Symbolic Violence Manifestation Behind Victim Blaming Practices

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ABSTRACT

This study intends to uncover the practice of victim blaming carried out by institutions against victims of sexual harassment at the Commuter Line. This qualitative research was conducted using critical discourse analysis on detikNews online media coverage on January 4, 2018, entitled "*Pelaku Pelecehan Seksual di KRL Ditangkap, Korban Diminta Melapor.*" The study then conducted an analysis using the four-step method introduced by Fairclough and revealed detikNews articles using the PT Kereta Commuter Indonesia's (PT KCI) perspective as a doxa. The practice of victim blaming by PT KCI appeared implicitly and was hardly noticed by readers. The victim was accused to be the reason for the incomplete legal process of sexual harassment cases. This gap was then used by PT KCI to increase its image by displaying that the institution managed to arrest the perpetrators. This action violated the victim's protection rights because the institution could increase its image in many other ways. This manifestation of symbolic violence operates through language, representation, and symbols. This symbolic violence then positioned women into groups that were silenced by patriarchal culture. This study verified that victim blaming practices could be performed by anyone, including individuals and institutions. Notably, institutions supported by mass media had a great influence on information dissemination. Attempts to open public space for women through speech, discussion, and writing, are necessary to stop victim blaming practices and achieve reflective awareness as heterodoxa.

Keywords: Women, Sexual, Harassment, Victim, Blaming

1. INTRODUCTION

Sexual violence is defined as any act or attempts to commit sexual acts or other actions directed at someone's sexuality by force, by everyone, without regard for their relationship with the victim, in any situation (KemenPPPA, and BPS, 2017). This definition reveals individuals' vulnerability to sexual violence because it can be carried out by anyone and anywhere. At least 76% of the violence experienced by women in the public sphere is sexual violence in the form of sexual harassment and rape (Komnas Perempuan, 2018).

One type of sexual violence case that attracts public attention is sexual harassment on public transportation, such as on commuter lines (CLs). A CL is an alternative public transportation mode that was implemented to decrease congestion in the Jabodetabek area. CLs are an effective alternative for short duration trips, and the cost is cheaper for users compared with other land transportation. Until June 2018, the average number of CL users per day was as many as 1,001,438 users on weekdays, and the record for the highest number of users served in one day was 1,154,080 (PT KCI, 2019a). The high number of CL users creates an opportunity for sexual predators to victimize riders. The crowded conditions force women to huddle with other passengers—women and men. The CL provides two women-only cars out of 12 sets of railway cars and does not accommodate the needs of all female passengers'.

In 2017, PT Kereta Commuter Indonesia (PT KCI, 2019b) reported 25 cases of sexual harassment both on the CL and the stations, and none of the reports were escalated to the legal domain. In 2018, PT KCI reported 34 cases, and the number of reports filed with law enforcement officers was 20 cases. However, this increase in reporting to law enforcement does not necessarily eliminate victims' reluctance to report or escalate their reports to the legal sphere. Additionally, the number of cases reported by PT KCI under-represents the real number of sexual violence cases that occurred on the CL and in its stations because, for example, some victims do not report these crimes

because they fear poor treatment from the authorities and believe they have insufficient evidence (Tirto.ID, 2019).

Some victims reveal their experience to only their closest friends and relatives or more anonymously through social media. For example, Margareth was a passenger on the Jakarta-Bekasi CL who was victim of sexual harassment and shared her experience through the @ChaChang twitter social media account. The crowded CL conditions allow perpetrators to victimize other passengers. For Margaret, she felt that something strange was occurring behind her; and when she turned around, she saw a man performing indecent acts.

Margareth rebuked the perpetrators violently, but the perpetrator remained and smiled at her. The other CL passengers were silent as if indifferent. Their silence increased Margareth's psychological burden from the experience, and she was further traumatized when she disembarked at Klender Station and heard another passenger make negative comments, that is, the incident was partially Margareth's fault for not riding in the women-only car and that being exposed to indecent acts was an accepted risk of riding on a crowded train. Thus, Margareth was reluctant to report the case but reported it anyway. The officer who handled her case told her that because she had no evidence; thus, arresting the perpetrators would be difficult (Kompas.com, 2018).

