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Social Studies

The Erasmus logo, featuring a stylized, cursive script of the word "Erasmus" in a dark grey color.

**The Hidden Story of Violence:  
Children's Experience of Bullying in School in Indonesia**

A Research Paper presented by:

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## **Dedication**

*To my mom, my sister(s), my friends, and all students in Indonesia. I present this thesis to you all*

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## List of Acronyms

FGD	Focus Group Discussion
GSHS	Global School-Based Student Health Survey
MoEC	The Ministry of Education and Culture
MoRTHE	The Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education
PUBG	Player Unknown Battle Ground
SRH	Sexual and Reproductive Health
WHO	World Health Organization

## **Abstract**

My research aims to unravel the complexities of bullying in school situated by conservative values and norms. This research also attempts to answer scholars' concerns about the lack of empirical and theoretical evidence of bullying. Qualitative by nature, this research can be identified as an autoethnography research which adopts participatory observation as the main tool to assemble the data. My research finds some practices of bullying, includes bullying based on non-conforming gender performance amongst students based on the hidden curriculum taught by the teachers sustained through a governmentality model. Moreover, my research also finds the importance of an intersectionality lens to spill out different types of bullying happened in single person identity at the same time. By referring to scholars' works about students' role in bullying, my research claims students' role in bullying settings is very fluid based on the context, such as, situations and forms of bullying. Lastly, my research finds the absence of students' voice in policies about bullying may affect misdirection solutions to bullying practice. My research suggests for further research in examining sustained bullying practice in school by using different ways, such as, longitudinal study. Lastly, my research recommends policy makers to review every discriminating policy in public educational institution as it indirectly impacts the practice of bullying in school.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Evidence-based approach becomes an important aspect in formulating policy. My research paper is dedicated to explaining bullying practices in school based on non-conforming gender performance by using three lenses and theory in development studies namely governmentality, intersectionality, hidden curriculum. Furthermore, the lack of empirical studies regarding bullying issues has added value to this study, especially in providing input to policy makers to design a holistic, inclusive, and participative policy and regulation.

## **Keywords**

Conservativeness, hidden curriculum, governmentality, intersectionality, bullying, autoethnography

# Prologue

...I think you are a Chinese, because your face similar to Chinese (fine skin tone and narrow-eyed). What is this Chinese doing here?" (J, woman, neighbour school principle, around 46 years old, Muslim)

That conversation belongs to my first encounter with a teacher outside the school gate while doing my field work. My fieldwork was conducted in my former elementary school, where I got bullied from my teachers and friends 17 years ago. I was born and raised in a small city called Padang. According to Setara Institute (2018: 17 and 76) Padang is one of the most conservative cities in Indonesia (Halili 2018: 8) based on the high risk of conservative ideology namely religion and orientation of intolerant values.

Demographically, Padang has a total population of 861,723 with 839,200 of that being muslim (Halili 2018: 72). Most of the population came from Minangkabau ethnic group followed by other minorities such as Java, Chinese, Nias, Mentawai, Batak, Aceh, and Tamil (Ibid). There were three most popular discriminative policies related to educational policies which were first introduced in 2003. Those policies reinforce Islamic nuances into school by making it an obligation for students to read and write Quran, use hijab and typical-muslim uniform to school, and activity in mosque (Muslim house of worship).

Concurrently, national regulation number 20, 2003 about the National Education system speaks differently. According to the regulation (2003: article 9), "the government have to ensure good quality of education for every citizen without any discrimination practices". However, in implementation, there is a different reaction from the local government which have strong nuances of conservatism. As a consequence, not that many students from minority groups, access public schools resulting in a lack of a multicultural environment in schools. In addition, it also violates children's rights to access public education.

These policies shaped the school demography, moreover resulting in the practice of discriminative bullying occurring amongst students. Ngakane et al (2012: 39) argues school can be a hostile place for children due to practices of violence, bullying included. Furthermore, Oliver and Candappa (2003: 18) argues "bullying is prevalent at primary school level". my research found specific patterns of bullying amongst students in school through different sexual expressive terms for instance: *bencong*<sup>1</sup>. These findings, are strengthened by Elliott and Kolpartick's (1994) research which states that bullying oftentimes happens to someone who exhibits different behavior from the norm (see also Oliver and Candappa 2003: 17).

Furthermore, according to Volk, Dane, and Marini (2014: 327) many researches speak about the lack of empirical and theoretical explanations when studying bullying in school. By standing on Cowie and Oztug's (2008: 59) explanation about bullying, my research aims to understand the subjective experience of students by using an autoethnography approach through the lenses of governmentality and intersectionality. This paper seeks to contribute to Volk, Dane and Marini's research through my own autoethnographic perspective, combined with my participant's experience to explain the pattern of bullying in school in Padang, Indonesia. In addition, this approach also provided me a form of therapy (Ellis, Adam, and Bochner 2010: 279) in dealing with my bad experiences of bullying in the past.

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<sup>1</sup> According to Oetomo (2000) *bencong* is condescending term to describe transwoman. Transwoman understood by common people as homosexual sexual orientation and non-confirming gender behavior. In English "fagot" term almost resembles fagot (see also Munir, 2014: 101)



My research attempted to answer the question “*how is the practice of bullying sustained in the classroom?*”. To support this question, my research also examined “*what are the drivers of bullying practice?*”, “*how children experience bullying in school?*”, and “*how do school react to bullying practices?*”. Qualitative by nature, my research adopted participatory observation as a main tool to assemble the data. The observation is supported by other data collecting methods namely diary exercise, focus group discussions, and interviews.

I was given approval from the school to conduct my research by the informal network. At first, I tried to follow the formal procedure for my research. However, members from the Ministry of Internal Affairs required me to follow number of bureaucratic procedures which cost time and money. The school principle contacted my mom and suggested an informal network for my fieldwork. My mom was working closely with the school as a local education authority officer before her retirement.

To cope with the issue of an informal network, I tried to be very careful in every step of my research, for instance, practicing consent as process (Ebrahim 2010: 290). Before the observation begin, I tried to make sure all parents and students were well-informed about my activity and willing to participate in my research through informed consent in every activity with the students.

Lastly, I hope, my research paper will give a clear portrait of bullying practice in school specifically in conservative contexts. For further information about city contexts, methodology, and conceptual frameworks will be explained in the next chapters.

Sincerely yours,  
Ghivo

# Chapter 1

## Conservatism and Its' Relation to Bullying

Swearer and Espelage (2011: 4) argue five significant factors contribute to student behaviour within bullying settings, referring specifically to the socio-ecological framework namely: culture, community, school, peers, and family. This chapter attempts to describe the context of the city and further examine the school's reactions to conservative values, especially for students.

### 1.1 Written and Unwritten Policies in the City

According to Setara Institute<sup>2</sup> (2018: 8), Padang city is one amongst five of the most intolerant cities in Indonesia. Setara Institute used four indicators to determine an intolerant city, namely written and unwritten regulation and/or policy; implementation of regulations and/or policy, and impact of demography (Ibid). Based on these indicators, Padang achieved the lowest score for conservative religion-based ideology, and intolerant values (Setara Institute, 2018: 17 and 76). These are three policies related to schools in the city.

First, I will explain policy number 451.422/Binsos.III/2005 title "Implementation of Wirid Remaja". To understand "*wirid remaja*", we need to first define these words separately. *Wirid* is adapted from the Arabic word meaning "ritual practices can be traced through unbroken line of links between its murshid (servant) and the prophet, and its teachings and doctrines should be relevant to the Islamic law" (Turmudi 2003 in Zamhari 2007: 1). The word *remaja* meaning adolescent in English, defined by the WHO (World Health Organization) as someone around the age 12 to 24 years old. Furthermore, the policy defined adolescents as students in public school.

Every Muslim student, regardless of age is required to listen lectures in mosque after school (from Monday to Saturday) and on Sunday morning. During the month of Ramadhan<sup>3</sup>, every school activity will be transferred to a mosque for Muslim students. This policy only permits Muslim students to attend mosque. For instance, during Ramadhan, non-Muslim students do not need to attend school because their institutions do not have the same practice as *wirid remaja*.

Second, I will explain policy number 6, 2003 for elementary schools about requirement for school students to be able to read and write Quran verses. This policy requires public elementary schools to give written and oral examinations for new students in schools. The candidates who do not perform well in these exams are obligated to follow additional courses in the mosque after school from Monday to Saturday.

Lastly, I will explain policy number 451.422/Binsos.III/2005 which talks about the mandatory of wearing hijab in public educational institutions. This policy became somewhat of an issue in the city of Padang in 2008. One of the major national newspapers, Tempo, interviewed Christian students studying in public high school regarding this policy. According to Tempo (2008) the student shouted by the teachers she was not able to wear hijab

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<sup>2</sup> Setara Institute is a think-tank organization established in 2005. This organization works closely with the issue of tolerance and discrimination. Setara Institute profile can be found in <http://setara-institute.org>.

<sup>3</sup> Ramadan is a sacred month for Muslims. All Muslims are required to fast for the month starting at sunrise to sunset.

properly “my teacher shouted at me and say if you cannot use it properly, do not study in this school” (Tempo 2008).

Discriminative practices towards minorities, as seen in unwritten regulations such as billboards and banner in public areas, further support the city’s stance on being conservative. These billboards and banners below related to Islamic laws nearby the school and some public spaces in the city.

**Figure 1.1**  
Billboards related to Discriminative Policy nearby the School and City centre



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

The billboards as seen in Figure 1.1, are warnings against sin based on Islamic values. Billboard (1) illustrates a student who gets a job from a *riba*<sup>4</sup> institution, as the billboard directly translates to: “the sin of lawless children who choose to work in non-halal institution/riba (non-muslim)”. Billboard (4) illustrates a woman covering her face in her hands with following words written above her head: “my deeds are not necessarily accepted; my sin is definitely recorded”. According to Maunder and Crafter (2018: 18) the sociocultural aspect plays a big role in determining school bullying practices. In this research, I found several practices of bullying within the classroom, perpetuated by teachers and students based on conservative values.

## 1.2 Conservative Policies in Practice

As argued by Dominski (2016: 3275) “most education systems are poorly equipped to handle diversity”. The school teacher claimed, there have been no non-Muslim student from in the past 12 years.

It has been around 12 years; we do not have non-Muslim students. Some students have Javanese and Batak ethnic groups, but not many. Some of them (refer to the students) are mixed with Minangkabau tribe (EL, woman, homeroom teacher, around 46 years old, Muslim).

By referring to Swearer and Espelage (2011: 4) through a socio-ecological framework, schools cannot be detached from cultural factors. The conservative values reinforced in the city and the norms, brings a similar practice to the school in responding multicultural.

