



Misogyny on social media platform X: Discourse on the case of sexual harassment against a woman in a mosque

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Abstract

Background: The X social media account @detikcom posted a news report about a sexual harassment case experienced by a woman at Al-Ikhsan Mosque in Gorontalo. The post sparked various responses from netizens, ranging from support for the victim to comments blaming women.

Purpose: This study aims to understand how misogynistic discourse is formed and develops in digital spaces, particularly on X, when discussing cases of sexual harassment in public domains.

Methods: This research adopts a qualitative approach using the netnographic method. Data were collected from netizen comments on @detikcom's X post published on March 1, 2024, as well as interviews with a gender expert and netizens who commented.

Results: In this study, these comments were analyzed through the lens of feminist standpoint theory to uncover patriarchal perspectives reflected in responses toward female victims to highlight the social positioning of women as subjects often subordinated within societal structures. These comments not only shift the focus from the perpetrators, but also have implications for strengthening social norms that restrict women's freedom to practice their religion and participate in the public sphere. Nonetheless, the study also found comments expressing empathy and defending the victim, rejecting misogynistic narratives. This research demonstrates that social media serves as a critical arena for reinforcing and challenging patriarchal values. The findings underscore the importance of critical awareness in addressing gender-based violence discourse online, as well as the need for educational interventions and platform policies that foster safer, more equitable spaces for victims.

Keywords:

Misogyny
Patriarchy
Sexual harassment
Victim blaming
X

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INTRODUCTION

On Monday, February 26, 2024, Tribun Gorontalo (Nawir, 2024) reported an incident in which a man was caught on CCTV sexually harassing a woman while she was performing the dawn prayer (salat subuh) at Al-Ikhsan Mosque in Gorontalo. According to the report, at 05:03 WITA, a woman identified by the initials AK, a civil servant, was the only female congregant at the mosque. During a moment of silence, a man dressed in white entered the women's prayer area and groped AK from behind while she was in prostration, causing her prayer garment (mukena) to become dislodged. Shocked by the assault, AK screamed loudly, prompting the perpetrator to flee the scene.

The incident was later shared by detik.com on the social media platform X on March 1, 2024, accompanied by CCTV footage and titled: "Viral: Woman in Gorontalo Harassed While Performing Dawn Prayer at Mosque." The post received a wide range of responses from users, as seen in the comment section. The researcher was particularly interested in this post due to the presence of comments that blamed AK for the assault she experienced.

One such comment, posted on February 3, 2024, by the user @kolotbangor66, stated: "That's why women are told to pray at home... there's already a recommendation, but they act all pious." This comment exemplifies a broader pattern of victim-blaming, where the victim is held responsible for the perpetrator's actions (Reyes-Sosa, et al., 2022). The notion that women should remain at home to avoid harassment constitutes a form of secondary

victimization that shifts the blame onto women (Spaccatini, et al., 2023).

The incident experienced by the victim can be categorized as a form of sexual harassment involving unwanted touching and groping, which induces fear, discomfort, and humiliation. Furthermore, the victim-blaming comments that portray women as the cause or responsible party for such incidents reflect a broader phenomenon of hatred toward women, commonly referred to as misogyny.

Kate Manne (2017), in her book *Down Girl: The Logic of Misogyny*, defines misogyny as a system that operates within patriarchal social structures to monitor and enforce the subordination of women and maintain male dominance. Misogyny often positions women as the source of societal problems (Arsawati & Bunga, 2021) leading to attitudes of hatred, devaluation, blame, and discrimination against women.

This study is grounded in feminist standpoint theory, which emphasizes the role of social ideologies—such as gender constructions—in shaping expectations and behaviors imposed on women. The theory highlights knowledge derived from the lived experiences of women and the realities they face (Gurung, 2021). This perspective is used to analyze the misogynistic discourse found in user comments on X in response to the sexual harassment case, revealing patterns of hatred toward women.

According to feminist standpoint theory, power relations in society create unequal positions, where one group (in this case, men) is dominant, and the other (women) is subordinated. The various victim-blaming comments directed at the female victim in the mosque harassment

case posted by @detikcom demonstrate that misogyny is not confined to patriarchal societies but also thrives in dynamic digital spaces.

This research focuses on how misogyny manifests on the social media platform X through the discourse found in user comments on the post titled “Viral: Woman in Gorontalo Harassed While Performing Dawn Prayer at Mosque.” Specifically, the study aims to identify misogynistic and victim-blaming discourse and examine its implications in the context of sexual harassment in places of worship, based on user comments on X.

Previous studies have also explored misogyny in digital media. Miranda (2023) analyzed misogynistic hate narratives on Instagram accounts affiliated with far-right activists in Portugal. Fenton, Ahmed, Hardey, Boardman, & Kavanagh (2024) examined comments on the official TikTok accounts of two women’s football teams in the UK. Santosa, Ayun, & Lukmantoro (2022) studied hate speech in Instagram comments directed at an influencer. Aqmarina dan Vera (2023) investigated threads on X reporting sexual harassment on Transjakarta buses. Lismini (2023) examined online gender-based violence (OGBV) on X.

These studies show that misogyny is a global phenomenon across various social media platforms such as X and Instagram. However, research focusing on digital misogyny in Indonesia remains limited, particularly in specific contexts such as sexual harassment in places of worship. This study seeks to address that gap by examining misogyny directed at a female victim of sexual harassment in a mosque,

thereby contributing to underexplored areas of the literature.

Moreover, there is a lack of research specifically addressing misogyny experienced by women as victims of sexual misconduct, particularly in the context of social media discourse. This issue is critical, given that social media serves as a powerful public space for shaping opinion and social norms. This study aims to fill that gap by focusing on misogynistic discourse in user comments responding to a sexual harassment case on X, thereby shedding light on how such discourse forms and evolves, and fostering greater public awareness of the implications of patriarchy and victim-blaming in digital spaces.

RESEARCH METHODS

This study employs a qualitative approach, which aims to present a phenomenon holistically by examining the interactions constructed, the meanings formed, and the thematic categorizations derived from netizen comments on the case of sexual harassment against a woman in a mosque, as posted by the X account @detikcom. A qualitative approach is used to view a phenomenon or reality as comprehensive, complex, and dynamic (Sugiyono, 2017). This approach aligns with the objective of the study, which seeks to explore in-depth explanations of misogyny on the social media platform X in the context of a sexual harassment case, viewed contextually.