Margareth's experience invited controversy in cyberspace. Some netizens sympathized with and regretted the events experienced by Margareth. However, among the netizens' sympathetic comments was also a cynical comment directed at Margareth.

> *"It's not fair to corner each other. Let's make an analogy, there's tiger's cage and there's a goat's cage. And the goat chose to go into the tiger's cage and being eaten by the tiger. Which one's blameworthy? Otherwise, you had already known that was a rush hour and of course, everyone felt tired. You already knew the train will be packed, isn't it better for you to take a bus, sit comfortably and enjoy the ride? While waiting for CL to improve. # I also experienced fear, sis. I am a man and I know how it feels like being accused without evidence #I am afraid of taking CL," wrote @septa_fahmi.* (Akurat.co, 2019)

This netizens' comment reflects the concern of men to maintain their status quo as the dominant group. They refused to blame. In his comment, men and women were analogous to tigers and goats, and tigers are higher than goats on the food chain. From the patriarchal netizens' perspective, the sexual harassment of Margareth was a logical consequence that she had to accept as a goat who entered the tigers' cage.

Margareth's thus had an experience that emphasized that women, even when victims of crimes, may receive a negative reaction from society. Instead of being protected, women may receive cold, judgmental responses. This practice is called victim blaming and doubles the psychological burden of victims of sexual violence. All of it has manifested by patriarchal culture.

Margareth's case reveals that victim blaming results in their reluctance to report their experience. Thus, why do individuals engage in victim blaming? Why does victim blaming occur, especially in cases of sexual harassment on the CL? This phenomenon is examined by considering the construction of the dominant culture, which has isolated selected groups (in this case women) such that they have no voice regarding the enforcement of their rights.

2. THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND METHOD

2.1. Victim Blaming

Jensen and Gutek (1982) revealed that women tend to blame themselves and other women when sexual harassment occurs. Cowan (2000) also demonstrated that women tend to judge other women based on negative stereotypes. Thus, when sexual harassment occurs, women might be skeptical of other women's confessions, and the harassment might be considered a regular event.

Victim blaming is a set of beliefs about the myth of sexual violence that tends to blame victims rather than perpetrators (Cowan, 2000). This definition refers to individuals who believe that the victim's account is exaggerated or a lie. Victims are also considered to perhaps have enjoyed, wanted, asked for, or deserved the sexual violence described, for example, because of the victim's clothes, behavior, or role in society (e.g., a sex worker) (Cowan, 2000). In this victim blaming context, victims are considered responsible for the sexual violence they experienced.

The psychological condition of the victim is at stake because of post-traumatic stress, and because they must endure victim blaming from community and family members. Victim blaming is a manifestation of patriarchal culture, which distinguishes the power relations of women and men in the public sphere. Cultural myths about rape perpetuate victim blaming in an attempt excuse rapists' behavior (Richmond-Abbott, 1992), such as happened to Margareth.

Additionally, today's style of media coverage perpetuates victim blaming and represents women as weak, passive, and powerless (Putri, 2012). This representation presents women as sexual objects, and this detrimental perspective has been nurtured by mass media for hundreds of years. Women are often described

become passive, obedient, dependent on men, and made sexual objects (Galdi, Maass and Cadinu, 2014). Women are also more likely than men to be depicted in a minimal amount of clothing and posed in sexually exploitative, submissive positions. Mass media content often presents women as decorative elements whose value is based solely on their physical appearance. Thus, victim blaming culture refers to the stereotypes presented in mass media.