<sup>4</sup> Working in Riba institution means working in non-Muslim institution. Many people in Indonesia associated with bank or non-muslim bank.

There are Quran verses displayed on the school walls. The school not only displays conservative values through explicit actions, but also through teaching techniques in the classroom. In the beginning of the class, the teacher takes the students' attendance and follows up with a question: "Did you pray<sup>5</sup> this morning?" (EL, woman, homeroom teacher, around 46 years old, Muslim). Not every student prayed in the morning, providing several reasons varying from how they overslept, to waking up late, to name a few. The manner the teacher responded was similar to a billboard installed in the city central that states: "*sholatlah sebelum kamu di sholatkan*<sup>6</sup>" (translate: pray before you are prayed for) "we should pray for our friends who did not pray in the morning" (EL, woman, homeroom teacher, around 46 years old, Muslim). Many of the students reacted to their teacher's statement by laughing and some labelled their friends that did not pray, a sinner.

**Figure 1.2**

Wall Displays in the School mentioning Quran Verses



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

Discrimination against wearing hijab does not solely happen to non-Muslim students. I observed an instance of bullying perpetuated by a religious studies teacher on a student because she wore it improperly. The teacher pulled back her hijab until it fit to the girl's face perfectly. The student cried and explained "this hijab size is too small" (EC, girl, student, 9 years old), but the teacher ignored and said "it still has space for your hair. You can see now, it fits with your face" (W, woman, religious studies teacher<sup>7</sup>, around 42 years old, Muslim).

In some ways, students who are perpetrators of bullying, chose to bully other students as a coping mechanism by using the interpretation of the Quran. During the class break, a student came to me and asked about my identity, "what would you like to wear for praying? you have pretty long hair, wear Mukena (praying attire for woman). Are you sure you are not a woman?" (DF, boy, student, 9 years old, bully<sup>8</sup>). He identified me as a girl because I have longer hair compared to the other boys in school. I was not expecting him to ask about my identity based on my appearance and experienced something similar that happened to me 17 years ago.

During my observation, a group of students invited me to play "*tebak kertas lipat*" (translation: guessing folded paper). They asked me to choose one word in a small folded paper. The words in the paper were popular topics amongst students such as political figures, foods, and names of super heroes. Even though the students tried to cover the word, I was able to make out some the words with my eyes. I chose several unfamiliar political figures, and foods to see their responses. I got several responses from the students. "So, Bang (brother) Ghivo

<sup>5</sup> In Islam, adherents are required to pray five times in a day according to time of sunlight which are morning (around 5 AM), afternoon (around 12 PM and 4 PM), evening (around 6 PM), night (around 7 PM). One-time praying spent time approximately 5 to 10 minutes

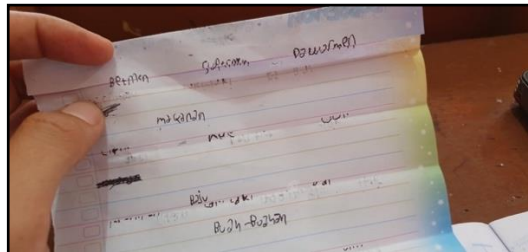
<sup>6</sup> Idiom for Muslim. Prayed for someone meaning that person die already or cannot do physical activities

<sup>7</sup> According to EL (woman, homeroom teacher, 46 years old, Muslim) the school does not have a non-Muslim teacher. Religion studies subject thought in the class only for Muslim students

<sup>8</sup> A Bully is a perpetrator of bullying

eat pork, and wait, also supports Jokowi, and ...” (FL, girl, student, 9 years old, bully), followed with an animated “eeeeee, so you eat pork” by (group of students). “why you support Prabowo<sup>9</sup>? You are not a good muslim” (FL, girl, student, 9 years old, bully).

**Figure 1.3**  
Paper-based Game: “guessing words”



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

In a different situation, the teacher taught themed subject about diversity to students in classroom. The teacher explained some information written in the text of the book related to diversity such as religion, and hobby. However, the teacher was not able to explain the picture to students and only read the texts to explain about diversity due to the limitations of teachers interacting with religious groups, and ethnic groups.

Conservative valued endorsed by local movement enforced the school’s preference on determining the criterion of new students. It impacted to the students’ opportunity to learn and live in multicultural settings. In general, I found two striking factors from the school in reacting to intolerance values in the city, which are students’ response towards diversity and silencing sexuality by the teachers. As one of the consequences, some students practice bullying based on their conservative values, for instance, by saying *bencong* to other friends who assumed as less masculine or feminine.

### 1.2.1 The School Reacts to Diversity

Swearer and Espelage (2011: 4) affirms that “bullying is a result of different factors that interplay among individual family, peer group, school, community, and cultural influences”. In support of this claim by Swearer and Espelage, I argue that regressive values shape students’ idea to perceive social worlds. During a group discussion, I asked two students to think about diversity, FL (girl, student, 9 years old, aggressor individual and group) and BH (boy, student, 9 years old, bystander).

I asked them to imagine living with non-Muslim neighbourhoods. I got different answers from students about this question. FL (girl, student, 9 years old, bully) answered it with her own experience and stereotype against minorities saying “for me, having non-Muslim friends is okay. My dad has one Chinese friend, and he is smart. But, I do not like their culture because they eat pork and somehow ‘free’ than us” (FL, girl, student, 9 years old, bully). The way in which she refers to the word “free” is the way in which people of other religions are freely able to wear clothes. She associated Muslim attire, particularly for Muslim girls as the most appropriate way to protect themselves from violence. As mentioned by Rohmah and Karima (2018: 80) Muslims assume someone’s wearing hijab is a symbol of good women.

In contrast, boys have different nuances in thinking about non-Muslim groups. BH (boy, student, 9 years old, bystander<sup>10</sup>) referred to several verses about halal (allowed) foods and

<sup>9</sup> Prabowo is candidate for Indonesian president period 2019-2024 from conservative parties

<sup>10</sup> Bystander is someone who ignores victim of bullying practice

pets for Muslim. “I totally do not want to play with Cristian people because they eat pork and sometimes have dogs. As Muslims, we cannot pray if we touch a dog, so it is better and comfortable to have friends from the same background (Muslim)” (BH, boy, student, 9 years old, bystander).

These different answers provided me with an insight of the students’ background and perspective. For FL (girl, student, 9 years old, bully), she has first-hand experience dealing with people from different religions and ethnicities. She was able to clarify her assumptions regarding non-Muslims and Chinese people. Alternatively, in the case of BH (boy, student, 9 years old, bystander), he did not have the same experience as FL (girl, student, 9 years old, bully). He assumed non-Muslims people based on values that sustained by the community; for instance, stereotyping non-Muslims people as despicable groups.

The teachers have a strong role in strengthening students’ assumptions about social life. For example, by using hidden curriculum<sup>11</sup>, the teacher transferred certain standards of masculinity to students. In a class on religious studies, W (woman, religious studies teacher, around 42 years old, Muslim) explicitly mentioned to students that only men deserve to be a leader. She shaped students’ assumption by labelling the characteristics of a leader and how he has to follow certain standards. Traits which a boy must embody and subsequently that of a leader are a voice, be strong, and charismatic “...you are a man. You have to able to speak loudly. I am a woman. Even me, the next building can hear my voice...” (W, woman, religious studies teacher, around 42 years old, Muslim).

As a consequence of this, boys with non-conforming gender expressions and/or physical features, struggle with this standard of masculinity which then leads to another kind of bullying. Dominski (2016: 3278) argues “boys tended to struggle more with normative gender expectation and homophobic bullying in their social and school spaces than girls”. Through a hidden curriculum, teachers shape students’ assumptions about masculinity which in turn impacts the power relation amongst students. Boys who do not exhibit mainstream masculinity traits then become targets of bullying, labelled as *bencong*, and became targets of not only verbal, but also physical and sexual abuse.

One of the victims of such behaviour is IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim<sup>12</sup>). IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) prefers to play with the girls compared to boys because he found interacting with boys to be more violent as compared to girls. “I want to be friends with everyone. But, I prefer to play with girls because they do not violate me. Also, I sometimes desperately asked for my turn to play football but, they do not want to play with me” (IL, boy, student, 9 years old, victim).

IL’s (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) non-conforming gender expression restrains his access to interact with his friends. In addition, according to Cowie (2011: 289) there are four roles which can be identified within the practice of bullying: victims, perpetrators, upstander, and bystander. IL’s case presented a different nuance of an upstander role in bullying settings. My findings showed there was a boy tried to help IL in bullying settings. Rather than speaking out about IL being bullied, he preferred to be a bystander for as he also worried for his own safety of being a target of bullying by the bullies. The fluidity of students’ role in bullying settings shows a self-governing process towards social norms playing a role in the school. By this, I argue those roles cannot be defined in a rigid form. It depends on the contexts of bullying, for instance the situations and forms of bullying.

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<sup>11</sup> Penna (1979: 22) defines hidden curriculum as “the unstated norms, values, and beliefs that are transmitted to students through the underlying structure of meaning in both the formal context as well the social relations of school and classroom life”.

<sup>12</sup> Victim of bullying



### 1.2.2 The School Reacts to Sexuality

In one of my findings related to sexuality, one student gave a hand gesture in the shape of a heart. The teacher noticed and called the student's name while stating "...why are you making the love gesture? You are only nine years old, you should be ashamed of that. That is why you do not ever watch love movie" (W, woman, religious studies teacher, around 42 years old, Muslim). Sexuality becomes a taboo topic amongst children and teachers in school. The teachers assume children before the age transition to adolescence ("baligh") do not need to know about sexuality. In reality however, students show a lot of interest to know about their sexuality in school. On student desks (as seen in Figure 1.4 below), students wrote and drew several terms related to sex and gender such as love, and women's breasts.

**Figure 1.4**  
Students' Desks Speak about Sexuality



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

According to Svanemyr et al (2015: 57), adolescents' sexual and reproductive issues are strongly influenced by multiple social, cultural, political, and economic factors and inequalities. Some evidences show students cannot access information about their sexual and reproductive issues from the teachers because of social, cultural, and political constraints reinforced through conservative values. Supported by social, cultural, and political factors; the teachers also teach misleading concepts about sexuality by refer to assumptions about masculinity. As mentioned above, the students use teacher's assumptions to bully others using the derogatory term *bencong* with their friends who do not fit with teacher's ascriptions on being a boy. In addition, Elliott and Kilpartick (1994) argue students with differed characteristics from the norm are easily targeted as victims of bullying (Oliver and Candappa 2003:17).