The method used in this study is netnography. According to Robert Kozinets, netnography is a form of ethnographic research adapted to the

unique characteristics of social interactions mediated by digital technologies (Kozinets, 2015). Netnography is employed to conduct qualitative research on virtual interactions by combining various research practices, including data collection, data analysis, and data interpretation (Kozinets, 2023). In other words, netnography aims to develop a deep understanding of the interactions within a group or community in a virtual space.

The researcher collected data from the social media platform X, specifically from the post by @detikcom regarding the case of sexual harassment in a mosque, using observation, interviews, and documentation. Observation was conducted from July to December 2024, focusing on comments related to the sexual harassment case posted by @detikcom, as expressed by the research subjects—netizens. Subsequently, the researcher conducted in-depth interviews with a gender expert and a netizen who participated in the discourse. Details of the research informants are presented in Table 1.

Finally, the researcher documented the object of study—namely, the discourse in the comments section. Documentation was carried out through screenshots to ensure that the messages analyzed remained faithful to the original content. This study employed the data analysis technique proposed by Sugiyono (2019), which

includes data reduction, data presentation, and conclusion drawing (verification). Data reduction was conducted by narrowing down the netizen comments to the top 100 comments based on the relevancy filter on X, which ranks comments by interaction metrics such as the number of likes, retweets, and replies, rather than chronological order. In other words, the most relevant and highly engaged comments are displayed at the top, allowing the analysis to focus on the most influential and widely viewed comments.

Data presentation was carried out by including tables of the analyzed comments and screenshots of misogynistic comments. Subsequently, the researcher drew conclusions using feminist standpoint theory as the analytical framework. This theory was operationalized to interpret netizen comments from the perspective of women as a subordinated group in a patriarchal society. By adopting this standpoint, the researcher interpreted how women’s experiences and social positions shape their responses to misogynistic comments, and how male dominance is reproduced in digital discourse.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

The X social media account @detikcom posted news about a case of sexual harassment against a woman in a mosque on March 1, 2024. Investigative findings

Table 1. Research Informant Details

No	Name	Position	Interview Date	Initial in Article
1	SD	Gender Expert	Desember 18, 2024	Informan 1
2	YH	Netizen participating in the discourse	Desember 22 , 2024	Informan 2

Source: Research Data, 2024

Table 2. Variety of Comments on @detikcom's Post Regarding the Sexual Harassment Case in a Mosque

Account	Comment	Comment Category
@mas2_jawa_	@detikcom wanita memang dianjurkan sholat di rumah masing2. dianjurkan lo ya. tapi juga jangan lantas kalian gunakan dalil ini menjadi semacam excuse perilaku sinting ini. gunakan dalil itu untuk konteks yang lain. gila ya kalian ini. agama sudah gagal mendidik kalian jadi manusia.	Supportive of Victim
@Takkdungg	@detikcom sinting, udah buk, sholat dirumah aja. jaman skrng makin banyak org sinting	Misogynistic
@kohaku012023	@detikcom wanita seperti permen kalau tertutup tidak akan disemuti	Misogynistic
@alkhansa_k31544	@detikcom Itulah pentingnya ulama menganjurkan,, shalatnya wanita di rumah rumah mereka...	Misogynistic
@watim1612	@detikcom Perempuan lebih utama sholat di rumah, apa lg ini aduh sholat subuh	Misogynistic
@meowlyda	@detikcom yg nyalahin korban berarti secara tidak langsung mengakui kalo kaumnya lagi birahi memang kaya binatang.	Supportive of Victim
@thisisknia	@detikcom BAJINGAN	Supportive of Victim
@pak_oke1	@detikcom Lanangan crongohan...	Supportive of Victim
@MD_IN	@detikcom Innalilahi..orang2 pada knp yak. Subuh2 di masjid bukannya ibadah malah bikin dosa	Supportive of Victim
@ngabngabs	@detikcom Yg nyalahin cwenya sakit sih!!! Jauh bgt sama konteksnya, ini posisinya sholat woy. Apa karena pakaiannya tertutup terus dilecehin, jadi nyalahin dia sholat di masjid?	Supportive of Victim
@gerracyntiaa	@detikcom Perempuan, sholat di mesjid di lecehkan tetep yang di salahin perempuannya, netizen bener2 yak. Lagi2 korban yang disalahkan. Sedih.	Supportive of Victim
@NurAzizahSyawal	@detikcom Yg comment perempuan utamanya shalat di rumah itu sadar ga kalo tendensinya sedang nyalahin korban? Di video yg kaya gini bukan tempatnya nyeramahin perempuan utamanya shalat di rumah, meskipun hal itu benar.	Supportive of Victim
@nugroho80655	@detikcom Ternyata ini hikmah dibalik anjuran wanita untuk sholat di rumah	Misogynistic
@alohamolaa	@detikcom Pasti ada aja yg komen nyalahin ceweknya. Beliau ini bisa aja lg dlm perjalanan, jd mampir sholat di masjid. Atau apapun alasannya, tp beliau ini lg ibadah loh. Knp ga menekankan untuk lelaki yg harus bisa nahan nafsu?	Supportive of Victim
@easyearst	@detikcom Kok kaya melambai gitu jalannya?	Irrelevant Response
@rijalasc	@detikcom salah satu poin penting selain kata Netizen, perempuan lbh baik sholat di rumah adl, pakaian tdk menjamin seseorang terbebas dari pelecehan seksual, even lg ibadah, emang otaknya aja yg biadab. tp tp tp, inget jgn menyalahkan korban guys, bs jd beliau sdg dlm perjalanan	Supportive of Victim
@chocky2121	@detikcom Semoga dengan adanya video ini para wanita paham kenapa rasulullah menyuruh wanita sholat di rumah kecuali uzur dalam perjalanan	Misogynistic
@julmarrovino	@detikcom Buat Wanita, sebaik baik Sholatnya itu di Rumah. Kenapa Rasulullah suruh di rumah, ini lah salah satu nya.	Misogynistic
@Kickdom3	@detikcom boalemo bkan gtlo lagi bang	Irrelevant Response
@ari_plajoe	@detikcom Si Anjing tereak paling nyaring.. macem sering sholat shubuh di masjid aja ..🤡🤡	Irrelevant Response
@Rhea_pandora	@detikcom "Perempuan mending sembahyang di rumah, perempuan harus jaga cara berpakaian". Eh, ni cewek dah pke pakaian paling tertutup dan lagi sembahyang di rumah Tuhan kalian. Dan kalian masih bisa ngelecehin perempuan bahkan nyalahin mereka?!	Supportive of Victim
@PbunKeras	@detikcom YANG SALAH LAKI LAKI NYA, YANG CEWEK MALAH DISURUH SHOLAT DIRUMAH AJA, TOLOL EMANG YANG BILANG BEGITU.	Supportive of Victim