2.2. Symbolic Violence

Symbolic violence is the most difficult type of violence to overcome. This type of violence that operates through a type of discourse called symbolic, because it has no visible, physical form (Haryatmoko, 2010). Bourdieu (2006) defined symbolic violence as subtle, for example, victims may not realize that their experience was violent. Symbolic violence is mostly distributed cognitively through symbolic communication channels, namely, language, representation, and symbols. Through this channel, the victim implicitly agrees to experience violence.

Concretely, symbolic violence infiltrates into an individual's social life through the entrance of doxa (Bourdieu, 2006). Doxa is a life order that is universally recognized and bounded by tradition or power domination. Doxa has naturalized in one direction and is never questioned. The generated truth from doxa is a particular truth used as a universal truth and embedded in the power of tradition or the dominant culture of society.

Patriarchy is the dominant culture in Indonesia. The dominance of a patriarchal culture is gateway to symbolic violence through language, representation, and symbols. Women become vulnerable to accepting symbolic violence because of a social construct dominated by the male perspective. The public does not realize that the choice of words in their interactions represents the interests of men over women. Women also often adopt this language of patriarchy; then, they become trapped regarding how they see, feel, think, and act (Haryatmoko, 2010). Symbolic violence is thus natural and inevitable in a patriarchal society.

Quoted in Bourdieu (2006), Virginia Woolf calls this condition "the hypnosis of power domination." Virginia explains by ethnography analogy that women are genetically separated from ancient rituals. These rituals allowed men to express themselves freely in the public sphere, but imprisoned women in the home based on the mystical rituals of masculine domination.

When a woman attempts to live up her potential in the public sphere, her efforts become irrelevant to the patriarchal culture. Women's presence in the public sphere is considered a mistake. Thus, when women experience sexual harassment in the public sphere, they

are at risk of being opposed and retraumatized by patriarchal culture. This stigma that is then attached to these women serves a purpose. The scheme to develop this stigma was based on symbolic violence and presents as a metaphysical hierarchy, adopted unconsciously by society (Haryatmoko, 2010).

2.3. Theoretical Assumption

In the context of this research, Bourdieu's idea of symbolic violence is used to understand how the phenomenon of victim blaming could occur. The practice of victim blaming is related to the dominance of patriarchal culture, which clearly distinguishes the role of men and women in the social sphere. Patriarchal culture sets the social realm as an arena for men. The language, representation, and symbols created also use the perspective of men as dominant. Thus, when women enter the male arena, they must bear its risks—and consequences.

In sexual harassment cases, a community with a male-dominated perspective will accuse the woman of being women as the initiator. Women are considered inherently guilty because they entered an arena that is not theirs, just like a goat in a tiger cage. Every social phenomenon that occurs is seen through the eyes of men, and this dominant perspective is also adopted by women. In this context, women do not realize when they experience symbolic violence. Even when women finally realize these experiences, they may be men powerless to fight back.

This symbolic violence can also be conducted by an institution or the mass media through victim blaming, which society comes to consider normal and natural. In this context, critical discourse analysis is namely, to dismantle the practice of victim blaming, to bring reflective awareness to society.

2.4. Method

The phenomenon of victim blaming demonstrates injustices against women as victims of sexual harassment. Therefore, first, this research used a critical paradigm that emphasizes alignments at women, to enrich media studies from the feminist perspective. Next, this research dismantled the practice of victim blaming that occurred in the media coverage. Notably, the media perpetuated victim blaming. Therefore, this research applied critical discourse analysis methods to detikNews online media coverage, entitled *"Pelaku Pelecehan Seksual di KRL Ditangkap, Korban Diminta Melapor"* (Sexual Harassment Perpetrators in KRL Arrested, Victims Requested to Report), which they broadcast on the detikNews online platform on January 4, 2018 (detikNews, 2018).

Figure 1 detikNews article.

This discourse was examined because of its content, namely, social irregularities in the vocabulary and terms used, and reflects the victim blaming conducted by institutions. This finding was a concern because an institution should not be supported by the media to perpetuate victim blaming. For this reason, this study used the four-step method promoted by N. Fairclough (Haryatmoko, 2016). The four steps are necessary to ensure the researcher identifies social injustices and find solutions to the problems observed.

3. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

3.1. Victim Blaming in Online Media Discourse

N. Fairclough's critical discourse analysis:

3.1.1. Focus on social irregularities

Social irregularities in this article are defined as the victim blaming conducted by PT KCI institutions. Vocabulary and terms that imply alignment with a ruler perspective:

a. The terms: *"berharap korban mau bekerjasama"* (expected the victim to cooperate) in the first paragraph, second sentence; *"tidak dapat di proses jika korban tidak mau melapor"* (cannot be processed due to victims reluctance to report) in the third paragraph, second sentence; *"korban tidak mau bekerjasama sehingga kami menangkap sendiri"* (the victim did not want to cooperate, so we arrested the perpetrator by ourselves) in the fourth paragraph, second sentence; and *"ada resiko malu ya tidak apa"* (there's an embarrassment risk but it is okay) in the

fourth paragraph, third sentence. These terms illustrate how the legal process of sexual harassment cases stalled because of victims' reluctance to report. PT KCI implicitly blames the victims by stating that the victims refused to cooperate. Actually, the victims' psychological burden from the sexual harassment contributes to their inability to report. The President-Director of PT KCI added a psychological burden to victims by saying that embarrassing the victim is acceptable while reporting the case. This statement reflects that they consider embarrassment a common risk that the victim must endure. The term *"korban tidak mau bekerjasama"* (victim was reluctant to cooperate) also simplifies the number of victims' reports of sexual harassment cases, which have been viral on social media.

b. The terms *"didinaskan secara tertutup"* (assigned secretly), in the sixth paragraph, fourth sentence, and *"menangkap tangan"* (arrest), in the sixth paragraph, fourth sentence, give the impression that PT KCI is very responsive in its investigations of sexual harassment cases and successfully obtains evidence. Actually, PT KCI is obliged to attempt to investigate reported incidents to protect its customers. PT KCI did not have to make a statement to the media that cornered the victim. Through this article, PT KCI claims that they have fulfilled their obligations, but victims' reluctance to report hampers their efforts. Structurally, it illustrates the metaphysic hierarchy that places the victim as a powerless and guilty person. Therefore, PT KCI did not act in a responsible manner in response to every sexual harassment case that was unable to proceed legally, because of a victim reluctant to report.

c. The terms *"korban merasa risi"* (the victim feels uncomfortable), *"menggesek-kan bagian depan tubuh"* (rubbing the genital area), and *"ke belakang tubuh korban"* (into the back of the victim's body) were used in the seventh paragraph, third sentence, and describe the sexual harassment scene. The term "rubbing" was used as a euphemism to refine the man's sexual activity. But this expression precisely invites the reader's imagination to re-create events in the reader's mind. Additionally, the term "uncomfortable" describes that the victim feld disturbed but helpless to report. This helplessness in the next paragraph explains that the victim reported after the perpetrator disembarked, not when the incident occurred. The conclusion of this argument emphasizes that "it becomes the victim's fault for being reluctant to cooperate because the victim did not report directly when the incident happened, so there's no strong evidence to process the case."

3.1.2. Grammar and cohesion

Terms used in this article convey the PT KCI is very responsive to sexual harassment cases. This image is further inflated by adding a psychological burden to victims through its veiled victim blaming practices. The victim's perspective is not presented, which would have described her psychological burden as she experienced it. It is reflected in the terms used that were analyzed by Fowler's methods (Haryatmoko, 2016) (Table 1).