**Figure 1.5**  
Students' Diary Describes about Parenting: "my mom was angry"



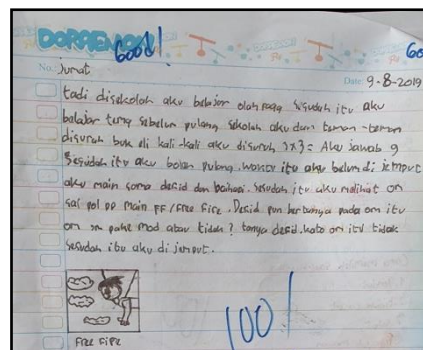
Source: Fieldwork, 2019

Swearer and Espelage (2011: 4) argue, families have a significant impact on bullying. My research found that students home experience and lived life impacts their interactions at school. In a diary exercise, one boy shared his experience of how his mom scolded him because he did not want to study. I use his story to know about several conversations between him and his parents about sexuality; “those topics (sexuality) belongs to adult. So, I cannot ask to my mom. It is also disgusting” (LK, boy, student, 9 years old, bully). Even though, students cannot validate their curiosity about their sexuality with their parents or teachers, readily available internet access allows them information regarding the issue.

In a diary exercise, one student wrote his experience at school when his mom arrived late to pick him up. While he was waiting, he played with some friends outside the classroom. As the school is located nearby an office and community residence, when they were playing together, he saw an officer playing “Free Fire” a popular game amongst students in school “we were asking, do you use MOD (game cheat) or not? He told me, he is not (AL, boy, student, class representative, 9 years old, bystander and bully<sup>13</sup>).

**Figure 1.6**

Students' Diary Describes about Student's Experience Outside the School Gate

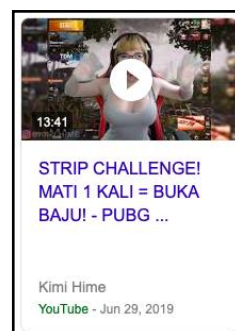


Source: Fieldwork, 2019

Game apps amongst students are seen not only as a platform for games, but also a place to exchange information about the sexual contents. During focus group discussion, a student introduced me to a celebrity from a popular game, Player Unknown Battle Ground (PUBG) asking “brother, do you know Kimi Hime? You can see her from the YouTube. She says that she will open her t-shirt when she loses the game” (HN, boy, student, 10 years old, bully). I opened the influencer’s YouTube channel and was surprised at the content displayed.

**Figure 1.7**

Screenshots of Celebrity's YouTube Channel



<sup>13</sup> AL's roles changes in a bullying context. Sometimes, he uses his authority to report his friend to the teacher or verbally and physically bully his friends



Source: YouTube, 2019

Based on group discussions with the students, most parents will reward them with time for playing a game on Saturday night, and Monday morning. All students are familiar with the most popular internet-based game. Although this research does not focus on the student's interaction with social media, my findings have helped me to understand the importance of learning about sexual reproductive health at an early age. Apart from the internet-based game, students also bought comic books in shops located near the school gate.

Interestingly, I found that comic books also speak about social, and cultural values amongst the students. An example of this is displayed in a comic book entitled "*Dendam Arwah Penasaran*" (translation: Curious Soul Revenge). In the beginning, the comic book illustrates a group conversation with implicit sexual narrative about a victim of a murder by mentioning physical appearance of the woman.

**Figure 1.8**

Comic Book Speaks about Sexuality. The Text Says "the death of Lela, adorable and sexy sweet girl reminds a mystery"

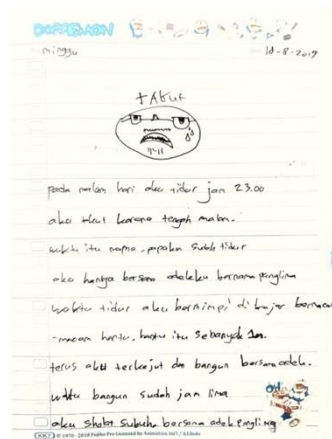


Source: Fieldwork, 2019

The sexual nature of comic books, contribute to students' view about assuming women with certain characteristics being victim of sexual violence. Students do not have the choice to ask about the contents of the comic book owing to social and cultural norms constraints. As I mentioned in the previous sub-section, the students perceived outlier norms as aberration, for instance, the way BH (BH, boy, student, 9 years old, bystander) articulating his assumption towards non-Muslim people "I totally do not want to play with Cristian people because they eat pork and sometimes have dogs. As Muslims, we cannot pray if we touch a dog, so it is better and comfortable to have friends from the same background (Muslim)" (BH, boy, student, 9 years old, bystander). As contend by Rohmah and Karima (2018: 80) Muslims assume someone's wearing hijab is a symbol of good women.

In another diary exercise, one student mentioned his dream related to comic books. "I was sleeping very late, and I felt afraid. My parents were sleeping, and I was with my brother. In my dream, I saw a lot of ghosts were chasing me. Suddenly, I woke up next to my brother at 5am and we prayed together" (LK, boy, student, 9 years old, bully). As demonstrated by the diary exercise, the student processed information based on popular comic books among them.

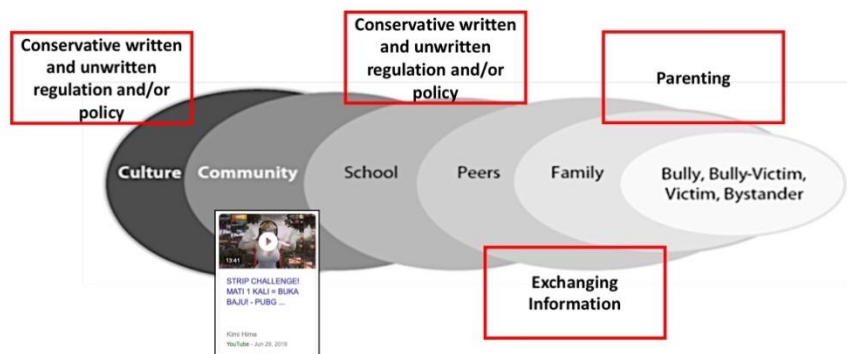
**Figure 1.9**  
Students' Diary Describes about His Experience and the Comic Book



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

To conclude this chapter, I argue that students' behaviour towards bullying has been influenced by intertwining factors as described through the socio-ecological framework. Factors which influence the school members, assume the concept of binary extremes (Besley 2010: 534), for instance, in determining what is 'right' or 'wrong' about someone's identity and expression. My research paper acknowledged the roles of a socio-ecological framework to examine the factors behind bullying in school, however, it will not focus on family factors which also contribute to a students' way of perceiving the social world.

**Figure 1.10**  
Application of Swearer and Espelage's Socio-ecological Framework on This Research



Source: Swearer and Espelage with author modification, 2011

## Chapter 2 Methodology

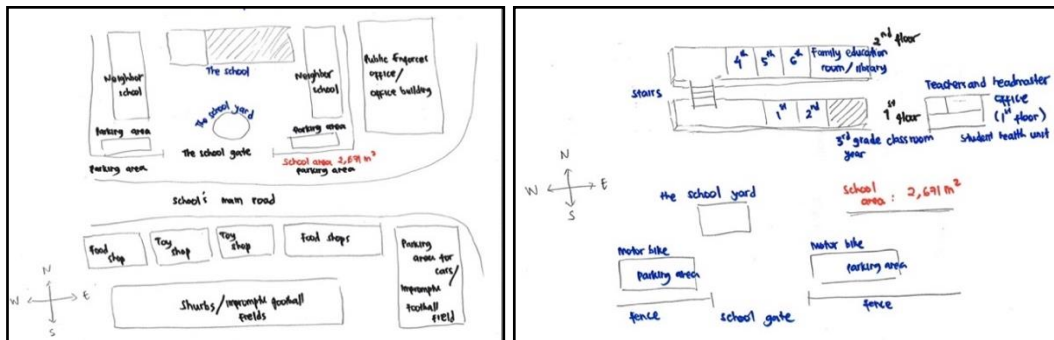
This chapter includes three sub-chapters namely note on methodology and data collection technique, positionality, and research with children in school settings. My research is autoethnography (qualitative) in nature (Brinkmann and Kvale 2009: 49) participatory observation as the main method. I include my positionality in this research to explain my engagement with the practices of bullying from a victim's standpoint, and as someone who was born, and raised in Padang (Jackson 2006 in Huijsman 2010: 338). Furthermore, I also include works of authors in regards to the process of doing research with children

### 2.1 Notes on Methodology

I officially started my research on July 29<sup>th</sup>, 2019. This research conducted for 25 days which ended on August 22<sup>nd</sup>, 2019. I acquired permission to conduct my research through an informal approach. I attempted to follow all the requirements, in the beginning, established by the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education (MoRTHE). The formal procedure however, meant more time and financial resources.

**Map 2.1**

Map of School (left) and Facilities (right)



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

The school area is 2671 m<sup>2</sup>. It consists of three different school buildings with separate library, cafeteria, praying room, teachers' office, parking lot in each of the schools, and one common school yard. I used the school library, cafeteria, and yard for group discussions with the students.

Some of the group discussions with the students were not as successfully attempted because the rooms were not sufficient for all the students. Also, there were some students were not my research participant followed and asked me to play during the discussion. With these conditions, I decided to initiate small group discussions consisting of two students at the end of my research. I found small group discussion worked better than group discussion consists of five to eight people in these settings. Small group discussion also allowed me to pairing students based on their role in bullying settings to prevent any violence practices during the discussions.

According to Huijsman (2010: 336-338), experience in doing an unauthorized research has several consequences, concerns, and advantages I found several similarities concerns as mentioned by Huijsman's experiences.

Firstly, in regards to time pressure and certainty my fieldwork started one week after the original planned date for class room observation on the 29<sup>th</sup> of July. The school principal had asked me to postpone my field research due to school accreditation<sup>14</sup>. This delayed affected to the possibilities to apply photography and map exercise in school that I proposed in my research proposal. I decided to choose participatory observation, focus group discussion (FGD), and qualitative interview to cope with time pressure. Beside time pressure, I also found difficulty accessing forums for group discussions in school because of limited spaces in school.

Secondly, informal research settings impacted to clarity of information from the school. Per my observation, the teachers were not well informed by the principal about my role in researching the school. I am aware, that the informal approach may limit myself to initiate informal meetings with the teacher to introduce my research. I received several rejections from two homeroom teachers because they afraid being assessed from my research. They assumed my research speak about the competences of teachers in the classroom, which somehow gave me an inspiration to apply the concept of hidden curriculum in my research.

Initially, the school principal had instructed me to conduct my participatory observation with fifth grade students. This did not eventuate however as I mentioned, the homeroom teacher refused to participate in my research. One class session, I had the chance to observe a fourth-grade class for 3 hours. During the class break, I asked my proposal to the homeroom teacher about participating in my research, and yet again was refused. After the class break, I coincidentally met with the third-grade homeroom teacher, who used to be my physical education teacher 17 years ago. To my luck, she allowed me to conduct my research for 22 days, in her class for morning and afternoon sessions.

