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## Commuters' Health Certificate as Social Control during the COVID-19 Pandemic

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## Commuters' Health Certificate as Social Control during the COVID-19 Pandemic

### Cover Page Footnote

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## Introduction

In Indonesia, COVID-19 has been declared a national disaster through the Presidential Decree No.12 of 2020 concerning the Designation of Non-Natural Disaster for the Spread of Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) (Indonesia, 2020). The capital city of Indonesia, Jakarta, is responsible for creating a massive and global socio-economic impact as the epicenter of COVID-19 transmission (Winanti & Mas'udi, 2020). The Jakarta provincial government policy decided to close government offices and public transportation on March 14, 2020. The Jakarta governor then issued a regulation on large-scale social restrictions (*Pembatasan Sosial Berskala Besar*), which restricted citizens' activities in the cultural, social, and economic sectors. These large-scale social restrictions also impact Jakarta's activities from the commuting communities of Central Java, the Yogyakarta Special Region, and East Java Provinces. As a result, these commuters became accustomed to travelling back to their hometowns every Friday afternoon. On Sundays, they return to Jakarta, arriving on Monday morning for work. This activity is often referred to as *Pulang Jumat Kembali Ahad* (PJKA), or "Going Home Every Friday Evening and Returning on Sunday."

Throughout the COVID-19 pandemic, the number of train passengers in Indonesia has decreased. Furthermore, based on data released by the Central Statistics Agency (*Badan Pusat Statistik*) on April 15, 2021, the number of train passengers from January to December 2020 reached 186.1 million people, a decrease of 56.4% over the same period in 2019. The train passenger data consists of the regions Jabodetabek, Non-Jabodetabek (Java Island), and Sumatra Island. The decrease in the number of trains in Jabodetabek was 2.51%, while for Non-Jabodetabek (Java Island) and Sumatra Island, it was 1.68% and 27.14%, respectively. The PJKA communities, especially those who work in Jakarta and return weekly to their home areas, such as Central Java, the Yogyakarta Special Region, and East Java Provinces, now have to adjust to government policies when using their transportation modes.

Policy regulation concerns limits on seating capacity and long-distance train passengers' requirements, including a COVID-19 certificate. According to the Circular of the Minister of Transportation Number SE 14 (Indonesia Ministry of Transportation, 2020a), the number of train passengers allowed is a maximum of 70% of the number of seats of each train capacity. Thus, rail passengers must also adhere to health protocols, such as wearing a mask, washing hands, keeping distance, and avoiding crowds. They must also show a certificate of negative results of the Rapid Antigen Test for COVID-19, which is valid no more than three days, before the train departure date for intercity train travel. This is particularly relevant for travel within Java Island (Indonesia Ministry of Transportation, 2020b). This circular is constantly updated according to COVID-19 information in Indonesia; for example, in April 2021, the Minister of Transportation Circular Letter Number 27 of 2021 was reissued. This addresses the type of COVID-19 free certificate needed

besides the Rapid Antigen Test, namely *GeNose* (a test tool for the early detection of COVID-19 through breath developed by Gadjah Mada University via artificial intelligence technology). *GeNose* was previously valid for three days, but it is now only valid for 24 hours.

This paper aims to examine the experience of PJKA actors during the crisis from the lens of document theory. Starting from the fact that the SARS virus variant was found in Wuhan, this information spread throughout various media and eventually was broadcasted worldwide, including in Indonesia. Documents that carry information that circulate to various countries in various forms (television, internet, social media) are an index or representation of “aboutness,” as stated by Day (2014).

When the first positive case of COVID-19 hit residents in Depok, West Java Province, the government issued Presidential Decree Number 12 of 2020 concerning the spread of COVID-19 (Indonesia, 2020). In the form of a presidential decree, this document became the legal basis for overcoming the dangers of COVID-19 at the national and regional levels throughout Indonesia. This is similar to the document productivity feature described by Briet (1951/2006) as “primary and secondary documents” (Frohmann, 2012). From a given document, new documents can be made. As mentioned above, this derivative of the presidential regulation will lead to various other government regulations, such as the Decree and Circular of the Minister of Transportation. These documents have documentality characteristics, both proposed by Frohmann (2012) and Ferraris (2013). Hence, these government regulations regulate, control, supervise, coerce, enable and influence citizens’ actions during the COVID-19 pandemic, which currently continues.

