender and Children Studies* 1 (1):1-10. <https://doi.org/10.30984/spectrum.v1i1.163>.
- Baranowska-Rataj A & Matysiak A (2022) Family size and men's labor market outcomes: Do social beliefs about men's roles in the family matter? *Feminist Economics* 28 (2):93-118. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2021.2015076>.
- Bendar A (2020) Feminisme dan gerakan sosial. *Al-Wardah* 13 (1):18-25.
- Espinosa J, Dejene T, Guijarro M, Cerdá X, Madrigal J, & Martín-Pinto P (2023) Fungal diversity and community composition responses to the reintroduction of fire in a non-managed mediterranean shrubland ecosystem. *Forest Ecosystems* 01 (10):1-12. <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.fecs.2023.100110>.
- Friedmann E & Efrat-Treister D (2023) Gender bias in STEM hiring: Implicit in-group gender favoritism among men managers. *Gender & Society* 37 (1):32-64. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432221137910>.
- Gao H, Jia H, & Guo B (2023) Resources available for me versus us: Implications for mitigating consumer food waste. *Journal of Marketing Research* 61 (4):619-637. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0022437231162615>.
- González I, Seo B, & Floro MS (2022) A Theoretical Framework - Gender Wage Gap Gender Norms and Long-Term Care A Theoretical Framework. *Feminis Economic* 28 (3):84-113. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2022.2081353>.
- Halpin M (2022) How incels discredit themselves to degrade women. *Gender & Society* 36 (6):813-837. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432221128545>.
- Heiselberg MH & Raun T (2024) Educate yourself! Exploring feminist politics and self-development in Danish online fat activism. *Feminist Media Studies* 0 (0):1-16 <https://doi.org/10.1080/14680777.2024.2363852>.
- Hossein CS (2021) Racialized people, Women and social Enterprises Politicized Economic Solidarity in Toronto Enhanced Reader. *Feminis Economic* 27 (3):21-50. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2020.1821078>.
- Ilaa DT (2021) Feminisme dan kebebasan perempuan Indonesia dalam filosofi. *Jurnal Filsafat Indonesia* 4 (3):211-216. <https://doi.org/10.23887/jfi.v4i3.31115>.
- Inayatillah I, Nor MRM, & Faisal M (2022) Social history of Islamic Law from gender perspective in Aceh: A study of marriage traditions in South Aceh, Indonesia. *Samarah* 6 (2):573-593. <https://doi.org/10.22373/sjkh.v6i2.14598>.
- Jayanti RA, Joewono TB, & Rizki M (2021) Akseibilitas stasiun kereta rel listrik commuterline berdasarkan persepsi wanita. *Jurnal Transportasi* 21 (1):63-73. <https://doi.org/10.26593/jtrans.v21i1.4904.63-72>.
- Jule A (2018) All together now choral respons, gender and linguistic space in a cameroonian primary classroom. *African Journal of Teacher Education* 7 (1). <https://doi.org/10.21083/ajote.v7i1.3765>.
- Kabeer N (2020) Women's empowerment and economic development: A feminist critique of storytelling practices in "randomista" economics. *Feminist Economics* 26 (2):1-26. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2020.1743338>.
- Karlina A & Prabowo H (2014) Pelecehan seksual di angkutan KRL ekonomi dari perspektif pelaku. In: *The 17th FSTPT International Symposium*, August. 22-24.
- KPAI (2019) Laporan independen Lembaga Nasional Hak Asasi Manusia Komisi Nasional Anti kekerasan terhadap Perempuan. 1-177.
- Kusmarni Y (1989) Studi kasus. *UGM Jurnal Edu* UGM Press. 1-12.
- Kustiawan MT, Rasidin M, Witro D, Busni D, & Jalaluddin ML (2023) Islamic leadership contestation: Exploring the practices of conservative Islamic movements in Indonesia. *Jurnal Ilmiah Islam Futura* 23 (2):196-217. <https://doi.org/10.22373/JIIF.V23I2.14938>.
- Lenze J & Klasen S (2017) Does women's labor force participation reduce domestic violence? Evidence from Jordan. *Feminist Economics* 23 (1):1-29 <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2016.1211305>.

- Mabruri E, Syahlan ZA, Sahlan MS, Anwar TB, & Romijarso BA (2016) Effect of tempering temperature on hardness and impact resistance of the 410- 1Mo martensitic stainless steels for steam turbine blades. *International Journal of Engineering and Technology* 8 (6):1-8. <https://doi.org/10.21817/ijet/2016/v8i6/160806208>.
- Monalisa C, Tangkudung M, Rompis SYR, & Timboeleng JA (2019) Pengaruh gender terhadap pemilihan moda transportasi di Kota Manado. *Jurnal Sipil Statik* 7 (7):827-834.
- Mowri S & Bailey A (2023) Framing safety of women in public transport: A media discourse analysis of sexual harassment cases in Bangladesh. *Media, Culture and Society* 45 (2):266-284. <https://doi.org/10.1177/01634437221111913>.
- Najib, Angkat HR, & Zhuhri MI (2024) Persepsi perempuan MRT terhadap kebutuhan kereta khusus perempuan. *JMTS: Jurnal Mitra Teknik Sipil* 7 (3):1049-1054.
- Oktavilantika DM, Suzana D, & Damhuri TA (2023) Literature review: Promosi kesehatan dan model teori perubahan perilaku kesehatan. *Jurnal Pendidikan Tambusai* 7 (1):1480-1494.