From this experience, as mentioned by Huijsman (2010: 337-338), informal approaches not only bring concerns, but also advantages. As I described above, this informal approach helped me to cope with time and financial concerns. During my meeting with the school principal, I told her about my concerns about the informal approach. Instead of worrying about the informal approach, she asked me to bring a letter mentioning my university name for accreditation purposes. I explained to her my situation and she accepted my letter concerning research permission. Based on those observations, The school does not gave a rigid policy on protecting students from extracurricular activities involving strangers which is demonstrated by my ease access to students.

Moreover, the informal approach accorded me an effective way to build rapports with the teachers and students during informal time, for example, the teachers and the students treated me as former students compared to an adult researcher during break-time, and after school time conversations. This approach helped me to ease “my otherness” in front of the teachers and students by allowing me the opportunity to get to know them in person, not a formal meeting.

## 2.2 Data Collection Technique

According to Brinkmann and Kvale (2009: 47), my research is identified as qualitative study aiming to cultivate the participants’ understanding about bullying. My research attempts to apply four different data collection techniques: participatory observation, diary exercises, group discussion, and interview as illustrated below

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<sup>14</sup> According to National Regulation number 20, 2003, about “National Education System” every school has to follow accreditation procedure in every four year.

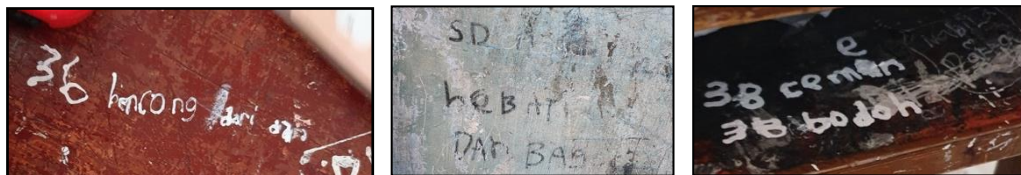
**Table 2.1**  
Research Methods and Participants

Activities	Boys	Girls	Note
Participatory observation	30 students	30 students	Two classes
Questionnaire	30 students	30 students	Two classes
Diary Exercise	12 students	5 students	Two classes
Group Discussion	12 students	5 students	Two Sessions
Group & Individual interview	4 students	4 students	Four Sessions

Source: Fieldwork, 2019

I mainly attempted to collect my field work data through participatory observation. Furthermore, according to Bernard (2011: 256) participatory observation is “the foundation of cultural anthropology with purpose to get close with people and making them comfortable enough with researchers so that can be observable and recorded information about their life”. In addition, Oliver and Candappa (2003: 12) highlights the importance of listening and observing students’ experiences of bullying in school. Ellis et al (2010: 257), also note how important qualitative data can be observed during participatory observation namely responses, gestures, and power differences among participants. Through participatory observation, I was able to find evidence of bullying practices in the school. For example, some students use the school desks as means to communicate and bully other students (as seen in Figure 2.1 below).

**Figure 2.1**  
Students’ Desks and Wall Speak about The Students Experience in School



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

Additionally, participatory observation also helped me to understand the power relations amongst teachers; between teachers and students, and also amongst students themselves. My participatory observation, aided me in distributing a short questionnaire about their interactions in school. In the questionnaire, the student filled three top of mind friend names according to their interaction, for instance, the closest friends.

**Figure 2.2**  
Questionnaire

Source: Fieldwork, 2019

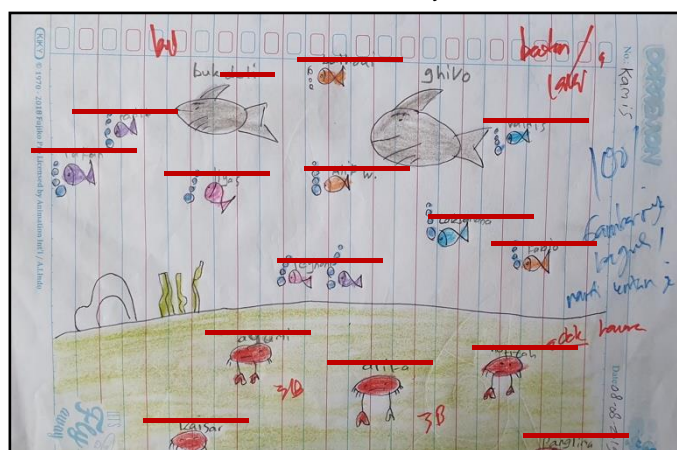
In attempting to validate my observation results with the questionnaire, I found similar answers between observation and questionnaire. I recorded 17 participant names in both the diary exercise and group discussions. I then categorized those participant names into four

roles according to bullying theory; victims of bullying, perpetrators of bullying, upstanders/defender, and bystanders<sup>15</sup> (the assistance, reinforcer, and outsider) (Cowie 2011: 289).

Most of the students who participated in my research obtained approval from their parents and other adult care givers. After selecting my research participant names based on students' roles in bullying settings, I provide written informed consents for students and significant adult care giver. In my research, applied informed consent as a process by asking informed consent in every activity with the students (Ebrahim 2010: 290). Participatory observation activity helped me to be able to build rapport with the parents. I had several informal conversations with the parents. I heard from the teacher that I made a good impression on the student's parents.

I was able to invite 17 students to participate in diary exercise and two sessions of FGD. The FGD however were not sufficient to fully capture students' opinions about bullying. I decided to use FGD to grasp their understanding about bullying by referring to their diary during small group discussions with two students.

**Figure 2.2**  
The Student Diary



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

This is an aquarium. These sharks are you and EL (women, homeroom teacher, around 46 years old, muslim). [me: why I bigger than her? She is older, right?] ... yes, but you are a man. You are bigger. [me: ah, then why you have different colors for your friends?] I guess, it suits with them. [me: and how about the crabs?]. I put it below because they are women (LK, boy, student, 9 years old, bully)

Unexpectedly, the student diaries also helped me to understand the complexities of the existing power relations amongst them. I use my participatory observation, the student diaries, and group discussions to select eight students for smaller group discussions, and interviews. Smaller group discussions consisted of two students. I arranged the group participants based on student's role in bullying settings. There was one discussion with one group of bullies (girls); one group of bystanders (girls); one group consisting of a victim and a defender (boys), and one discussion group with the class representative and a known bully (boys).

<sup>15</sup> According to Cowie (2011) definition of the bystander role because it separates the concept into three other possibilities. Someone who assists a person or group who actively bully; the reinforcer, someone who escalates the tension of the situation, and the outsider, a person or group who ignores an aggressive situation (p.289)



Based on these small group discussions, I designed my research questions related to the information gathered from my participants. This research helps me to understand how doing research or observing children's participation is not an easy method. It requires an analytical process to contextualize the factors that enables their voices (James 2007: 270). For instance, I have to adjust several strategies to communicate with children because it was not work perfectly such as in the FGD.

## 2.3 Positionality

According to Cotter (2017: 106), "an autoethnography research works for people who have experience trauma". In situating knowledge, Rose (1997: 306) notes the importance of acknowledging the researchers' positionality in ethnographic research. In regards to my positionality, I was a victim of bullying in the same school, I am Muslim, a city boy<sup>16</sup>, belong to the Minangnese<sup>17</sup> tribe and am from middle-class family. Furthermore, I am queer, a study abroad which shapes my perspective of contextualizing bullying practices.

I became a victim of bullying when I started my second grade. The students found me different as I had fairer skin, was not a good football player and timid. My friends identified me as *bencong* in class owing to the reasons listed above. In returning to conduct my research at the same school 17 years later, I found that name-calling practices using *bencong* still exists. In the classroom I studied, there was at least one student labelled as *bencong*.

My identity as part of the majority in the community, helped me to build rapport with my research participants and adults. During my observation, a neighboring school principal was wondering about my purpose of being there and asked "why do you take photos of the building? why am I also not photographed? I also want to be photographed" (J, woman, teacher, around 48 years old, Muslim). After I introduced myself and she gave me different impression due to my identity as a Muslim, Minangnese, and former student. Sentiment against minorities still become problem in my city, as it was 17 years ago.

I think you are a Chinese, because your face similar to Chinese (fine skin tone and narrow-eyed). What is this Chinese doing here? I also want to know why do you take those pictures? (J, woman, neighbour school principle, around 46 years old, Muslim).

Not only does this reinforce sentiment against a minority, the school also discriminated students with non-conforming gender expressions by using hidden curriculum. As a student who studies in the Netherlands, and prior to my experience working with sexuality issue in the past, these experiences have helped me to understand *bencong* term in different way. At the same time, it helped me to ease my trauma because I associated *bencong* with a negative connotation. Through this research, I have learnt that there is nothing wrong with this term. *Bencong* do not deserve to be bullied or humiliated simply because of the reinforced hidden curriculum.

Furthermore, regarding my role as an observer, Bernard (2011: 260) argues there are three typologies of fieldwork roles: complete participant, participant observation, and complete observer. I position myself in a participant observer role as a learner (Ebrahim 2010: 290), insider, and part of the students, for instance, by following the students' activities from

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<sup>16</sup> City boy is term to illustrate young people (aged around to 15-29 years old) migrated to city

<sup>17</sup> Majority local tribe in Padang city

7am to 4pm in the afternoon. Additionally, Cerwonka (2007: 2 and 5) highlights the embeddedness of a researcher's concrete details and the engagement with participants' feelings. My identity as local, former students, who is able to speak Minangkabaunese language eased my way to conduct this research. However, I had several bad experiences in dealing with my feelings such as being emotionally drained when teachers scold and bully students in the classroom as a consequence of my past experience with bullying. To put a distance on my subjectivity, I wrote an informal journal every day, and read it after my fieldwork ended.

## 2.4 Research with Children

Lomax (2011: 105) argues there is a shifting paradigm in social science about seeing children's voices in research from ignoring to acknowledging their experience and agency. In doing so, it is important to understand children as "homogeneous and undifferentiated" (Lomax 2011: 107). There are several concerns and assumptions about involving children in a research. According to Punch (2003: 328) children may use different vocabularies and have a different way of life compared to adults (see also Ebrahim 2010; Lomax 2011).

Lomax's view about child agency can also be seen through the school's perception regarding student participation. For instance, the school principle instructed me to study fifth grade students. The homeroom teacher however did not allow me to do so and so instead my point of to conduct my field research was through my former elementary school teacher. She asked me about the possibilities to work with students in "*masa peralihan*" (translation: transition age) "Is it possible to work with them? They are still small, maybe, they will not understand your research or your activities here" (EL, woman, homeroom teacher, around 48 years old, Muslim). It also mentioned by Crivello, Camfield, and Woodhead (2008: 57) "young children have until recently been neglected when it comes in involving them in research about them and the things matters most to their wellbeing".