## Survey Study

To better understand the experiences of PJKA actors during the COVID-19 crisis, a questionnaire study was conducted. The survey was hosted on the SurveyMonkey platform and was open from April 8 to June 30, 2021. 27 respondents filled the questionnaire out. The survey consists of a respondent’s demographic characteristics and 43 questions aimed at the Indonesian PJKA community. The 43 questions were drawn from the “WHO quality of life BREF” by Kusmawan et al. (2018), the “environmental beliefs scale” by Collins and Chambers (2005), and the “train service performance level assessment” by Maulana (2020). Cronbach’s alpha was then used to assess the reliability, or internal consistency, of these sets of test items.

Table 1 shows the demographic characteristics of the 27 respondents, such as gender, age, education background, occupation, marital status, number of children and origin city of domicile. The majority of participants were male ( $n = 24$ ), and the majority of participants’ age category was  $> 29$  years ( $n = 24$ ). Respondents said that the longest period from when they became PJKA actors was 2004 ( $n = 1$ ), while some just began in 2019 ( $n = 4$ ) and 2020 ( $n = 2$ ).

**Table 1.** Respondents' Demographic Characteristics ( $n = 27$ )

	<i>n</i>	%
<b>Gender</b>		
Male	24	88.9
Female	3	11.1
<b>Age</b>		
≤ 29-year-old	3	11.1
> 29-year-old	24	88.9
<b>Education Background</b>		
High-school graduate	3	11.1
Diploma	3	11.1
Undergraduate	17	63.0
Master's graduate	4	14.8
<b>Occupation</b>		
Civil servants (including army/police)	14	51.9
Employees of state-owned enterprises	2	7.4
Employees of the private sector	9	33.3
Entrepreneurs	1	3.7
Others	1	3.7
<b>Marital Status</b>		
Single	0	0.0
Married	27	100.0
<b>Number of Children</b>		
1	3	11.1
2	16	59.3
3	6	22.2
No children yet	1	3.7
<b>The Origin City of Domicile (Destination to Return PJKAs)</b>		
Special Region of Yogyakarta	13	48.1
West Java	1	3.7
Central Java	12	44.4
East Java	1	3.7

First, the “World Health Organization (WHO) quality of life BREF” was used to determine the quality of life of PJKAs actors during the pandemic and what factors influenced them (see Table 2). This survey was adapted based on a previous study by Kusmawan et al about the quality of life of busway commuting workers in Transjakarta and train commuter line modes (2018).

**Table 2.** PJKA’s Quality of Life During the COVID-19 Pandemic (*n* = 27)

Quality of Life Domain		<i>n</i>	Mean	Std. dev
Travel convenience	Comfortable	22	1.81	49.00
	Uncomfortable	5		
Health and physical conditions	Healthy	27	2.00	54.00
	Not healthy	0		
Psychological conditions	Not good	7	1.74	47.00
	Good	20		
Overall experience	Bad	3	1.88	51.00
	Good	24		

Second, the “environmental beliefs scale” by Collins and Chambers (2005) was used to assess PJKA actors’ biospheric, social and egoistic values during the pandemic. The reported internal consistencies of the three subscales were acceptable (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  biospheric = 0.436,  $\alpha$  social = 0.543,  $\alpha$  egoistic = 0.703). A scale was also developed to measure individuals’ beliefs about the environmental threat of cars for each domain: society, self, biosphere and personal control beliefs. Additionally, fourteen 5-point Likert-type scales (1 = strongly disagree to 5 = strongly agree) were used. The scale’s internal consistency for the present sample was moderate (Cronbach’s  $\alpha$  = 0.623).