Table 1. Fowler's Method of Analysis

Classification	Perspective	Discourse War	Marginalization
- President-Director of KCI (6x) versus victim(s) (4x) - Officer(s) (3x) versus victim(s) (2x) - Perpetrator(s) (3x) versus victim(s) (4x) - Officer(s) (8x) versus perpetrator(s) (5x)	- Unable to process the case legally (2x) - Victim(s) does not want to cooperate or report the case (2x) - Suggestion and expectation that the victim(s) would report the case (6x) - Victim(s) attempt to report (1x) - PT KCI officer attempts to arrest and report (8x) - Case that proceeds legally due to the officer's attempts (3x) - Case that proceeds legally due to the victim's attempts (1x)	- PT KCI expects the victim to cooperate - Case unable to proceed legally due to the victim's reluctance to cooperate - Victim does not want to cooperate so we arrest the perpetrator on our own - There is a risk of being embarrassed, but it is okay - Officer assigned secretly to arrest the perpetrator - Perpetrators have proceeded legally. Why? Because our officer reported it	- PT KCI's arguments that "the victim reluctant to cooperate" - President-Director of PT KCI's statement, that suggested victims report the case, even though there will be a risk of being embarrassed - PT KCI officers arrested the perpetrator; therefore, the sexual harassment can proceed legally. → The dominations are cornering the victim

The social irregularities in this article are the victim blaming conducted by the institutions. PT KCI's relation with the victim became disproportionate. PT KCI had a larger portion of a positive image through the President-Director of PT KCI's statement and the officer's attempts to arrest the perpetrators. By contrast, the victims' image was negative because the article frequently mentioned the victim's reluctance to cooperate. The victim considered the reason behind the incomplete legal process of sexual harassment cases.

This inequality shows that this article mostly used the PT KCI's perspective of their "accomplishments" regarding sexual harassment cases reported on the CL. This perspective was based on the number of perpetrator arrests. This article also repeatedly stated the victim was reluctant to cooperate and report; thus, the harassment cases became protracted. These victim blaming practices were observed eight times: twice explicitly and six times implicitly through suggestion. The suggestion to report is a form of symbolic violence form, where the victim blaming is subtle and not realized by the victim.

The symbolic violence also manifested in another form. This article implicitly compares the attempts of officers and victims to report and resolve cases of sexual harassment. Attempts of the officer were mentioned 11 times, whereas the victim's attempts were mentioned only once. This finding shows that case accomplishment was mostly conducted by officers, and the victim's attempts were not appreciated.

The article illustrates that PT KCI considered more success finished the cases than victims. Instead of revealing the victim's attempts, the victim was more reflected as an irresponsible person who refused to cooperate. From the battle, PT KCI became more dominant and the victim was cornered by a variety of instances of symbolic violence manifested in the dimensions of language, representation, and symbols.

Readers were presented opinions that blamed the victim and justified the attempts of PT KCI. Therefore, the victims—and not PT KCI—were responsible for sexual harassment cases not proceed legally, and the perpetrators were allowed to continue their illegal behavior on the CL, if they chose to.

3.2. Identify obstacles

The social irregularities reflected in the article were difficult to analyze. Based on the article, sexual harassment cases on the CL jad not proceeded legally because, first, victims were reluctant to report or collaborate, and second, the evidence was insufficient to prosecute the case. PT KCI always emphasized that the slow legal process of sexual harassment cases perpetrated on the CL was caused by the victim's reluctance to report. These obstacles became PT KCI's

opportunity to enhance their image by highlighting their attempts to arrest the perpetrators in media.

Therefore, a necessary question is whether the actions of PT KCI are justifiable? Should PT KCI engage in revictimization merely to enhancing the institution's image? This discourse seems to be an explanation for individuals' anxiety about the cases. Notably, no explanation of the victim's hardship while reporting the case was mentioned. Did PT KCI investigate those hardships before making statements in the media?

DetikNews's alignment with PT KCI was perceptible because the articles did not cover both sides of the story. The article presents only the ruler's perspective. This perspective was a doxa that gave PT KCI the opportunity to commit symbolic violence through victim blaming. This social irregularity reinforces the position of women (as the majority of victims) as powerless. This stereotype is a gap that allows other parties (in this discourse is the institution) to engage in victim blaming.