Involving children in research requires clarity, creativity, and engagement with aiming to collect their meaningful participation (see also Crivello, Camfield, and Woodhead 2008, Ebrahim 2010, Lomax 2011, Punch 2002). Moreover, geographical and demographical aspects are important to consider in research with children. For instance, I was able to use the diary exercise because I conducted my fieldwork in a school with classroom facilities and students that indirectly support my method.



## Chapter 3

# Practice of Hidden Curriculum, and Governmentality: Sustaining Bullying Culture in School

According to Cowie and Oztug (2008: 59) schools can be hostile for students because when they are not able to provide a safe environment for children (see also Netshitahane and Volleghoven 2002; Herr and Anderson 2003; Haber 2004; Smith and Smith 2006; Meyer-Adams and Conner 2008 in Ngakane et al 2012: 39) which causes violent practices such as bullying (Piotrowski and Hoot 2008 in Ngakane 2012: 39). By applying hidden curriculum and governmentality concepts, this chapter will examine the practice of bullying in schools. This chapter discovers hidden curriculum practices that are carried out by teachers through the teaching and learning process. Furthermore, hidden curriculum is used by students as a standard of values and norms to perpetuate bullying amongst them. This chapter will begin with some conceptual definitions related to bullying, hidden curriculum, and governmentality.

### 3.1 Conceptual Definitions

Many scholars refer to Oleweus' (1991, 1993) definition of bullying which is based on three features namely intentional repeated long-term aggression, unequal power based and individual or groups (see also Oliver and Candappa 2003; Huges 2014). On the other hand, Volk, Dane, and Marini (2014: 327) attempt to review that definition by changing these three aspects to goal-directed behaviors, power imbalance, and harm. They argue Oleweus' definition lacks recent empirical and theoretical evidence (Volk, Dane, and Marini 2014: 327). This argument is supported for two reasons, firstly, on the intentional factor, which can be defined differently by the perpetrators and victims of bullying. Perpetrators and victims must have prior knowledge to be able to categorize acts of bullying so that the number of cases recorded is not as many as the cases that occur in the field. Secondly, repeated aggression is not yet able to capture the issue of cyber bullying because the perpetrator might be anonymous and/or causing the snowball effect to victims through social media content. This research defines bullying by three characteristics; a subjective experience (Cowie and Oztug 2008: 59); complex and heterogeneous (Volk, Dane, and Marini 2014: 327) and as part of social exclusion (Dominski 2016: 3277).

Some researchers relate violence, exclusion, and discrimination using the hidden curriculum concept to explain the process of internalizing norms and values by students in school. Giroux and Penna (1979: 22) define hidden curriculum as "the unstated norms, values, and beliefs that are transmitted to students through the underlying structure of meaning in both the formal context as well the social relations of school and classroom life". In the same position, Jay (2003: 3) defines hidden curriculum as a "*hegemonic device*" that aims to sustain the position of a dominant group in society. Additionally, Langhout and Mitchell (2008: 595) argue that the practice of hidden curriculum is often used to self-disciplining students particularly in second class schools. This research uses three features of the hidden curriculum namely norms, values, and beliefs (Giroux and Penna 1979: 22) in the teaching and learning process with the aim of internalizing values that refer to the norms in society (Jay 2003: 6) as a process of disciplining students' behaviour (Langhout and Mitchell 2008: 595).

Similar to the hidden curriculum, this research also uses the concept of governmentality to examine practices of social exclusion in schools. Foucault (1991) argues governmentality can be used as a lens to understand the practice of self-ordering (see also Lemke 2002; McKee 2009; Besley 2010; Dominski 2016; Perryman et al 2017; Muehlenhoff 2019). McKee (2009: 2) argues governmentality has been used as a theoretical perspective in several fields, such as education to show teaching and learning activities in school. According to Lemke (2002: 5-6) an understanding of the concept of governmentality requires an advanced understanding of the concepts of power and knowledge. Lemke (2002: 5) defines power as “strategic games between liberties in order to determine the conduct of others”. Muehlenhoff (2017: 115) argues that power is defined as productive where each individual has a stake in producing knowledge. Lemke (2002: 6) defines knowledge as “society laws in determining “the true” and “the real” information”. Power and knowledge are simultaneously affecting people’s behavior by normalizing and evaluating themselves (McKee 2009: 6) based on the dominant norms in society. The process of governmentality requires a “code of conduct” that can be explicit and implicit in the form of norms and used as a reference in self-evaluation and normalization (Lemke 2002; McKee 2009; Besley 2010; Perryman et al 2017).

This research attempts to juxtapose the concept of a hidden curriculum as a code of conduct used by teachers in the teaching and learning process that has consequences for bullying practices in schools. Further, to respond to criticism of the concept of governmentality associated with agency (McKee 2009: 13), this research argues that bullying is one form of agency used by students in responding to the practice of bullying and the hidden curriculum that is perpetuated at schools.

### 3.2 Situating Teacher within Hidden Curriculum Settings

Hidden curriculum practices that occur in schools can be seen in the teaching and learning process in the classroom through examples provided by the teacher. This study found religious studies to be a subject used by teachers to practice a hidden curriculum through inequality narratives in religious values. In addition, the education curriculum requires the creativity of the teacher in providing examples to weigh the diversity of contexts around teachers and students. This is used by teachers as a medium to enforce the values they believe by using personal experiences.

W<sup>18</sup> (woman, teacher, around 42 years old, Muslim) is one of the teachers teaching religious studies in school, for students from grades one to four (aged six to ten years old). She is also well-known by students as one of the “*killer*”<sup>19</sup> teachers. Even so, some students like the way she teaches because they often given humorous examples in class. One of the students responded to her jokes in the classroom “...I quietly laugh at the moment she was angry at my friend in the classroom. Her voice and gesture are entertaining (HN, boy, student, 10 years old, bully)”. At that time, she joked about “how a real boy should be”. The joke happened when the teacher instructed a boy to read a book out loud in front of the class. But, the boy has a small voice that cannot be heard by other students. She argued “...you are a man. You have to be able to speak loudly. I am a woman. Even me, the next building can hear my voice...” (W, women, religious studies teacher, around 42 years old, Muslim).

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<sup>18</sup> The class is only specifically about Islam.

<sup>19</sup> *Killer* is a term to describe teachers who often use aggression when teaching students.

During the class session, not all students agree with the examples given by her. Thus, she used her authority to ensure students agree with her.

Who says no [pointing to a boy]? Ask your “ustad” [translation: religious leader], and ask your mom. Okay, you know? I am your parents. I teach you. I am not different from your biological parents. If you do something bad to your teacher means you do the same thing with your biological parents. If you are being naughty to teachers, it means you do bad things to your mom at home. Because we are your parents (W, women, religious studies teacher, around 42 years old, Muslim).

Some students showed different responses, in the instance where one of the students started to cry, she reacted to the boy with the joke “boys shouldn't cry”. She has certain assumptions against how boys should perform by referring to strong physical and emotional aspects, and having a firm charisma as a potential leader. On another occasion, she addressed her assumption against different roles between boys and girls by bringing a gender inequality discourse into the classroom.

...boys, we [teacher and students] do not know where the future will bring you. Girls, who knows you may be politicians' wife in the future. So, everybody, that's is why confidence is important for us. For example, if you [pointing to a boy] become a member of parliament, you have to be brave to talk in public. For girls, it is also important because you are the representative of your husband (W, women, religious studies teacher, around 42 years old, Muslim).

This research argues that bullying is one of the coping mechanisms illustrated by students against the oppression conducted by teachers through a hidden curriculum. For instance, in a focus group discussion, one of the boys argued to his friend “I want to sit here! I deserve it because I have a strong body, and I am older than all of you” (HN, boy, student, 10 years old, bully). In a different focus group discussion, a boy expressed his opinion about his response towards violence which portrayed gender inequality content delivered by the teacher, “If someone punched me, I will punch him [her] back because I am a man. A man should be brave” (GL, boy, student, 9 years old, bully). Some boys who cannot cope with existing standards of masculinity have to struggle with the practice of bullying with labels them *bencong*. Name-calling is one bullying practice that leads to another practice of bullying. Practice of name-calling can be examined as a practice of bullying based on difference in value which possibly indicates a practice to determine the conduct of others (Lemke 2002: 5).

### **3.3 Interrelated Practice of Hidden Curriculum and Governmentality**

Foucault (1991) argues “governmentality requires “code of conduct” as technology of self-governing and governing others” (see also Lemke 2002; McKee 2009; Besley 2010; Perryman et al 2017). Dean (1999) argues that a “‘code of conduct’ can be defined as encompasses any calculated attempt to direct human behavior toward a particular end” (in McKee 2009: 6). By referring to the practice of a hidden curriculum, Alsubaie (2015: 215) argues that the hidden curriculum brings together two important aspects, namely assumption and expectation, which are interrelated with the practice of governmentality.



The boy argues that men and woman are different in terms of power. Moreover, he uses different colours to illustrate his friends' personalities. One of them was pink which was associated with girls. He also coloured pink the male students who were considered to have non-conforming gender performance and were bullied as *bencong*. Based on Volk, Dane, and Marini's (2014) claim on defining bullying, the practice of name-calling by saying *bencong* can be identified as a goal-directed behaviour, involving power imbalance, and harm. A boy targeted as *bencong* was not only exposed to verbal bullying, but other types of bullying such as physical and sexual. One of the students targeted as *bencong* shared his experience with me during an interview session "I want to be friends with everyone. But, I prefer to play with girls because they do not violate me. Also, I sometimes desperately asked for my turn to play football but, they do not want to play with me" (IL, boy, student, 9 years old, victim).

According to Cowie (2011: 289), there are four roles which can be identified in bullying settings: victims, perpetrators, upstanders, and bystanders. In this case, IL (boy, student, 9 years old) was not able to access the support from friends (upstanders) because of the normalization process that occurs in the bullying setting in the classroom. Beside IL, I interviewed another boy, A (boy, student, 9 years old, bystander and upstander<sup>20</sup>) whom I assume as a bystander in the bullying setting that occurs in this case. A (boy, student, 9 years old) argues his friends' actions towards IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) as unacceptable actions, but cannot help IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) for fear of then being the target of bullying by his friends "I do not agree with my friends who called him *bencong*. But, I cannot help him. Some of my friends called me *bencong* at home. I am afraid it will happen at school as well. I do not want to take risk about it boy, student, 9 years old)"

Looking at the practice of hidden curriculum and governmentality, illustrates the importance of providing comprehensive understandings about gender equality and the dangers of toxic masculinity in school, especially by teachers. The next chapter discusses the school practice of "silencing of sexuality" that impacts the practice of intersectional bullying towards students with non-conforming gender expression.