**Table 3.** Environmental Beliefs Scale (*n* = 27)

	Cronbach’s Alpha	<i>N</i> of items
Control beliefs subscale	0.728	2
Social beliefs subscale	0.542	4
Egoistic beliefs subscale	0.703	4
Biospheric beliefs subscale	0.436	4

Third, the “train service performance level assessment” by Maulana (2020) was used 1) to obtain an overview of the patterns and characteristics of the PJKA’s train commuter passenger trips during a pandemic; 2) to analyse the magnitude and growth rate of rail commuter passenger trips during a pandemic; 3) to handle efforts and improvement concepts in structuring the patterns and characteristics of rail travel during a pandemic.

**Table 4.** Train Service Performance Level Assessment ( $n = 19$ )

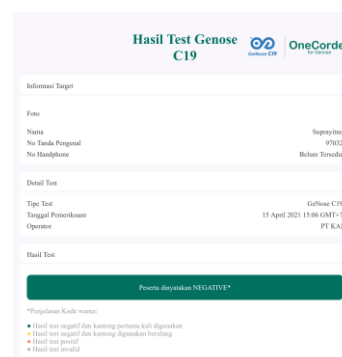
	Cronbach's Alpha	N of items
Reliability	0.795	5
Responsiveness	0.861	5
Assurance	0.885	5
Empathy	0.840	5
Tangible	0.864	5

### Conceptual Study

To confirm the documentality theory regarding how documents can move, influence and allow, we also identify the components and documentality of a health certificate issued when a PJKA actor travels to their domicile (see Figure 1). We have obtained permission to publish a health certificate, and this is because one of the PJKA actors is the first author of this paper. These findings also revealed the experience of commuters' information on the ability of documents to make them feel relieved, happy and satisfied because the document can enable them to meet their families at critical times, such as Eid and Christmas, or even to visit their sick parents and bury the bodies of their relatives.



a) Issued on September 4, 2020



b) Issued on April 15, 2021

**Figure 1.** Health certificate issued during the pandemic for train transportation

One of the PJKA community coordinators from Yogyakarta, Mr. Dina Setiyawan, discussed PJKA actors from the regions of Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang, and Bekasi (Jabodetabek), which have been around since the 1980s. According to Mr Dina Setiyawan, the first generation PJKA (in the 1980s) actor was Mr Ponijan, from the Yogyakarta Special Region, who is now retired. Mr Dina Setiyawan related that he had been a PJKA actor since 2000. This community originated from the PJKA actors from Jakarta, who take trains to various cities in Central Java, the Yogyakarta Special Region, and East Java Provinces. The PJKA community's professions include civil servants, the Indonesian army/police, state-owned enterprises, entrepreneurs, and the private sector. Because many of these PJKA members already know each other, it is common for them to hold meetings to strengthen brotherly relations (based on an interview with Mr Dina Setiyawan, April 15, 2021, in Jakarta). Moreover, during times of crisis such as the COVID-19 pandemic, there seems to be a "pandemic solidarity" (Sitirin & Sembrar, 2020), where a sense of humanity becomes the basis for sincerely helping each other because it is part of a widespread need.

The response of citizens, especially the PJKA community, to this government policy manifests in their experiences in carrying out PJKA activities. The pandemic period also makes the PJKA community feel one fate so they need a common goal that must be fought for, namely how they can return to their hometowns safely. Every weekend, they struggle to return to their hometowns to meet their families. However, fear always haunts them. Agamben (2020) said that "fear is a poor advisor" because people sometimes see fear unrealistically, often from the inside. PJKA members often postpone going home to meet their families because they are unsure that they are healthy or risk going home when they are confident they are well. When they do travel, they are believed to be healthy because they have brought evidence in the form of a health certificate free of COVID-19. During certain times, such as Eid, Christmas and the New Year holidays, the local government conducts raids on travellers. Those who are caught not carrying a health certificate free of COVID-19 are forced to turn back or return to the area of origin from which they departed. Thus, the function of a health certificate free of COVID-19 is similar to the function of a passport as a condition for entering the country (Buckland, 2014). A sheet of health certificate free of COVID-19 is a derivative of the presidential regulation and the minister of transportation regulation, impacting documentality characteristics.

