# Violence in an Urban Indonesian High School

by

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The candidate confirms that the work submitted is his own and that appropriate credit has been given where reference has been made to the work of others.

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# Abstract

The purpose of this study is to examine the students' perceptions of violence in an urban Indonesian high school. An ethnographically-informed case study is employed in an attempt to understand the students' day-to-day life within the school environment and its influence on the construction of the students' understanding of school violence.

Drawing from participant observations over more than 6 months, personal interviews with 4 key students and 4 teachers, 5 focus group discussions, 15 selected students' diaries, YouTube, Facebook, blogs and BlackBerry Messengers, this study presents some key findings in relation to the students' perceptions of violence. First, school violence is associated with masculinity. Toughness and physical prowess are perceived to be the male characteristics which should be performed through school violence. Showing male characteristics through school violence is crucial to avoid the stigma of being *banci* or she-male – an unacceptable gender representation in Indonesian society. Second, school violence is crucially perceived by the students to be about identity, either in conjunction with the self, a group or institutional identity. Third, school violence is seen as a medium to construct social capital – strong connections, trustworthiness and reciprocity.

This study argues that the students' positive perceptions of violence are influenced by the dynamic of social and cultural practices within the educational environment. The segregation of school facilities, the designed place for hanging out, the communication patterns among the students and the overt hierarchical system between juniors, seniors and alumni regulated by the students' norms are clear factors in this. This study, therefore, reiterates the view that attempts to control school violence should focus beyond the boundary of the individuals per se; it should consider the social, cultural and institutional context.

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# Chapter 1

## Introduction

### 1.1.    Background & Rationale

School violence which is happening in many areas within Indonesia requires greater attention from policymakers, educators, and researchers, as it not only involves fighting between students but has also led to brutal and inhumane actions where students have tried to hurt and even kill each other. The effects of school violence are clearly devastating and include physical and mental health problems, death, permanent expulsion from school, and many other serious problems. The National Commission for Child Protection (KNPA) Indonesia, for example, has reported that more than 82 students died in incidents of school violence in 2012 and estimated that thousands of students within the country were expelled from schools for taking part in violence. KNPA has also reported that the most incident of school violence is in the capital, Jakarta. Media coverage has reported that, in 2014, 20 students were expelled from one school after they participated in school violence.  Twelve students from another school faced a similar situation, as they were expelled and could not be accepted to any other schools in Jakarta because they had killed other students in school violence.  Another 13 students who were involved in bullying at school were expelled and had to go to court, and many other students have faced the same problem.

This condition forces the government to take serious measures in an effort to reduce the conflicts among these students. It has been reported recently in several national newspapers that the Minister of Education has issued a warning that third year students involved in student fights will not be allowed to take the national exam. The consequence of not taking this exam is that they cannot graduate from the related education level and therefore they are strongly recommended to re-take the exam in the following year or to take other possible alternative that is called as "Paket A", which is equivalent to the national examination. As a result of not taking the national exam, the students will not be given the certificate of graduation which is usually used to apply for

jobs or to pursue higher education.

Research has consistently revealed that the effects of school violence either as victims or perpetrators is devastating, inducing anxiety, anger, depression, dissociation, self-destruction and aggressive behaviours (Flannery and Singer, 1999, Flannery et al., 2001, Overstreet and Braun, 2000, Flannery et al., 2004). Cullingford and Morrison (1995)found in their research that suicide, running away or refusing to go to school are clear effects of school violence. The effects of school violent are not only on the perpetrators and victims but also on the bystanders. High levels of the indirect exposure of violence could lead individuals to conduct violent behaviour, as has been shown by Flannery *et al.* (2001) in their research that the cases of youth attack are due to high levels of violence exposure. The exposure to violence during youth can be used to predict violent behaviours in the future (Farrell and Bruce, 1997, Farrell et al., 2014, Baskin-Sommers et al., 2013).

In addition, aside from the deaths, injuries and expulsions, the danger of violence lies in the ideology that it spreads—that is, the acceptance of violent behaviour amongst youth. If they see violent behaviour as normal, they tend to be permissive and engage in violence. With this in mind, it therefore could lead to a more serious problem for Indonesia; it could generate wider violence and conflict—conflict amongst religions, races, tribes —as the youth is the hope and the future of the nation, as stated in *Wawasan Kebangsaan*, UUD 1945 (Constitution of Republic of Indonesia).