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<sup>20</sup> He sometimes become bystander and upstander.

## Chapter 4

# Silencing of Sexuality: Practice of Intersectional Bullying

This chapter discusses bullying and its relation to issues of sexuality. According to Garnet et al., (2014: 1226) many researchers relate discrimination only to race, however, and forget other forms of discrimination relating to sexual orientation and expression, and weight. This chapter aims to highlight bullying and sexuality as issues in schools by providing evidence based on observations and interviews with students. The first sub-section explains the relation between bullying and sexuality. Furthermore, the second sub-section discusses the impact of silencing sexuality as an issue in the practice of intersectional bullying.

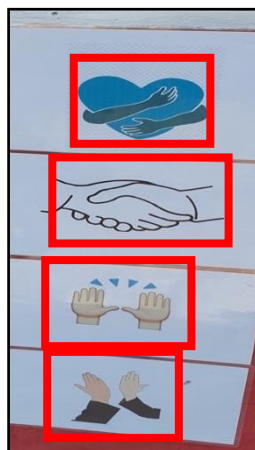
### 4.1 Bullying and Sexuality Issues

Svanemyr et al., (2015: 57) argue that “adolescent’s sexual and reproductive health (SRH) is strongly influenced by a range of social, cultural, political, and economic factors and inequalities”. Furthermore, they also contend with school which can contribute to adolescents’ understandings of SRH in terms of “contraceptive use, age of marriage, number of births, and use of health services” (Svanemyr et al., 2015: 59). However, not every school is aware of this, especially when it comes to young children.

Davis, Rovers, and Petrella (2017: 13) claim that children need “consistent love, attention, and touch from their caregiver. They need to experience warm loving touch, to be hugged, and cuddled”. It is proven children also have sexual desire, the same as adults. If they cannot fulfil it, they have the risk of experiencing tough deprivation, the impact of which can have several consequences, such as hostile aggression, shyness, difficulties eating, stubbornness, and excessive crying amongst others (Davis, Rovers, and Petrella 2017: 15).

The desire of sexuality can be found from the practice of greeting teachers before the class begins. The school provides four ways for children to greet teachers namely hug, handshake, double high-five, and high-five. During my observation, I saw on average 21 of 30 students chose to hug their teachers compared to other gestures.

**Figure 4.1**  
Options to Greet Teachers in the School on Wall in Front of Classroom



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

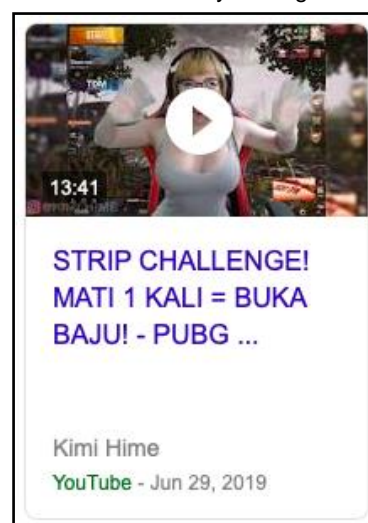
As sexual beings, students also need support from teachers, parents, and other caregivers (Davis, Rovers, and Petrella 2017: 13). However, with reference to school and city contexts, it hinders students' access to informative and useful information about their sexuality. My observation discovered a bullying practice between teacher and students in the classroom when a boy made a love sign with his hand. The teacher scolded the students, saying "...why you make love gesture? You are only nine years old children, be ashamed of that. That is why do not ever watch love movie" (W, woman, religious studies teacher, around 42 years old, Muslim). The teachers assume students' do not have sexual desires yet, in fact, they were struggling to find information about it.

During my interaction with students, they oftentimes asked me about sexuality issues because they cannot access it with the teachers nor their parents. A student mentioned the topic of sexuality is a taboo thing and not appropriate to discuss with parents or other caregivers, "those topics (sexuality) belongs to adults. So, I cannot ask to my mom. It is also disgusting" (LK, boy, student, 9 years old, bully).

During class observation, and in informal conversations with students I found three findings related to students' need for comprehensive sexual education. Many boy students exchanged information about their discovery about sexual experiences with peers during the class break or after school. As Dominski (2016: 3278) mentioned in his article, "male youth seemed to promote heteronormative male ideals...while girls seemed to have internalized traditional weaker feminine positioning underpinning their attitudes toward bullying". To cope with the limited access in responding to students' curiosity about sexuality, my research found three findings related to this issue.

Firstly, the students used the internet as their primary resource to fulfil their curiosity about sexual desire. Almost all boy students in the classroom played a mobile internet-based game with chat features. In informal conversations, a student asked me about an influencer from one of the popular games, "brother, do you know Kimi Hime? You can see her from the YouTube. She says that she will open her t-shirt when she loses the game" (HN, boy, student, 10 years old, bully). I looked up the video and saw a young girl playing a game and gives undress challenges to viewers.

**Figure 4.2**  
Popular Gamer Celebrity amongst Students



Source: Fieldwork, 2019



Whilst the game requires a check list for age restriction; nevertheless, many students did not understand the terms and conditions because it is written in English and most of them were just taking for granted the policy. According to a focus group discussion, most of the students were able to access the internet through their parents in their leisure time. The majority of students came from double income families in which both parents are working in the public sector or in trading. The parents gave smart phones to their children to help them deal with supervising their children while working at the office or from home.

Secondly, discourses about sexuality were discussed by students through drawings on the tables in the classroom. Due to limitations of accessing information from the teachers; students chose to use table as a means of communication with their peers regarding this topic.

**Figure 4.3**

Drawing of Women Breasts (left), Vagina (middle), and Penis Symbol (right)



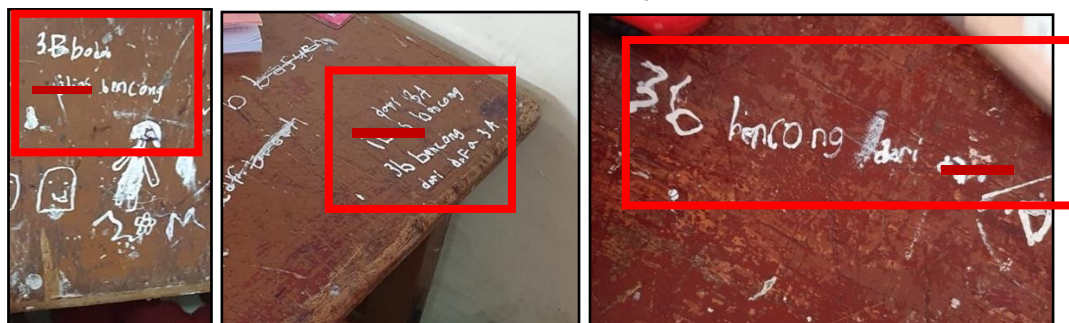
Source: Fieldwork, 2019

Some students wrote words and drew picture of genitals on the table by referring to their knowledge from friends, the internet, and other resources. In an interview session with a homeroom teacher, she was not able to figure out the motivation behind these drawings on the tables. The teacher portrays a different meaning to this finding as student's misbehaviour (Ebrahim 2010; Lomax 2011; Punch 2002) through giving sanctions to students without further investigation of the content written and drawn by students.

Thirdly, the practice of bullying can be seen in the use of tables. Some students wrote the name of a student with non-conforming gender expression as *bencong* on the table. In focus group discussions, the students claimed the characteristic *bencong* was determined by sex and social performance such as skin colour, body size, courage, and sporting ability within their interactions. As argued by Oliver and Candappa (2003: 17) bullying victims usually have certain features which are different from the norm, for instance in appearance, sporting, or academic ability.

**Figure 4.4**

Students' desks mention *bencong* word



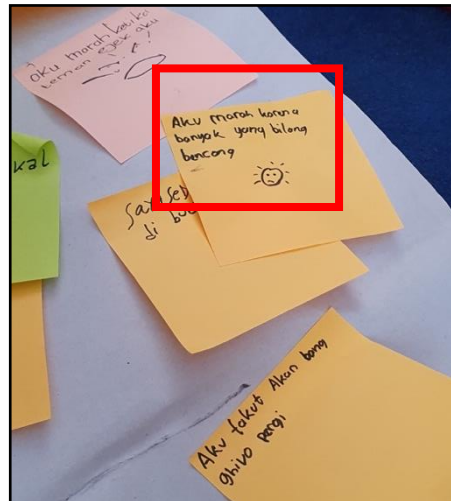
Source: Fieldwork, 2019



IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) was one of the students called *bencong* by other students. His friends bully him because they assume IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) does not fit the definition of a masculine boy. During my observation, IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) chose to cry when his friends bully him at school.

**Figure 4.5**

FGD session with children “I am angry because my friends called me *bencong*”



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

In line with Brank, Hoetger, and Hazen’s (2012: 127) claim that bullying oftentimes happens to children with less competence in social norms related to displaying sadness, particularly for boys (Dominski 2016: 3278). His gender expression impacts multiple layers of bullying that intersect with his identity as someone with non-conforming gender expression.

## 4.2 Definition of Intersectional Bullying

The theory of intersectionality cannot be separated from the issue of exclusion and discrimination (Raavnol 2009: iii). Intersectionality was first coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989. Initially, this theory attempted to support feminist work on understanding discriminative and exclusion actions based on identity, for example, as “black, working-class, lesbian, or colonial subjects” (Phoenix and Pattynama 2006: 187).

Furthermore, some scholars researching bullying apply an intersectional lens to examine the practice of multilayers of bullying among students (Elamé 2003; Dominski 2016; Raavnol 2009). According to Dominski (2016: 3276) intersectional bullying can be identified as “being victimized for several identities”. Furthermore, he explains intersectional bullying can also be identified by observing inequalities that “undermine inclusion, perpetuating normative power structures” (Ibid).

To identify bullying practices using an intersectional lens, it is also important to understand some types of bullying that possibly happen in school settings. Brank, Hietger, and Hazen (2012: 214) outline four types of bullying that may occur in school, namely physical, verbal, relational, and cyber bullying. Dominski (2016: 3277) adds bullying can also be categorized in five faces of oppression which are exploitation, marginalization, powerlessness, cultural imperialism, and violence. Based on Brank, Hietger, and Hazen, and Dominski’s bullying types, the practice of verbal bullying including terms like *bencong* can be identified through multilayered bullying. Dominski (2016: 3276) explains that multilayered bullying can

be identified through intersectionality by examining the layers of bullying happening to children based on their identity interactions and the type of oppression which operates at the same time (Raavnbol 2009: iii).