- Onaran Ö, Oyvat C, & Fotopoulou E (2022) Gendering macroeconomic analysis and development policy: A theoretical model. *Feminist Economics* 28 (3):23-55. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2022.2033294>
- Rahayu SD & Legowo M (2022) Perlawanan perempuan menghadapi pelecehan verbal. *Jurnal Analisa Sosiologi* 11 (3):464-480.
- Ridlo U (2023) Metode Penelitian Studi Kasus: Teori dan Praktik. Jakarta: Publica Indonesia Utama. 86-87.
- Rukman R & Huriani Y (2023) Stigma terhadap perempuan korban kekerasan seksual. *Jurnal Iman dan Spiritualitas* 3 (3):447-454. <https://doi.org/10.15575/jis.v3i3.29853>.
- Saikuddin A & Amrullah AK (2023) The dynamic of gender equality and new directions for the role of sudi women. *Center of Midlle Eastern Studies* 16 (1):51-59. <https://doi.org/10.20961/cmcs.16.1.64149>.
- Sakinah NR (2024) Analisis efektivitas pelayanan pada kereta khusus wanita KRL Commuter Line Jakarta. *Journal of Politic and Government Studies* 13 (4):260-270. <https://ejournal3.undip.ac.id/index.php/jpgs/article/view/47293>.
- Saliman J & Putranto LS (2020) Kajian manfaat gerbong khusus wanita di KRL commuter line Jabodetabek. *JMTS: Jurnal Mitra Teknik Sipil* 3 (4):989-1002. <https://doi.org/10.24912/jmts.v3i4.8398>.
- Syawal MS, Dwiandini A, Khaerunnisa DH, & Irwansyah I (2024) Exploring the role of muted group theory in understanding women's experiences: A systematic literature review. *International Journal of Humanity Studies (IJHS)* 7 (2):279-294.
- Sari WP (2016) Woman as muted group (Case study of woman in Sasak Ethnic Group). *International Conference on Transformation in Communication (ICOTIC)*. <https://openlibrarypublications.telkomuniversity.ac.id/index.php/icotic/article/view/5674>.
- Sbailhat A (2022) Khadijah's image in 19th century orientalism. *Al-Jami'ah* 60 (2):399-426. <https://doi.org/10.14421/ajis.2022.602.399-426>.
- Sent EM & van Staveren I (2019) A feminist review of behavioral economic research on gender differences. *Feminist Economics* 25 (2):1-35. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2018.1532595>
- Sesan T, Clifford M, Jewitt S, & Ray C (2019) "We learnt that being together would give us a voice": Gender perspectives on the East African improved-cookstove value chain. *Feminist Economics* 25 (4):240-266. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2019.1657924>.
- Setiadi MP, Rasji R, & Limanto MF (2023) Penanganan pelecehan seksual di KRL oleh penumpang KRL berdasarkan UU no.12 2022. *Jurnal Ilmiah Wahana Pendidikan* 2 (19):349-365. <https://doi.org/10.5281/zenodo.8415820>.
- Shalahudin NL & Hariyanto D (2023) Strategi humas PT KAI dalam memutus mata rantai kekerasan seksual di atas kereta api. *Al Qalam: Jurnal Ilmiah Keagamaan dan Kemasyarakatan* 17 (3):1916-1926. <https://doi.org/10.35931/aq.v17i3.2158>.
- Sjolie HK, Akin D, & Lauritzen T (2024) Gender differences in job experiences and satisfaction in the forest sector. *Canadian Journal of Forest Research* 1 (54):224-237. <https://doi.org/10.1139/cjfr-2023-0036>.
- Soe'oed DV & Toni A (2020) Jingle dunia fantasi dalam realita analisis wacana. *Jurnal Pewarta Indonesia* 2 (2):113-120. <https://doi.org/10.25008/jpi.v2i2.35>.

- Sriatmi A & Patriajati S (2024) The correlation between behavioral and psychological factors with booster immunization adherence for children aged <24 months. *Jurnal Promosi Kesehatan Indonesia* 19 (2):120-128. <https://doi.org/10.14710/jpki.19.2.120-128>.
- Szymborska HK (2022) The evolution of gender wealth inequality in the United States in a Changing Institutional Context. *Feminist Economics* 28 (2):32-63. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2022.2042583>.
- Vasudevan R & Raghavendra S (2022) Women's self-employment as a developmental strategy: The dual constraints of care work and aggregate demand. *Feminist Economics* 28 (3):56-83. <https://doi.org/10.1080/13545701.2022.2044497>.
- Wall CJ & Gannon-Leary P (1999) A sentence made by men: Muted group theory revisited. *European Journal of Women's Studies* 6 (1):21-29. <https://doi.org/10.1177/135050689900600103>.
- Wewengkang FB & Sumarwan U (2020) Stigma laki-laki sebagai pelaku pelecehan seksual KRL commuter line daerah Jabodetabek. *Anomie* 2 (3):181-196. <https://jom.fisip.budiluhur.ac.id/index.php/anomie/article/view/499>.
- Wong JS & Daminger A (2024) The myth of mutuality: Decision-making, marital power, and the persistence of gender inequality. *Gender & Society* 38 (2):157-186. <https://doi.org/10.1177/08912432241230555>.
- Yazan B (2015) Three approaches to case study methods in education: Yin, Merriam, and Stake. *The Qualitative Report* 20 (2):134-152. <https://doi.org/10.46743/2160-3715/2015.2102>.