@kolotbangor66	@detikcom Makanya wanita itu disuruhnya shalat di rumah....udah ada anjuran sok sok an alim lah	Misogynistic
@HeryaniLisa	@detikcom Makanya dengarkan ikuti kata Nabi wanita itu sholatnya di rumaaaahh bandel sih gak mau dengar.	Misogynistic
@aznanarrazi	@detikcom Yang kampretnya ini sholat subuh loh. Di mana orang itu kebanyakan belum bangun. Biasanya yang bangun subuh itu orang bener lah, yang punya tujuan hidup. Yang muslim mau sholat, yang non mau persiapan menghadapi hari subuh subuh. Nah si kampret ini ke masjid subuh subuh pelecehan	Supportive of Victim
@janganberharapp	@detikcom Heh kalian yg blg makanya wanita sholat dirumah, LEBIH BAIK lo bilang HEH LAKI LAKI, PUNYA HAWA NAFSU SM KONTOL TUH DIJAGA!!! kita ga tau tuh wanita dlm perjalanan atau gmn smpe di sholat di masjid. Klo bisa dirumah, jg ga mungkin dia di masjid apalgi sndirian gtu ga ada temen.	Supportive of Victim
@bukankaleee	@detikcom Kek dini masih kejadian di indonesia jadi harap maklum jika presidennya	Irrelevant Response
@suduttropis	@detikcom Serius mau nanya. Seandainya tidak ada sitroh yang menghalangi antara wanita dengan pria apa hukum solatnya tidak diterima? Maksudnya kalo secara hukum tidak ada masalah. Sitrohnya dibuka akan lebih aman	Irrelevant Response
@dbdks_24	@detikcom Buset komennya pada nyalahin korban	Supportive of Victim
@sengatanntawon	@detikcom Apaan lagi yang diselidiki, udah terbukti jelas	Supportive of Victim
@anaknyaBuMarti	@detikcom goblokk banget sih manusianya orang lagi sholat geh masih aja dilecehkan yaallah astaghfirullah	Supportive of Victim
@yonhachirokukyu	@detikcom Nih, udah sampe di masjid dan pake mukena pun kena pelecehan.	Supportive of Victim
@Kurniawana833	Dan lu semua masih bawa2 (((ANJURAN))) bagi perempuan untuk sholat di rumah. Kita ga tau apa yg membuat perempuan tersebut sholat di masjid. Bisa jd perempuan tsb lg nemenin suaminya sholat	Irrelevant Response
@Frolo2022	@detikcom hb v:	Irrelevant Response
@danangmike	@detikcom hadeh laki-lakinya kalau ketemu potong aja tititnya lah biar nga berulah lagi sampai nga ada lagi tuh burungnya biar dia nga bisa ngapa ngapain lagi	Supportive of Victim
@ekalifbata	@detikcom wanita lebih baik sholat di rumah	Misogynistic
@zulfanibahtiar	@detikcom orang orang yang suka nyalahin perempuan karna pakaiannya. makan tuh baju. itu mukena woyyy malah kalo dipake udah kek hantu tapi masih ada aja yang sange, berarti emang otaknya aja ga ada	Supportive of Victim
@kolotbangor66	@HeryaniLisa @detikcom Sok2an agamis lu, berempati aja ga bisa. Malu2in agama aja. Mabok agama ya. Barangkali dia sedang perjalanan kan bisa.	Supportive of Victim
@ZanPiliang	@janganberharapp @detikcom Kejahatan itu ada klo ada peluang dan kesempatan	Supportive of Victim
	@watim1612 @detikcom Eh otak kntl bodoh, dia itu ibadah sholat di masjid,emng salah dia dimasjid?	Supportive of Victim

Source: Research Findings, 2024

up to December 2024 revealed that the post received a total of 102 comments, 234 reposts, 430 likes, 46 bookmarks, and approximately 467,000 views (Figure 1). Observations of the comments on the @

detikcom post revealed a diverse discourse, reflecting a range of perspectives from netizens regarding the case of sexual harassment in the mosque. The following table presents a categorization of netizen

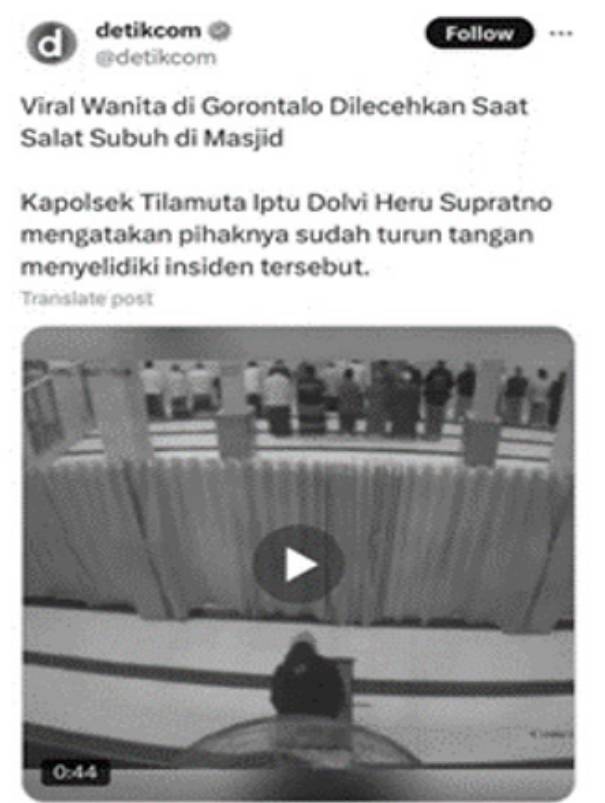


Figure 1. Post on Sexual Harassment Case in a Mosque by @detikcom

Source: X, 2024

comments on the post by the X account @detikcom concerning the incident.