3.3. Does social order "require" social irregularities?

A victim's reluctance to report is not synonymous with a refusal to cooperate; other factors silence victims. The crowded condition of the train cars, and the absence of video monitoring, results in insufficient evidence to prosecute cases because all passengers, not only victims and perpetrators, engage in intense physical contact. Thus, the perpetrator could accuse the victim of overreacting. Additionally, in a patriarchal culture, passengers proximal to the incident could support the perpetrators' account. In a patriarchal context, the victim may even doubt her own statements.

Notably, that information was not published in the detikNews articles. DetikNews only published the attempts of PT KCI officers to arrest perpetrators. Based on this article, obtaining evidence for sexual harassment cases is not difficult. It automatically denies the hardship of the victim in the process of obtaining evidence. DetikNews published several strong arguments that represented how PT KCI has become more dominant in responding to those cases:

Table 2. Argumentation Logic

Major Premise	Cases of sexual harassment unable to proceed legally because the victim refuses to cooperate.
Minor Premise	Victim refuses to cooperate; thus, we arrested the perpetrator on our own.
Meaning	PT KCI let the victim bear the responsibility of the burden of the

	incomplete sexual harassment legal process.
Conclusion	Therefore, the victim should be blamed for the incomplete legal process, because the institution made its best effort to resolve the sexual harassment case.

The structure of the argument in the detikNews article clearly aligns with PT KCI as the ruler. The news reveals PT KCI's efforts more than the victims' efforts in reporting and ensuring that cases of harassment proceed legally. Furthermore, this was argument strengthened by the PT KCI President-Director's statement, who repeatedly proposed that victims should simply report. The content implies that cases do not proceed legally because of the victim's reluctance to cooperate. Last, society requires that these social irregularities be ironic; otherwise, the perpetrators are freely to violate other passengers on the CL.

3.4. Resolution identification to overcome obstacles

The argument in the article associated with masculine domination becomes a barrier to women's access to public space. Public space has been designated as the arena of men; therefore, the social system as much as possible did not make provisions for women. Will this doxa continue to prevail in society? The doxa transformation of social reality can still change because its transformation was merely a result of historical development, not the natural order.

To escape this vicious circle, a practical strategy that enables the objectivation of social reality is necessary. This strategy requires the awareness to dismantle socially constructed categories. These new categories then become new modalities when compiling new habitus nodes. The category must include the interaction of communication, power, and morality to gather new habitus. All these interactions become effective if initiated through education. Education facilitates society's adoption of reflective awareness. They are automatically trained to dismantle social irregularities that perpetuate old social traditions and shape new social practices.

This new social practice is then interpreted as an effort to open public space to women through speech, discussion, and writing. Basically, public space belongs to everyone. Freedom and equality can be created if society cooperates to make changes. Women must be motivated to make changes through writing, which in this case raises an era of equality. Moreover, women can initiate reflective awareness through speech and public discussions.

In this research, reflective awareness also must be carried out in mass media. This industry should prioritize the ethics codes of journalism, that is, cover the news from all sides. A reflective process, sometimes conducted by an editorial board, should be included in their reporting process; thus, the information conveyed to society would not be limited to the perspective of the rulers but include the victim's side. Then, the media becomes more balanced and closes the doxa.

Additionally, reflective awareness must be conducted by PT KCI because victim blaming to increase its image cannot be justified and violates the victim's right to be protected. PT KCI should conduct a reflective process before making statements in the mass media. Improving the image of the institution is possible through other means that do not violate the victim's rights.

3.5. Manifestation of the Symbolic Violence behind Victim Blaming and its Solution

Figure 2 presents a summary of the results of the research, the connection between symbolic violence and victim blaming, and the solutions to it:
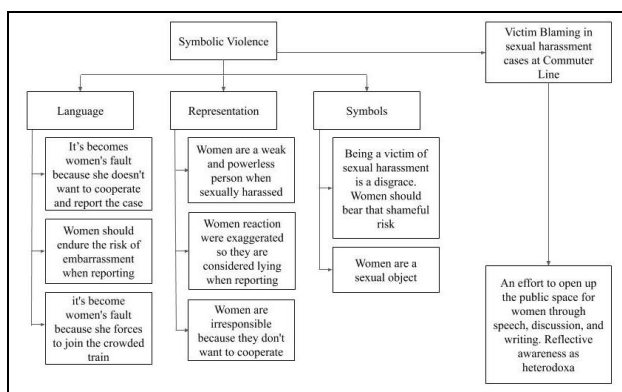

Figure 2 Manifestation behind the Victim blaming Practices and its Solution.