## **Discussion**

The COVID-19 pandemic that hit Indonesia starting in March 2020 brought various kinds of changes for the Indonesian people, including socio-economic changes (Mas'udi & Winanti, 2020). These socio-economic changes have also been felt by commuters who earn a living in the Republic of Indonesia's capital city but live outside the Jakarta province. This condition results in them



making regular trips from Jakarta to their domicile area every Friday, returning on Sunday (*Pulang Jumat Kembali Ahad*), which is often referred to as the acronym PJKAs. Before the COVID-19 pandemic, travel between provinces had become a habit and a social reality for these commuting groups. However, after the COVID-19 pandemic, this social reality changed. The large-scale social restriction policy limited everyone's mobility, and commuters were forced to follow limiting travel policies between provinces as part of the Republic of Indonesia's government's attempt to control the spread of COVID-19.

The new social reality of the PJKAs commuters, which is full of social control from Indonesia's government, has been enforced to control the spread of COVID-19. This has raised challenges to adapt to new social conditions created by the COVID-19 pandemic. The commuters have the self-awareness to understand that limiting travel between provinces is the government's attempt to control the spread of COVID-19. The awareness of each individual is then recognized as a consensus by the commuters, who exist objectively in the new social reality of inter-provincial travel after the COVID-19 pandemic.

The Geist model (Ferraris, 2013) shows intersubjectivity between spirit and letter. Spirit encourages the emergence of letters, and letters form spirit. If the Geist model is further understood, then there is a role for documents in the process of intersubjectivity. This process is further detailed by Berger (1992), who explains the conceptual processes of internalization, objectivation and externalization. Berger (1992) emphasizes that internalization and externalization form a social reality through a stage called objectivation. At the objectivation stage, the role of the document is quite dominant. Hence, the process of internalization, objectivation and externalization proposed by Berger is the basis for the formation of social control, especially internal social control.

Specifically, in the case of changes in reality experienced by commuters in Jakarta due to the COVID-19 pandemic, it also indicates a process of internalization, objectivation and externalization. The new reality of commuters in Jakarta is also synonymous with the internal social control process, namely social bonds, which contain four main elements (Hirschi, 1969; Breckin, 2019). These include attachments (love or participation), commitment (responsibility), involvement (participation) and belief (trust and belief). These four elements form social bonds that function to control individual behavior (social control). Therefore, the manifestation of social bonds in the new reality of commuters in Jakarta can be seen from the compliance of the commuters in maintaining a health certificate. This certificate contains information on the results of a medical test stating that the applicant/traveler is free from COVID-19. These tests are conducted before travelling to the commuter's domicile to ensure safety and information accuracy. The dominant role of the health certificate in social control for commuters in Jakarta further emphasizes forming social bonds through internal social control. This is especially applicable in the gradation of the

internalization, objectivation and externalization processes (Berger, 1992), an inscription object (Ferraris, 2013).

An inscription object is a continuous process based on changing the form of an object, which becomes an act, and then an inscription. The process of an inscription object proposed by Ferraris, if further observed, is in line with the process of forming social bonds, which underlies social control through internalization, objectivation and externalization put forward by Berger. Therefore, the process of inscription objects aligns with the formation of social control through internalization, objectivation and externalization. The process of inscription objects in the new reality experienced by commuters in Jakarta after the COVID-19 pandemic, which requires them to have a health certificate before travelling between provinces to their domicile, is a strong indication of the inscription object of the act, namely social control and objects, as well as social bonds (Ferraris, 2013). The health certificate, which is like a passport, is a manifestation of the phenomenology of the letters. Intersubjectivity that participates in building social control, if associated with the phenomenology of the letters and proposes initiated by Ferraris (2013), is also full of dialectical nuances of spirit and letters in the Geist model. This model can be used to reveal the agency of the document, namely the health certificate, which must be owned by commuters in Jakarta to travel between provinces, just like a passport.