Table 1 categorizes the comments made by user X into three distinct groups. The first category is “Irrelevant Responses,” which includes comments that do not provide any perspective on the reported case of sexual harassment. The second category is “Supportive of the Victim,” encompassing comments that express solidarity with the victim and place blame on the perpetrator for the incident. The third category is “Misogyny,” referring to comments that blame the victim for the sexual harassment incident. Based on the comments analyzed, 10 were identified as misogynistic, with 9 of them containing the phrase “pray at home” (Figure 2).



Figure 2. Misogynistic Comments Toward Female Victims of Sexual Harassment in a Mosque

Source: Research Findings, 2024

The presence of misogynistic comments that blame the victim indicates that some users still believe women should bear responsibility for the sexual violence they experience. These comments reflect a deep-seated animosity toward women among individuals who remain entrenched

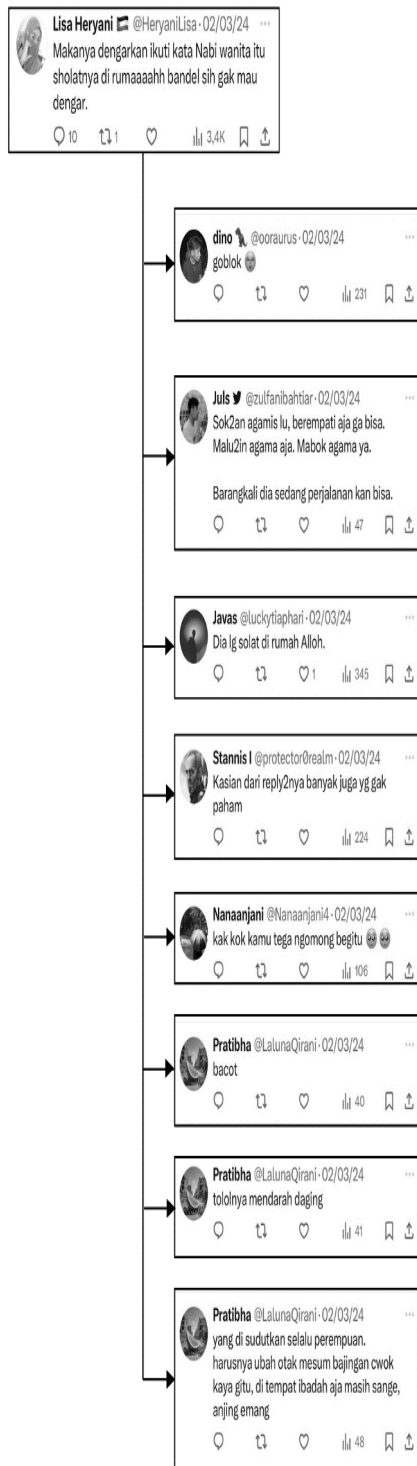


Figure 3. Comment by @HeryaniLisa on @detikcom's Post

Source: Research Findings, 2024

in patriarchal stereotypes and perspectives.

One such hateful comment was made by user X with the account name @HeryaniLisa, stating: "That's why you should listen and follow the Prophet's words—women should pray at hooooome, but you're stubborn and won't listen" (Figure 3).

The use of the word "stubborn" to describe the victim underscores how patriarchal constructs judge women who assert their presence in public spaces and choose to worship independently. From the perspective of feminist standpoint theory, the voices of female victims are often ignored or silenced by dominant narratives that shift the blame onto them. The term "stubborn" is not merely a critique but a symbol of the suppression of women's freedom and autonomy in both spiritual and social domains.

Another misogynistic comment was made by user X with the account name @kolotbangor66, who stated: "That's why women are told to pray at home... there's already guidance, but they act all pious" (Figure 4).

User @kolotbangor66 blamed the victim for attending dawn prayers at the mosque, labeling her as "*pretending to be pious*" and suggesting she should have prayed at home. From the lens of feminist standpoint theory, this comment reflects



Figure 4. Comment by @kolotbangor66 on @detikcom's Post

Source: X, 2024

patriarchal dominance that seeks to control women's behavior and mobility, particularly in public and religious spaces. The act of blaming the victim for the perpetrator's actions illustrates how patriarchal social structures marginalize women's experiences and frame violence as a consequence of their own choices.

Similarly, user X with the account name @nugroho80655 expressed a misogynistic view, stating: *"Apparently, this is the wisdom behind the recommendation for women to pray at home"* (Figure 5).

The use of the word *"apparently"* in this comment implies that women must regulate their behavior to avoid danger, effectively shifting the responsibility onto the victim. From the standpoint of feminist theory, this reflects patriarchal norms that not only restrict women's freedom in public spaces but also obscure the root causes of harassment—namely, male dominance and social systems that protect perpetrators.

Another hateful comment was made by user X with the account name @danangmike, who stated: *"Women are better off praying at home"* (Figure 6).

The comment by @danangmike, which states that women should pray at home without acknowledging or addressing the sexual harassment experienced by the victim, clearly places the blame on women for the violence they endure. From the