Victim blaming occurs naturally in the case of sexual harassment on the CL. Victims must accept the double burden of symbolic violence, which is transformed through language, representation, and symbols as a product of masculine domination. Symbolic violence can infiltrate easily because doxa access is wide open. In this research, doxa is the perception of the institution as the ruler. The strength of the institution's statements in the media increased the reader's belief in the validity of reality. Until society finally sided with the institutional perspective, the victim doubted her reality.

This discourse confirmed the doxa that claimed the public sphere belongs to men, and not to women. This doxa has become the habitus of Indonesian society and has been passed from generation to generation. It promoted the misconceptions of women as weak and

irresponsible. These misconceptions formed a metaphysical hierarchy that demoted women to "second class citizens." The metaphysical hierarchy legitimation increasingly asserts the dominance of masculinity as a culture that assigns all symbolic principles. All these symbolic principles use the male perspective because of their long-standing position at the top of the metaphysical hierarchy, which is a social construct.

When women attempt to develop their potential in the public sphere, women encounter obstacles to their physical limits. One obstacle is the threat of sexual harassment in the public sphere, especially on public transportation. The CL poses many risks and paradoxical situations for women. The provision of only two women-only cars of the 12 cars available is also a paradox. The two cars were apparently considered by the patriarchy to sufficiently accommodate the needs of women; however, many women remained exposed to the male passengers in the 10 remaining cars. Thus, when sexual harassment occurs in mixed-sex cars, it becomes paradoxical: women tend to be blamed for not using the women-only cars.

Notably, other problems are observed. For example, how women dress, risks at work, and women's traditional role of working inside their home adds an additional burden after sexual harassment incidents. Instead of charging the perpetrators, victims were held responsible for the perpetrators crimes. Therefore, when a woman was victimized, she symbolized disgrace. Victims tended to feel embarrassed and despicable because their environment forced them to bear the psychological burden alone.

This condition was aggravated by mass media coverage, which emphasized that women deserve to be sexual objects, and became the second paradox that emerged in this case. The media reported the event as if they attempted to sympathize with the women, but in reality, they did the opposite. Pornographizing is evident in the selection of words in the news coverage that was intended to satisfy the desire of men as readers.

Therefore, in response to all the social irregularities, social concern is necessary to open public space to women, which could minimize the stereotypes that have imprisoned women all this time. This effort would bring up equality discourse, where women have the right to the same opportunities and access as men. Thus, women's rights could be more fulfilled, including protection for victims of sexual harassment. Equality discourse could bring out the social concern for men and women. It is necessary so that women can learn to assess a social phenomenon based on their perspective rather than from a male perspective.

Additionally, technological developments can be a strategy to disseminate equality discourse effectively. The presence of new media can reach a wider

community in a shorter amount of time compared with traditional media. Its characteristics also maximize mass mobilization and produce reflective awareness as a new habitus in society. These heterodoxa could overturn the doxa logic. Then, women who have been sexually harassed can speak up and stop being silent. They can fight for their rights based on their perspective, not the male perspective.

4. CONCLUSION

This study verified that victim blaming could be perpetrated by anyone, including individuals and institutions. Institutions supported by the mass media had a great influence on information dissemination. It had to be wary because of victim blaming had normalized social irregularities in society. Reflective awareness is necessary to dismantle old social traditions rooted in the social order. Education is the main option to initiate reflective awareness. Equality discourse dissemination became the strength that balanced the one-sided perspective.

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