Commuters' health certificates, including vaccine passports, function similarly to general passports, as previously discussed by Buckland (2014). Materially, it is acknowledged that they are documents, moreover, the forms are still too general, such as identity cards or certificates. A passport can be viewed by document theory based on material, social, and cognitive aspects (Buckland, 2014, pp. 2–3). Materially, a passport is a carrier of information in a fixed form that can be read like a conventional document. However, the function of a passport is not only in the material aspect. It serves to allow its bearer to cross a destination country because of its social function. What allows passport bearers to enter a country is not the passport itself but the guards on duty. Thus, the power of the passport is in the regulations, including the validity period of the passport which has been designed in a control system. In the cognitive aspect, it needs to be checked by a guard where the guard must have the cognitive ability to check whether the passport holder is the right person, for example with a photo of his face, not someone else's face. Even if the passport is fake, the passport bearer can pass into a country and the passport would be trusted if it appeared correct. It is on trust that the function of the passport, not on truth itself (Buckland, 2014, p. 3).

In the lens of document theory, commuters' health certificates related to COVID-19 or during a pandemic, like *GeNose*, antigen rapid testing results, and vaccine passports, are documents that are prerequisites for the PJKA community to return home or go-between cities and provinces which they do routinely every weekend. This is the same as Buckland's (2014) passport

document that commuters' health certificates have material, social, and cognitive aspects.

Materially, this certificate manifests physically in the form of a piece of paper containing information that the certificate holder is free or exposed to COVID-19. All these certificates have been integrated with the *PeduliLindungi* application (<http://pedulilindungi.id>), that is an application developed to assist relevant government agencies in tracking to stop the spread of Coronavirus Disease (COVID-19). This application relies on community participation to share location data with each other while travelling so that tracing contact history with COVID-19 sufferers can be carried out. Users of this application will also get a notification if they are in a crowd or are in a red zone, namely an area or village where it has been recorded that there are people infected with positive COVID-19 or there are patients under surveillance. This application is also used as a surveillance application to monitor COVID-19 vaccination data from the public. When these PJKAs communities take the train, they are required to show this certificate to the station guard at the station entrance. The station guard will verify the data contained in the certificate. The guard will check whether the passengers' COVID-19 test result is negative and when it is carried out. Except for vaccine passports, the validity period of the certificate is 1 day (*GeNose* and rapid antigen testing), and 3 days for Real-Time Polymerase Chain Reaction (PCR).

What allows the PJKAs community to get on the train is not because of the physical certificate, but because of the social aspect, namely the station guard who is in charge of enforcing the rules. The government or the railroad companies apply rules for passengers to control them. Regarding the cognitive aspect, a station guard needs to test the certificate, whether the name listed is in accordance with the name on the identity card (*Kartu Tanda Penduduk/KTP*) considering the requirements to travel by train besides the COVID-19 certificate, they must also show an ID card. In addition, station guards also need to check when the passenger takes the *GeNose*, rapid antigen, or PCR test to ensure the expiration date. If the contents of the data on the certificate are correct, they are allowed to continue their journey. If the result is positive, they are prohibited from continuing the journey and all train ticket costs are returned to the passenger. If a train passenger falsifies the certificate, it is still possible that the passenger can pass the train as long as the certificate would be trusted if it appeared correct. Thus, the power of the certificate is in the trust, not the truth. It could be that the bearer of the certificate was actually exposed to or positive for COVID-19, but because he brought the certificate as a "weapon" to get on the train, it was clear that the documentality of the certificate was operating.

The certificate in the form of a vaccine passport is now in electronic form in the *PeduliLindungi* application. This application also functions as documentality because of its permitting and prohibiting passengers to do PJKAs. This application will continue to be developed with advanced surveillance technology integrated with other applications such as shopping

and travelling applications to further strengthen the government's status as the main producer of documents related to the COVID-19 rules for verification. This application is in line with Koscielny's (2021) latest research about COVID-19 immunity (or vaccine) passports through analysis of documentary overview and regimes of health verification.