Figure 5. Comment by @nugroho80655 on @detikcom's Post

Source: X, 2024

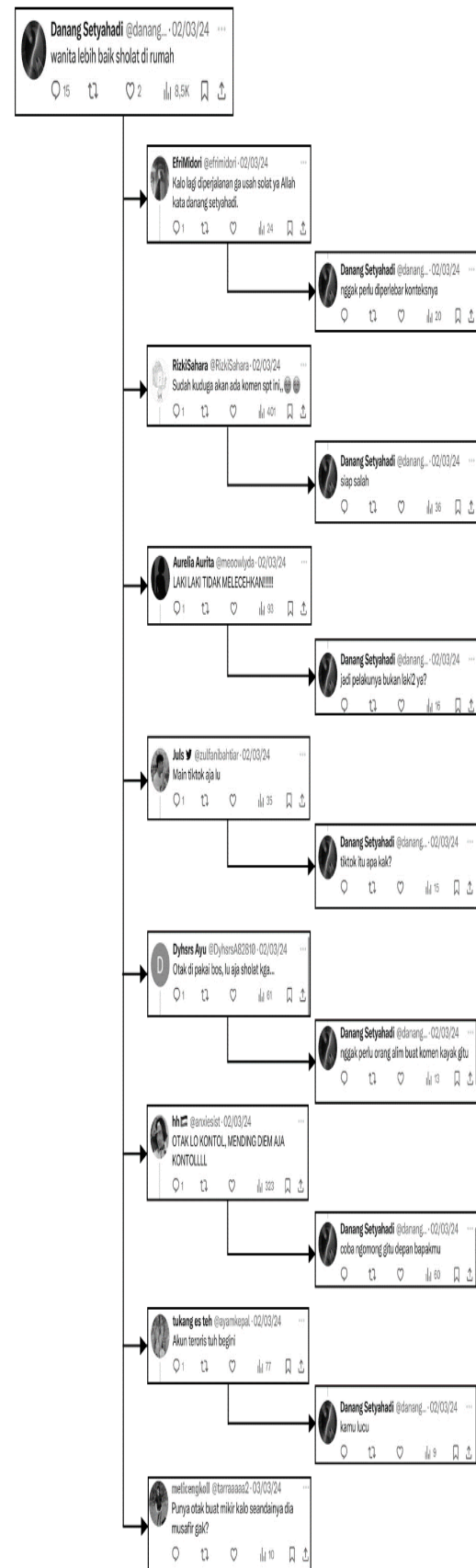


Figure 6. Comment by @danangmike on @detikcom's Post

Source: Research Findings, 2024

perspective of feminist standpoint theory, this attitude reflects how patriarchal norms compel women to restrict their mobility and freedom under the guise of “protection,” without holding perpetrators accountable or addressing the structural conditions that enable harassment.

Subsequently, observational findings revealed a comment by user X with the account name @julmarrovino, who stated: *“For women, the best place to pray is at home. Why did the Prophet instruct women to pray at home? This is one of the reasons”* (Figure 7).

The comment by @julmarrovino advises women to pray at home in accordance with the Prophet’s instruction, as a means to avoid the risk of harassment. This comment shifts the responsibility for harassment onto the victim rather than the perpetrator, and is therefore categorized as misogynistic. Through the lens of feminist standpoint theory, this stance reinforces the subordination of women by diverting attention from the perpetrator’s actions to the victim’s behavior, thereby sustaining patriarchal dominance in public spaces.

Another comment was made by user @Takkdungg, who wrote: *“Crazy, just pray at home, ma’am. Nowadays, there are more and more crazy people”* (Figure 8).

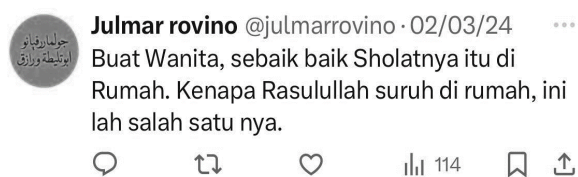


Figure 7. Comment by @julmarrovino on @detikcom’s Post

Source: X, 2024

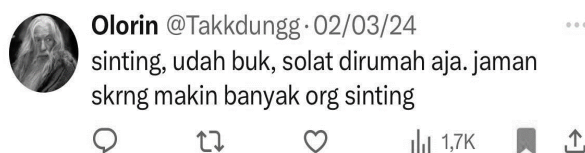


Figure 8. Comment by @Takkdungg on @detikcom’s Post

Source: X, 2024

The comment by @Takkdungg suggests that the victim should pray at home and refers to others as “crazy,” implicitly normalizing sexual harassment as something expected in public spaces. From the feminist standpoint theory perspective, this comment illustrates how the experiences and perspectives of female victims are once again marginalized in favor of dominant narratives that demand women adapt to an unsafe world, rather than advocating for structural change.

A further misogynistic comment was made by @watim1612, stating: *“Women are better off praying at home, especially for dawn prayers”* (Figure 9).

The comment by @watim1612 asserts that women should pray at home, with the use of the word “especially” indicating disappointment toward the victim for attending dawn prayers at the mosque. From the feminist standpoint theory perspective, this comment places responsibility for sexual harassment on the victim, thereby reinforcing patriarchal control over women’s mobility and choices while ignoring the perpetrator’s accountability.

Another hateful comment was made by @chocky2121, who stated: *“Hopefully this video helps women understand why the Prophet instructed them to pray at home, unless they are traveling”* (Figure 10).