### 4.3 Practice of Intersectional Bullying

IL was bullied by his friends because he performed non-conforming gender expressions than the majority of boys in the classroom. In general, his identity as a boy was measured by heteronormative standards in his interactions with friends. For instance, in violent settings, he was oftentimes overcome with emotions which were expressed through crying. It impacted his friendship circle in the classroom, resulting in most of his friends being girls. During an interview session, IL (boy, student, 9 years old) shared his experience about his interaction with friends at school:

I want to be friends with everyone. But, I prefer to play with girls because they do not violate me. Also, I sometimes desperately asked for my turn to play football but, they do not want to play with me (IL, boy, student, 9 years old, victim).

His coping mechanism with choosing girls as friends in school brings another problem with his positionality against masculinity. Moreover, his decision to play with girls did not protect him from the practice of violence. Many girls gossip about IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) because of his preference to play certain games with girls, “He play with girls, *nenek-nenek bongkok* (name of a game), we do not used to play that game. That game for girls (AY & FL, girls, student, 9 years old, bully peer group<sup>21</sup>). Furthermore, according to AY & FL (girls, student, 9 years old, peer group) IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) confirmed his identity as a *bencong* because he wore a different uniform from other boys which is similar to girls’ school uniforms. The school requires students to wear the same uniform at school. Boys wear short sleeve uniforms while girls wore long uniforms as a consequence of the obligation to wear the hijab. He preferred to use the long uniform because he wanted to be a *udẓtad*<sup>22</sup> and copied the way *udẓtad*’s wear their uniform. According to Domiski (2016: 3278) “boys tended to struggle more with normative gender expectation and homophobic bullying in their social and school spaces than girls”.

By reflecting on IL’s (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) experience, he has a higher chance of becoming a victim of bullying based on normative gender expectations in school and society. There was a time when he experienced intersectional bullying during a class break. He volunteered to do “adzan”<sup>23</sup> during the afternoon break. Based on Islamic beliefs, *adzan* can only be done by men. The students argued that IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) should not make the call to prayer because he is not masculine enough to be a *muaẓin*<sup>24</sup>. In Islamic beliefs, a *muaẓin* can be identified as the leader because others have to follow the *muaẓin*’s instructions.

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<sup>21</sup> They often bully their friends in their group

<sup>22</sup> Religious leader

<sup>23</sup> Praying call

<sup>24</sup> Person in charge for call praying

Because IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) has an aspiration to become a religious leader, he insisted on doing the call to prayer. He was then punched in the face by his friends and he cried. Some of his friends called the teachers and brought him and his friends to the teacher's office. After the class break finished, some girls and boys were gossiping about him being a *bencong* because he was not able to show his masculinity in bullying situations. Compared to other students, IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) is seen by his friends as the weakest person in the class. This made him a target of bullying among friends in school. The discourse of *bencong* was also discussed formally in the classroom. During a culture lesson, EL (woman, homeroom teacher, around 48 years old, Muslim) brought up the term *bencong* to students to illustrate the way a woman sat in the Minangkabaunese culture.

**Figure 4.6**

The teacher instructed a boy to illustrate boy manner to sit based on Minangkabaunese Culture



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

She asked a boy to sit in front of other students to illustrate the sitting position of men and women in the Minangkabau ethnic culture. She intentionally mentioned *bencong* after she instructed a boy to copy the way a woman sat in Minangkabau. At the time, many students responded to it by mentioning IL's (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) name. However, the teacher responded to it with jokes which affected IL's (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) identity and reinforced students' ideas of standard masculinity.

By referring to the theory of intersectional bullying theory, one can see how IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) was bullied by his teachers and fellow students. These practices based on IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) labelled as *bencong* are a result of IL's (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) multiple identities, such as, boy with non-conforming gender expression, and Muslim. From this framework, it also enables me to observe multiple types of bullying practices that happened to IL (boy, student, 9 years old, victim) at the same time. For instance, as students with weakest power in the classroom, he was often the target of verbal and physical abuse from his friends.

Furthermore, as Darmawan (2010: 25) argues, many adults assume bullying issues in school as the "nature of children". Darmawan claims that bullying issues are also impacted by the ways with which the school addresses the issue of bullying. The next chapter discusses school responses towards bullying issues. It wraps up by providing policy recommendations and a conclusion to this research.

## Chapter 5

### School Actions towards Bullying Practice in School

This chapter aims to unpack school responses to issues of bullying. First, this chapter addresses the policies related to violence and bullying at a national level. Second, it then spells out the policies applied in the school and its relevance to national level policies. Lastly, chapter concludes with the main research findings.

#### 5.1 National Strategy on Bullying Eradication in School

In 2015, The Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) launched the very first policy related to violence in educational institutions namely the “Prevention and Mitigation of Violent Practices in Schools”. The issue of bullying became a national concern after a Global School-Based Student Health Survey (2007: 22) found that 49.7% of students experienced bullying in school in Indonesia. This policy outlines three main strategies, prevention, mitigation, and sanction against violence in schools (MoEC 2015: 6).

This policy defines prevention as “actions, methods, and processes that aim to prevent any violent practices in schools”, while mitigation is defined as “actions, methods, and processes that aim to deal with violent practices through systemic and comprehensive ways” (MoEC 2015: 3). The policy does not provide a formal definition for sanction; however, it mentions sanctions for groups that are possibly involved in violent settings such as students, and teachers. There are four dilemmas that I want to address in this sub-section.

First, with regards to prevention and mitigation strategies, this policy requires schools to form a task force consisting of “teachers, education staff, representatives of school committees, institutions of psychologists, education experts, local government apparatus, and religious leaders” (MoEC 2015: 9). Based on the members, the task force does not give opportunities for students to participate in formulating the policy, and defines students as mere beneficiaries.

As argued by Cowie and Oztug (2008: 59) bullying is a subjective experience that requires children’s voices in explaining the phenomenon. By ignoring children’s voices in this policy, the solutions might be misinterpreted in seeking to prevent and mitigate bullying practices in schools. This is in line with the claim of Garandeau et al., (2014: 48) who state that a top-down policy is oftentimes misdirected in the implementation process, also calling attention to the importance of including children’s voices in the policy.

Second, this policy does not comprehensively explain the types of violence that may arise in the school setting. For instance, this policy vaguely refers to bullying as “a disturbing act, harassing constantly, or burdening” (MoEC 2015: 6). This policy does not explain that power imbalances in violence can manifest in various forms such as verbal, emotional, physical, sexual, and cyber bullying. Furthermore, as explained by Volk, Dane, and Marini (2014: 327) in their article on “a theoretical redefinition of bullying”, the policy needs to understand three important aspects of bullying, namely the practice of goal-directed behaviours, forms of power imbalance, and harm impacts to the victim. For instance, this policy does not acknowledge the possibilities of multiple types of violence within one case of violence. In the case of a student with weak power relations amongst friends, the student can experience verbal, physical, emotional, and sexual bullying simultaneously. This possibility is not explained in the process of prevention, mitigation, and sanctions that are written in the MoEC’s anti-violence policy.

Third, the sanctions mentioned in the policy brings the possibility of adverse effects on schools where “verbal and/or written reprimands, reduced rights (funding and resource assistance), and termination of sanctions as principals, teachers, and education providers” (MoEC 2015: 3). According to this policy, a school might draw a bad reputation from various parties such as parents, other caregivers, as well as children. In addition, it is also possible for schools not to get material and material assistance from ministries and local governments that in the end harms children in accessing their educational rights. Furthermore, this policy brings in the dilemma of reporting violent cases in school. Schools might be reluctant to report violent cases based on the reasons explained above.

Fourth, this policy applies universally to all students, while addressing the problem of violence in schools requires diverse perspectives such as intersectionality. Saltmars et al., (2012: 8) argue that interactions in school produce different types of inequalities. One practical example, might be that students attack other students based on gender identities (Saltmars et al 2012: 185) such as students with different sexual expressions.

## **5.2 School Response to Violence & Bullying Practices in The School**

In responding to national policies, the school provided three policies related to violence, which are teacher roles and functions, students discipline, and parenting style. These policies are displayed in the classroom as well as the teacher's room. According to EL (woman, homeroom teacher, around 48 years old, Muslim), the installation of these policies aimed to provide information to parents related to the school's efforts in shaping student discipline. All students are required to read the rules at the beginning of the semester.

Firstly, regarding the teacher roles and function, the school did not specifically mention the distinction between roles and functions. Roles and functions of a teacher only covers teaching and learning processes, such as the process of developing teaching materials, school schedules, and the examination of students. In the policy there is no explanation about the teacher's role in a violent situation, including bullying practices in school.

...in cases of violence, we have never reached a case that requires the police. Usually it is settled by informal ways. Also, there are no cases that really need outsiders. One case that had appeared in the past was a girl stealing money from her friends. But we only involved the school principal to solve this problem (EL, woman, homeroom teacher, around 48 years old, Muslim).

The teacher indicates that violence from physical altercations involving students included hitting, strangling, and kicking. The teacher dealt with the violence by calling students to the office for advice. The school provided a sharing room consisting of one big table and four small tables. In one incident of violence that occurred between students in the school, two students were brought into the teacher's office. At that time there were three teachers who were resting during the class break. When the teacher gave advice to the two students, the other teacher present gave their opinion about the student.

no wonder, RH (boy, student, 9 years old) is indeed a rebel student. You know, you are not smart, and also not focus when you are studying in class. What do you want to be? And you

(pointing to RZ) never listen to the teacher in class. Both are the same (refer to both students) (T woman, teacher from another class, 52 years old, Muslim).

The presence of other teachers in the teacher's office becomes a threat to students. According to the students in the focus group discussion, some teachers do not hesitate to bully them by mentioning students' past misbehaviour. Verbal bullying executed by the teacher can have an impact on students' trust in teachers, including reporting violence that happened to them. This evidence is confirmed by Dominski (2016: 3277) who highlights the importance of teachers' understanding about violence, not only to prevent and mitigate bullying practices in schools, but also to prevent them from bullying students.

In addition to teacher roles and functions, the school did not employ any counsellor teacher to mediate violence in the school. Although not written explicitly, the role of the counsellor in the school was taken over by the class teacher. However, the teachers did not have knowledge of how to handle violent situations in school, which made six parents<sup>25</sup> from different grades ask for my help in counselling. As I tried to clarify my role in the school, these parents insisted that I help by talking to their children. This opportunity allowed me to have several interactions with the parents. The complaints from the parents were that the students cannot focus in school and are often confrontational with their friends.