## Conclusions

The COVID-19 pandemic has impacted communities around the world, including the PJK community in Indonesia, as discussed in this paper. The economic, health, social, cultural, and other aspects of life are almost inseparable from within the overall impact of the pandemic. When viewed from a critical perspective, these impacts can be seen from the perspective of document theory. The first document identified in this regard was Presidential Decree Number 12 of 2020 Regarding the Determination of Non-Natural Disasters Spreading Coronavirus Disease 2019 (COVID-19) as National Disasters (Indonesia, 2020). In Briet's (2006) perspective, this presidential decree can be called the primary document.

The derivatives of this Presidential Decree document are secondary documents of various types, extending from various government sectors, such as education, religion, culture, employment, health, and transportation. An example of a derivative from the transportation sector is the Regulation of the Minister of Transportation of the Republic of Indonesia regarding social restrictions during the pandemic, which are numerous and dynamic in accordance with the development of the impact of the pandemic.

These secondary documents are increasingly proliferating not only related to legal regulations produced by the government but also by the community due to other primary and secondary documents, for example, the community's obligation to show a health certificate stating that one is free from COVID-19, and the newer obligation to show evidence of vaccination against COVID-19, i.e., an immunity passport. Furthermore, related to this, all people who wish to enter certain places, such as government buildings, shopping centers, entertainment centers, and use public transportation facilities, both planes, ships, and land transportation, are required to download the *PeduliLindungi* application.

The derivative documents in the form of health certificates, including *GeNose*, rapid antigen testing certificates, COVID-19 immunity passports, and the *PeduliLindungi* application, emphasize the role of documents in determining the fate of the PJK community. For example, the health certificate document has the power of constraining and enabling the fate of the PJK community to return home and return to work. The role of document power is similar to Frohmann's concept of documentality, whereby documents can "produce, afford, encourage, permit, influence, render possible, block, or forbid in its arrangements with other things" (Frohmann, 2012, p. 175). This relates to the agency for documents related to COVID-19 in the form of health

certificates, either *GeNose*, antigen rapid testing, COVID-19 vaccine results or other related documents stored in the *PeduliLindungi* application to permit or forbid citizens crossing certain regions similar to the function of Buckland's (2014) passport.

Frohmann's documentality is also similar to Derrida's (1995) archive concept, where the word *archive* is etymologically derived from the word *arkhé*, which has two meanings as *commencement* and *commandment*. "Archive" for Derrida refers to *arkhé* in the nomological sense, to the *arkhé* of the commandment, refers to the Greek *arkheion*: initially a house/domicile/residence of the superior magistrates, and also the *archons*, those who commanded (Derrida, 1995, p. 9). As long as there is a command, there must be an archive. This can be interpreted that as long as there is a command from the government, there must be an archive (in this case, a document related to the COVID-19 pandemic response). If the command of this archive is related to Frohmann's documentality above, the archive as a place for the government to command through the executive task of a president issuing a decree to deal with COVID-19 has the effect of producing, encouraging, influencing, and prohibiting the actions of its citizens from doing something. The government as *archons* has the power to control the movements of its citizens and has the power to make "paper regimes" as termed by Dhupelia-Mesthrie (2014). Wherever citizens move, for example to entertainment centers, government buildings, or across regions, they are monitored through the *PeduliLindungi* application. The freedom of movement of citizens, especially the PJKA community, is restricted by the COVID-19 document agency issued by the government in the form of diverse documents on COVID-19, especially health certificates or COVID-19 vaccine passports. In fact, the PJKA communities themselves actually have the right to freedom of movement, either for travel outside the country or for internal mobility (as set forth in Article 13 of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights) (United Nations, 1948). This social control or surveillance is in line with Derrida's statement that there is no political power without control of the archive (Derrida, 1995, p. 11).

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