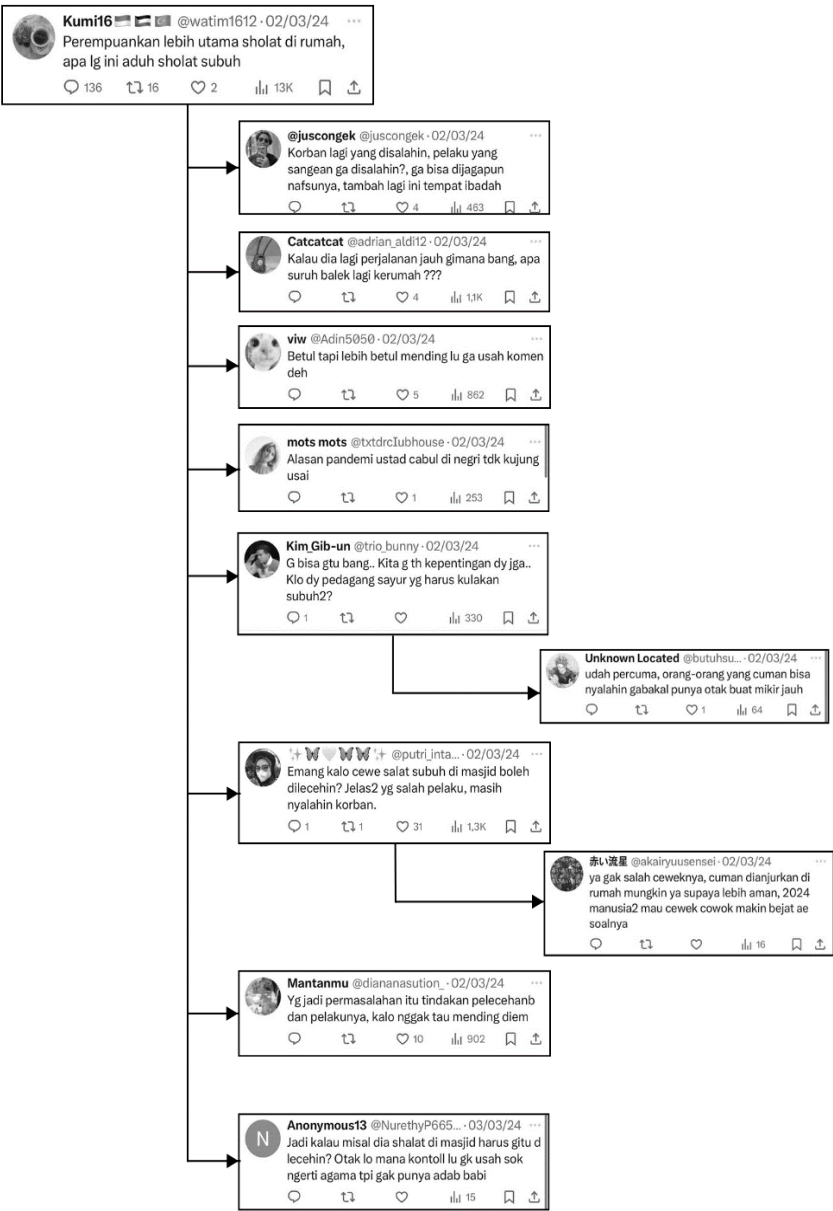


Figure 9. Comment by @watim1612 on @detikcom’s Post

Source: Research Findings, 2024

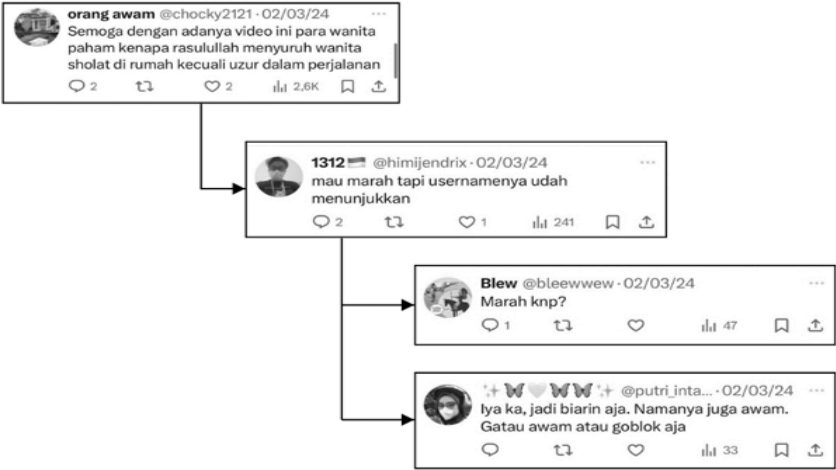


Figure 10. Comment by @chocky2121 on @detikcom’s Post

Source: Research Findings, 2024

The comment by @chocky2121 expresses the hope that the harassment case experienced by AK serves as a lesson for women to follow the recommendation to pray at home. This statement implies that sexual harassment can be prevented if women limit their presence in public spaces. From the feminist standpoint theory perspective, this reflects a dominant worldview that demands women conform

to existing social systems rather than questioning the power structures that enable violence.

Next, user X with the account name @alkhansa_k31544 commented: *“This is why scholars recommend that women pray in their homes...”* (Figure 11).

The comment by @alkhansa_k31544 uses the phrase *“this is why”* to admonish women to pray at home as a means of protecting themselves from sexual harassment. This comment normalizes harassment and shifts responsibility from the perpetrator to the victim. According to feminist standpoint theory, this reinforces patriarchal norms that restrict women’s freedom and ignore the role of perpetrators and the structural conditions that perpetuate sexual violence.

The final comment in this section was made by user X with the account name @kohaku012023, who stated: *“Women are like candy—if it’s wrapped, it won’t attract ants”* (Figure 12).



Figure 11. Comment by @alkhansa_k31544 on @detikcom's Post

Source: Research Findings, 2024

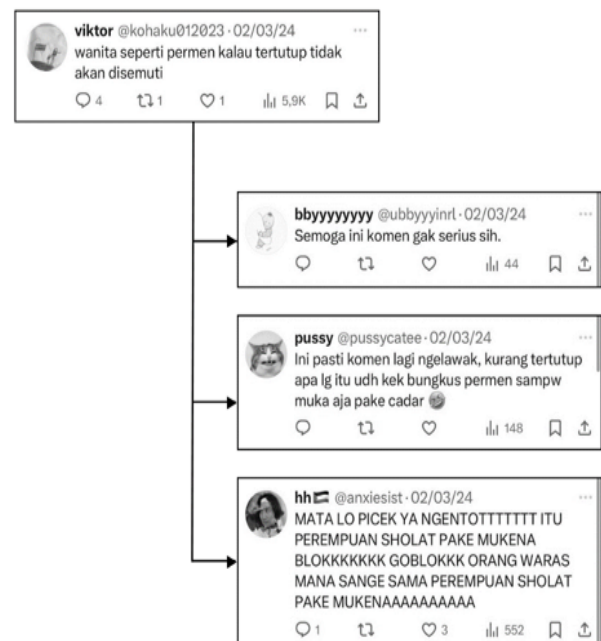


Figure 12. Comment by @kohaku012023 on @detikcom's Post

Source: Research Findings, 2024

The analogy *“women are like candy—if wrapped, they won’t attract ants”* by @kohaku012023 constitutes a misogynistic statement that objectifies women. From the perspective of feminist standpoint theory, this analogy strips women of their agency and blames victims of sexual harassment based on their clothing, while ignoring the perpetrator’s responsibility. Furthermore, this analogy reinforces patriarchal control over women’s bodies, disguised as moral or religious advice, thereby perpetuating harmful gender stereotypes.

The comments presented above demonstrate that misogyny continues to shape netizens’ responses by placing blame on victims of sexual harassment for attending dawn prayers at the mosque. These users reprimand the victim rather than holding the perpetrator accountable for their misconduct. In other words, a recurring theme of misogyny in these comments is victim blaming.