Secondly, regarding the school rules and regulations, one clause in the school rules and regulations state that the punishment for students is that a "student is not allowed to enter classroom during the first lesson". Although in practice, some teachers allowed students to enter the classroom, this regulation led to possibilities of violent practices amongst students outside the classroom due to the absence of supervision from teachers who were in the classroom. In addition, the existence of corporal punishment in the school rules and regulation became an indication that schools allowed violent practices to occur.

Thirdly, the school also provided a special rule regarding prohibited objects and actions in school. This policy only applied to students, despite there being a chance of adults, such as teachers, parents, informal vendors, etc. to violate this policy. As the finding below shows, the students bought a comic book containing sexual harassment from the toy vendors in front of the school.

**Figure 5.1**

Comic Book speaks about Sexuality. The Text says "the death of Lela, adorable and sexy sweet girl reminds a mystery"



Source: Fieldwork, 2019

<sup>25</sup> The parents who asked for my help were the mothers.

Lastly, regarding parenting style, the policy emphasizes the different roles of parenting, whereas not all students were nurtured by parents as referred to in the policy. In addition, some advice given in the policy referred to certain socio-economic families. For example, the policy differentiates the role of father as breadwinner and mother as housewife in the family. This policy illustrates the role of the father as someone who supervises students while watching television, while the mother has the role to accompany and read a story book to students before bed. This research finds that this policy lacks empirical evidence, particularly in understanding students' activities. During the focus group discussion, many students argued they have a preference to watch YouTube compared to television because they were able to select the content based on their choice. Whereas, there were some parents who argued that using a smart phone helped them to manage their children while working.

As final remarks, some policy initiatives taken by the school shows a one-size fits all solution that unsuccessfully addresses the problem of violence, especially bullying in school (Dominski 2016; Haines-Saah et al 2016). The policy enforced by the school becomes an institutionalized form of bullying carried out by the school to students. As mentioned by Dominski (2016: 3278) "not all bullying practices is recognized as such, and institutional paradigms meant to support tended instead to victimize". Furthermore, according to Garnett et al., (2014: 1226) "specific types of bullying practices need specific strategies". Garnett et al., highlight the importance of bringing students' participation in formulating anti-bullying policies. As illustrated in this research, the absence of students' participation in policy formulation led to a perpetuation of bullying practices in schools.

### 5.3 Unravel the Complexities of Bullying

In conclusion, by referring to the student's experiences intertwined with my personal experience, I attempt to use a governmentality lens to examine the practices of bullying sustained in the classroom. By referring to Swearer and Espelage (2011: 4) bullying practices are related to the culture that is believed by the community. The conservativeness of the city has consequences for teachers and students' interactions through the hidden curriculum that preserves conservative values. I argue, conservative values bring consequences to the practices of bullying amongst students based on gender expression by calling boys who do not conform to masculine standards *bencong*. As shown by Dominski (2016: 3278) "boys tended to struggle more with normative gender expectation and homophobic bullying in their social and school spaces than girls".

The analysis presented the different coping mechanisms of the students towards the hidden curriculum practiced by teachers in the classroom. Firstly, the students claimed bullying practices in school aimed to evaluate and normalize their friends who are not in accordance to the reference values and norms. Secondly, the students chose to bully their friends as coping mechanisms towards aggression that happened in school. The practice of bullying amongst students shows students have different levels of power.

Conservative norms place students with a non-conforming gender expression in a vulnerable position. By referring to masculinity standards, the students with a different gender performance suffer from bullying practices. Limited access to multicultural settings and discourses about sexualities hinder teachers, and students as perpetrators of bullying based on conservative values.

Moreover, by using an intersectional lens, the research found multiple practices of bullying happened to the male students who performed a non-conforming gender expression. A lack of understanding from policy makers about bullying issues resulted in the policies failing in practice. In addition, the absence of students' participation in formulating the policy accounts for its inaccuracy in addressing bullying in schools.

In terms of the students' role in a bullying setting, the research found interesting findings to complement the roles students have in the situation. I argue bullying, based on differences, makes the role of the upstander becomes more fluid, for example, the upstander changes roles into a bystander due to the process of self-evaluating and self-governing by reason of fear of becoming a victim of bullying themselves.

During the making of this research paper, I found several limitations that possibly affect the interpretation of this research. Firstly, it is not easy to write in a foreign language, because I cannot perfectly describe local terms such as *bencong*. Another example is the difficulties to describe the definition of a teacher in Indonesia from the people's point of view. According to the students and the teacher, a teacher is not only responsible for teaching, but also sets the example for students in school. Secondly, I suggested for future researcher to also examine the term of "sustained" through a longitudinal research. In this research, I mentioned the term of "sustained" to illustrate the validity of my past experience to the practice of bullying by using *bencong* which I found, still exists during my fieldwork. Lastly, I also had time constraints in doing the field work which was only less than a month to collect the data. As argued by Bernard (2011: 261) "anthropology research field traditionally takes a year or more because it takes that long to get a feel for the full around people life". I tried to maximize the time to collect as much data with different tools, such as, participatory observation, questionnaires, diaries, FGD, and interviews. Furthermore, I also kept in mind Cerwonka's (2007: 3) claims about an ethnography research "the more information and insights you are given, the hungrier and more desperate you get". I am lucky, I have friends who always remind me of this. In closing, this research offers some policy recommendations for policy makers at the national, local, and school levels regarding issues of bullying. The recommendations are outlined in the epilogue.



## Epilogue

This research paper is almost done. As part of my contribution to this issue, I want to bring in some recommendations in order to address the issue of bullying in schools. As I remembered, the trauma of bullying haunted me until I had the opportunity to study in the big city where most people there were open-minded. However, this privilege is not something that can be owned by all children. I am grateful for this and at the same time feel motivated to contribute to the efforts made at eradicating bullying practices in schools. For me, this is the time to embrace all feelings, and to try to understand what happened in the past and contribute to the future.

Before I left school, on the last day, two students approached me saying “don't go, at least for a few more years until we graduate from this school”. For me, existing is not only about physical presence, but also about the efforts made through the production of knowledge which might help other children to have a better educational institution, and better life. The following are several recommendations I offer to several parties to help students deal with bullying practices.

First, policy makers need to examine the unintended consequences of conservative policies on the well-being of students, especially in cases of violence based on discrimination. Furthermore, the policies also hinder students to experience diversity at school, the place where they spend most of their time.

Second, policy makers have to involve students in the process of formulating an anti-violence policy. Policy makers need to involve students' participation in meaningful ways, which means counting their voices and experiences as the foundation of anti-violence policies. The high rate of violence against students at schools, and the deficiency of the policies to understand bullying practices in school indicate that policy makers have not been able to comprehensively accommodate children's voices.

Third, policy makers need to provide specific strategies for schools, parents and caregivers, and students (Oliver and Candappa 2003: 20) to be aware of bullying and prevent it as early as possible. For instance, by initiating joint meetings to discuss and formulate solutions to violence and bullying practices in schools.

Fourth, due to the complexities and high number of bullying cases, the policy makers need to consider professional training about bullying for teachers (Garnett et al 2014: 1236). This training can also be an effort to increase teacher awareness of hidden curriculum practices that contribute to sustaining bullying practices in schools. Moreover, my research also demands the involvement of academics from multidisciplinary backgrounds to study bullying issues at school.

Fifth, based on the argument of Perryman et al., (2017: 754) policy makers need to count teachers' voices in anti-bullying strategy in order to increase the level of ownership towards the policy. According to Perryman et al., (2017: 755) this effort has proven to be a self-governing practice of teachers in terms of obeying the policy that has been agreed upon. It shows that governmentality can not only bring bad consequences to policy, but can also support policy in practice.

Sixth, by referring to Perryman et al., (2017: 754) “teacher in effect become policy, but not in some visible brute form, rather in process that hails them through “interest” and “curiosity” to improve themselves, become a better teacher, a “good” teacher”. By seeing the opportunities to increase teachers' knowledge about bullying, they will hopefully be able to understand concept of good teacher is not only about the process of teaching, but also protecting students from violence practices in school.

Seventh, the process of accreditation reminds me of the spirit of competitiveness that three schools in the same area are dealing with. In addition to the efforts of increasing qualities of teachers in teaching methods, the accreditation process also needs to employ child protection aspects, such as the number of violence or bullying in one of the assessment criteria.

Lastly, I want to highlight the importance of comprehensive SRH education to students, particularly to hinder them from the practice of bullying based on gender performances. By learning a comprehensive SRH education, the students expected to get information about sexuality from credible resources. In doing that, the policy makers need to introduce to the teachers the aged-based comprehensive SRH education to teachers in schools. So, student will be able to react on bullying because they equipped with good understanding and resiliency towards sexual issues.

Thank you for being part of my story,  
**In the spirit of no one (child) left behind**

Sincerely yours,  
Ghivo Pratama

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# Appendices

## Students' interaction questionnaire

<p>Tolong diisi kotak ini dengan jujur ya. Tulisan yang kamu buat akan dirahasiakan. Tolong jangan diberitau kepada teman-teman kamu. Hanya kamu dan Bang Ghivo yang akan mengetahui jawaban yang kamu tuliskan. Terima kasih ya adik-adik.</p> <p>Tuliskan namamu serta kelasmu:</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Tuliskan nama temanmu dari pertanyaan berikut. Jawabanmu akan dirahasiakan, jadi jangan takut menjawab ya.</p> <p>Siapa temanmu yang paling dekat dengan kamu?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Siapa temanmu yang paling suka membantumu?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Siapa temanmu yang paling kamu takuti?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Siapa temanmu yang paling pintar?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Siapa temanmu yang paling kamu hindari?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Siapa Temanmu yang paling pemalu?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Siapa temanmu dari keluarga yang mampu?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Siapa temanmu dari keluarga yang membutuhkan?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Siapa temanmu yang paling sulit untuk belajar?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Kalau kamu bingung, tunjuk tanganmu. Nanti, Bang Ghivo akan datang ke mejamu untuk menjelaskan.</p>	<p>Please fill this paper with your honest answer. Your answer is confidential. Do not share your answer with friends. Only I and you know about the answer you wrote in your paper. Thank you.</p> <p>Write your name and class</p> <p>_____</p> <p>Write your friend names under this instruction. Your answer is confidential, do not worry to answer</p> <p>Who are the most closest person to you?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Who are your friends often help you?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Who are your friends that you fear the most?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Who are the smartest students according to you?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Who are your friend that you most avoid?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Who are your most shy friend?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Who are your friend from wealthy family?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Who are your friend of the family who are in need?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>Who are your friend who is the most difficult to learn?</p> <p>1. _____</p> <p>2. _____</p> <p>3. _____</p> <p>If you feel confuse, raise your hand. I will come to your desk to hear or answer your question.</p>
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