Victim blaming occurs when individuals believe that the responsibility for a crime lies with the victim rather than the perpetrator (Yuliawati, 2018). Many netizens assume that had the victim chosen to pray at home, the harassment would not have occurred. Victim blaming reinforces societal expectations that women must conform to specific behaviors and roles that support patriarchal culture, including tolerating sexual harassment. Consequently, when women deviate from these societal expectations, they are often blamed for any harm they experience, particularly in the context of harassment or assault.

According to a gender expert, comments that blame victims for praying

at the mosque undermine women’s right to choose their place of worship. The following is a quote from the gender expert:

“It’s her right to go. Why shouldn’t she be allowed? Of course she should. What’s not allowed is harassment. What’s not allowed is being disturbed. Why is it unsafe? This is a free country. I’m not going to a nightclub—I’m going to God. I’m in the right place, at the right time, for the right reason. So, what’s wrong? The one at fault is the man who harassed her.” (Informant 1, interview, December 18, 2024)

The gender expert emphasizes that sexual harassment is the perpetrator’s fault, not the victim’s, and that women have the right to feel safe in public spaces, including places of worship. Furthermore, the expert stresses that misogynistic comments dictating what victims should have done, or questioning their silence, are unjust and constitute victim blaming.

“If a woman is harassed—suddenly hugged or touched—you can imagine the shock. So, it’s unfair to say things like ‘Why didn’t she say anything?’” (Informant 1, interview, December 18, 2024)

A victim’s silence in response to sexual harassment does not indicate consent or willingness. It should not be used to shift accountability away from the perpetrator. According to the gender expert, when a woman is suddenly hugged or groped, she is likely to be shocked. Therefore, judging her reaction or questioning her silence reflects a lack of empathy and fairness toward the victim.

Misogynistic comments directed at victims of harassment in mosques reflect an unjust assumption—that the victim could have avoided harassment by choosing to

pray at home. However, data from the 2023 Annual Report of the National Commission on Violence Against Women (Komnas Perempuan) shows that sexual harassment is prevalent in personal spaces.

“Violence against women in personal spheres continues to dominate the total number of reported cases. This high contribution is largely due to data collected by BADILAG, which pertains to cases within marital and family relationships.” (Komnas Perempuan, 2023).

The Komnas Perempuan report demonstrates that harassment is more influenced by the perpetrator’s decisions than the victim’s actions. Nevertheless, research by Lismini (2023) on Gender-Based Online Violence (GBOV) on the social media platform X found that victim blaming remains a common reaction among netizens to cases of gender-based violence.

To analyze how misogynistic comments reflect broader social values, feminist standpoint theory offers a deeper perspective. This theory helps reveal that such comments are not merely personal opinions but manifestations of entrenched patriarchal values that contribute to victim blaming. These patriarchal values promote a mindset that blames women for exercising their rights—such as praying in a mosque—which, in this context, is wrongly perceived as a cause of sexual harassment.

Patriarchal culture constructs unjust gender roles, positioning men as dominant and women as subordinate. This unequal gender construction contributes to the hatred and objectification of women (Arsawati & Bunga, 2021).

It is this very construction that underlies

various forms of discrimination and violence against women. However, because women are often perceived as inferior, they may hesitate to report harassment, fearing they will not be heard or protected. This culture of blame is exacerbated by patriarchal societies that perpetuate and reinforce gender bias.

Thus, feminist standpoint theory reveals that the patriarchal framework underlying misogyny not only marginalizes women but also upholds power dynamics that prioritize male dominance and control, making it more difficult for women to achieve equality and justice.

In Southeast Asia, including Indonesia, patriarchal culture is often reinforced by state institutions, further entrenching male dominance (Hamid, 2021). This system constructs men as rational actors and women as emotional beings, leading to the frequent dismissal of women’s decisions. This gender construction is reflected in the misogynistic “advice” given by netizens who criticize the victim’s decision to perform dawn prayers at the mosque.

Such gender constructions are reinforced through socialization by various institutions, including families, schools, media, and religious organizations. According to data from the Central Statistics Agency (BPS) in 2024, 87.2% of Indonesians adhere to the Qur’an and Hadith as their life guidance. However, male dominance in interpreting religious texts often results in interpretations that serve male interests and disadvantage women. This is evident in the misogynistic comments that blame victims for praying at the mosque.

Victims who choose to perform dawn

prayers (*salat subuh*) at the mosque are often not recognized as victims of sexual harassment, as their actions are perceived as deviating from religious norms. This mindset leads to a tendency to side with the perpetrator, implying that the perpetrator is not at fault. Consequently, misogynistic comments on the social media platform X regarding the case of sexual harassment against a woman in a mosque illustrate how religion can be misused to blame women for the harassment they experience.

Although religious teachings are intended to protect adherents, women retain the right to choose their place of worship without fear of harassment or disturbance. However, the presence of misogynistic comments from netizens represents a tangible effort to curtail women's freedom to determine their place of worship. Thus, misogynistic comments that blame women for praying in mosques not only restrict women's rights but also reinforce power structures that silence them.

Through the lens of feminist standpoint theory, it becomes evident that the presence of misogynistic comments and victim blaming perpetuates patriarchal culture and gender constructions in which men are regarded as dominant and privileged. As a result, men are not held accountable for their actions, while women are expected to conform, submit, and accept such behavior. These comments not only subjugate women but also sustain gender inequality in society.

An analysis of misogynistic discourse in netizen comments on social media X reveals a pattern of siding with perpetrators by blaming the victims. This bias is evident not only in the misogynistic comments

themselves but also in the various forms of engagement with those comments, such as the number of 'likes' received. These interactions are not merely digital activities; they represent tangible expressions of agreement and support for misogynistic narratives that blame victims and portray them as culpable.

This phenomenon reflects not only individual bias but also demonstrates how misogynistic discourse can be amplified through social media interaction mechanisms, thereby creating an unsafe ecosystem for female victims. Engagements such as liking misogynistic comments indicate endorsement from other users, which indirectly validates the narrative.

Misogynistic comments on social media X are facilitated by the platform's characteristic emphasis on freedom of speech, which allows users to express their thoughts openly. However, this feature can become a double-edged sword due to the platform's algorithm, which tends to promote content aligned with users' existing beliefs and preferences.

According to Longini (2023), freedom of speech has the potential to reinforce popular ideas that align with users' views, thereby creating echo chambers where their biases are affirmed without challenge from alternative perspectives. When users repeatedly encounter similar misogynistic hate speech in their timelines, such behavior and attitudes may become normalized (Sanders, 2019). Thus, echo chambers can contribute to the normalization of hate speech and misogynistic statements.

Nevertheless, observations of netizen responses to @detikcom's post about the sexual harassment case in the mosque

reveal that not all users expressed hatred. Some netizens responded to misogynistic comments by expressing disagreement. Others offered corrective feedback or condemnation of the misogynistic perspectives shared by fellow users.

One example of such disagreement is a comment by user X with the account name @putri_intanff, responding to a misogynistic comment by @watim1612. User @putri_intanff stated: *“So if a woman prays at dawn in a mosque, it’s okay to harass her? Clearly the perpetrator is at fault, yet you’re still blaming the victim”* (Figure 13).

User @putri_intanff clearly asserts that the perpetrator is responsible for the act of sexual harassment, not the victim. By highlighting the context in which the victim was engaged in dawn prayer at the mosque, @putri_intanff emphasizes that there is no justification for sexual harassment.

Similarly, user @LalunaQirani responded to a misogynistic comment by @HeryaniLisa with the following statement: *“It’s always the woman who gets blamed. Instead, change the mindset of those perverted men—getting aroused*

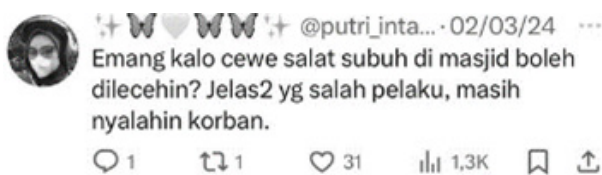


Figure 13. Comment by @putri_intanff Supporting the Victim

Source: X, 2024



Figure 14. Comment by @LalunaQirani Supporting the Victim

Source: X, 2024



Figure 15. Netizen Comment Supporting the Victim

Source: Research Findings, 2024

even in a place of worship.” (Figure 14).

The comment by @LalunaQirani expresses strong disagreement with @HeryaniLisa’s victim-blaming stance. The comment underscores that perpetrators should never engage in indecent behavior, especially in places of worship. Thus, both @LalunaQirani and @putri_intanff reflect a firm rejection of victim-blaming narratives and emphasize the need to place full accountability on the perpetrators.

In addition to users who responded to misogynistic comments, some netizens directly commented on @detikcom’s post, expressing support for the victim. One such comment is shown in Figure 15.

Following an interview with a netizen who supported the victim, it was revealed that they believed the perpetrator should

be held accountable by the public. The following is a quote from that netizen:

“It’s not okay to make comments like that on any video involving sexual harassment, especially not on the post I commented on. I also want to offer a bit of input to those who see such posts and plan to comment: not everything the victim could have done is preventive, because the incident has already happened. So why focus on what the victim did in the past instead of thinking about how to prevent such incidents in the future—especially in a mosque?” (Informant 2, interview, December 22, 2024)

According to this netizen, misogynistic comments should not be normalized. They argue that focusing on preventive measures is irrelevant once harassment has occurred, as it does not contribute to resolving the issue. Instead, attention should be directed toward strategies for preventing sexual harassment in public spaces, particularly in places of worship.

The diversity of responses from netizens reflects a polarization of opinions on the social media platform X, which may be attributed to its characteristic emphasis on freedom of speech. In a context where such risks persist, the need to create safe spaces on X becomes increasingly evident. These safe spaces are essential to protect victims of sexual harassment from the negative effects of public exposure and to empower them, rather than exacerbating their situation through the normalization of hate speech and misogyny. Counter-narratives from netizens who support victims and reject victim blaming have the potential to serve as a foundation for broader digital advocacy efforts against misogyny in online spaces.

The establishment of a dedicated institution tasked with combating misogyny on social media could serve as a long-term solution for creating a more democratic and secure digital environment for women. Such an institution could collaborate with platforms like X to develop more integrated strategies, including enhancing algorithms for detecting harmful content, providing support for victims, and implementing comprehensive educational programs.

Social media facilitates users in fulfilling various needs, in line with the increasing diversity of internet content and services (Priatmojo, 2022). However, the development of social media and technology does not always correspond with the level of digital literacy among the Indonesian population (Pratama, et al., 2022). This disparity influences societal behavior in the digital era, as evidenced by the emergence of misogynistic comments identified in this study.

Therefore, it is crucial to provide education on digital literacy, particularly regarding how to respond to technological developments related to social media use and its social implications. These efforts aim to foster a more inclusive and secure digital space, where all individuals—especially women—can participate without fear of sexual harassment, thereby enhancing digital democracy for all users of X.

CONCLUSION

The findings of this study on the discourse in netizen comments on the social media platform X in response to @detikcom’s post about a case of sexual harassment against a woman in a mosque

reveal that misogyny persists in the form of victim blaming. Through the lens of feminist standpoint theory, it is evident that the misogynistic discourse emerging in these comments is influenced by the prevalence of patriarchal culture and unjust gender constructions. Feminist standpoint theory reveals that misogynistic comments reflect a dominant worldview that demands women conform to an unjust social system, rather than questioning the power structures that enable violence. These comments not only reinforce the subordination of women but also uphold social norms that restrict women's freedom to worship and participate in public spaces. However, alongside misogynistic comments, there are also netizens who support the victim and reject the notion that the victim is to blame. These counter-narratives have the potential to serve as the initial steps toward systematic digital advocacy against misogyny. This study is limited in terms of the scope of data and context analyzed. The research focused solely on a single post about a sexual harassment case published by the @detikcom account on social media platform X, and analyzed only the top 100 most relevant comments. Therefore, the findings cannot be generalized to the entirety of misogynistic discourse on X or to other cases of sexual harassment. Future research should expand the data scope by analyzing comments from various posts and accounts, including reposts shared by other users. Additionally, in-depth interviews with netizens who side with perpetrators could be conducted to gain a more comprehensive understanding of the thought patterns and misogynistic discourse that develop in digital spaces.

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