Although the impacts of school violence are devastating and are able to jeopardise the students, their families, other people, social structure and the nation's overarching goals, the students tend to keep practicing and getting involved in school violence. According to the KNPA report, a number of incidents of school violence is increasing each year within the country, with victim numbers remaining considerably high. Academic practitioners, government officials, parliament members and public have become increasingly concerned about the problem of school violence in the country, marked by a number of comments that have been intensively reported in local and national newspapers and across national television stations, particularly during 2012. According to online media reports[1], most of the comments tend to give a negative stereotype to

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[1]An online national reputable newspaper, Kompas.

students by saying that school violence is devastating, immoral, and unconstitutional, which should be seriously solved. Some comments have addressed the problems of school violence and its factors, whilst others have offered solutions pertaining to the acute problem of school violence. With regards the problem of school violence, the public and members of parliament, for example, have stated that school violence occurs due to the mistake of parents, who have failed to build a good relationship and ensure intense interactions with their children, where the parents in the capital are still conservative in that they tend to keep silent and ensure the protection of their children if their children are involved in school violence[2]. On the other hand, educational analysts perceive[3], as the national newspaper reported, that political elites were unable to provide examples of good behaviour, such as tolerance, politeness, honest to youths, as the youth usually imitate what adults do. Another educational practitioner's view is that character education should be implemented thoroughly, suggesting that teachers should acquire not only the concept of character education but also understanding of its practical matters[4]. Teachers should be able to promote and accordingly provide practical good behaviour to students in the school daily routines. School violence has enacted a spectrum of comments and perspectives as a response to the increasing cases of school violence and the inability of the school and government to reduce this acute problem from occurring.

In addition, school violence also has attracted some interest amongst the elite, such as in the case of the Director General of Secondary Education, the Minister of Education and the former Governor of Jakarta (now) President of Republic of Indonesia. According to the Director General of Secondary Education, when he was interviewed by one of the national English language newspapers[5], the limited space for students to interact with others and the lack of communication skills is positively linked to the increase of school

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[2]

http://regional.kompas.com/read/2012/09/27/03041397/anak.tawuran.orang.tua.diminta.terbuka?utm_source=RD&utm_medium=box&utm_campaign=Kaitrd

[3]

http://regional.kompas.com/read/2012/09/27/15454447/para.pelajar.kekurangan.teladan?utm_source=RD&utm_medium=box&utm_campaign=Kaitrd

[4]

http://regional.kompas.com/read/2012/09/27/16222059/ini.bukan.soal.ekspresi.darah.muda.lagi?utm_source=RD&utm_medium=box&utm_campaign=Kaitrd

[5]        (http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2012/10/29/on-importance-english-language-education-students.html

violence. Therefore, programmes, such as Youth Speak Fun Day, are being set up to accommodate and train students in having good communication skills with the hope of reducing the number of school violence incidents in urban areas. The Minister of Education, M. Nuh, further commented that school violence is an abnormal behaviour and has been an acute social problem in Indonesia. This is due to the fact that the evidence shows that not only are typical schools (its students coming from lower economic status) involved in school violence but so are elite schools within the capital. The minister also emphasised that school violence is like in a 'primitive era', and therefore should not exist in present. Similar to that of the Minister of Education, Mr Joko Widodo, now Indonesian's President, also has stated that the lack of public spaces to accommodate youth creativity is one of the problems underpinning school violence in urban areas, and also asserts that school violence is not a local problem (the capital problem), but has become a national (country-wide), serious problem.

Whilst media has intensively reported school violence in consideration to adults' opinions and perspectives, little has reported on school violence from the actors or students' viewpoints. The students' perspectives of school violence, in fact, have been reported in media[6] in 2012 when the Minister of Education, Mr Nuh, questioned students who had been accused of killing a student in school violence. In the short conversation, Mr Nuh asked the students for their views on killing a student. What made this emotionally shocking was that the student said he was satisfied. When the Minister further asked him whether or not he regretted his actions, he just said his regret was followed by satisfaction. The student's answer about his feeling of being satisfied after killing a student in school fighting once more attracted people to comment. Many people from various backgrounds, as the media reported, reacted, stating that the student's behaviour and their overall involvement in school violence is abnormal or inhumane and far beyond tolerated behaviours. Students' behaviours are not characteristic of youth's common delinquent behaviour; they now use weapons to hurt and kill other students. This becomes criminal behaviour.

Although the student's answer attracted a number of comments from many people, none of the respondents or media tried to ascertain further perceptions of students'

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[6] This news was reported in many national newspapers.

involvement in school violence. Recognising that students' voices often go unheard by government officials, the youth forum[7], to be held in Jogjakarta, admitted that the government still neglects their voices when planning to implement intervention programmes to reduce school violence. As a result, as they criticised, the programmes implemented by the government to reduce school violence are perceived as being ineffective. Moreover, from the youth forum, the participants also asserted that there are many students afraid of telling their story about the school violence they experienced, but they did not explain further.

This research emerges as an attempt at deriving understanding of school violence from students' perspectives. The increasing amount of school violence should be equally considered as a need for research in this area, suggesting the required study explore and understand students' voices, which can greatly inform us about what they know, perceive and feel about school violence. Moreover, this study also is my own attempt to fill the massive gap of youth studies between the global North or Western and the global South, including Indonesia. Not only does the gap relate to the number and intensiveness of youth research conducted in the global North, compared to other global contexts, but also the theoretical frameworks and definitions of many aspects related to the youth studies often reflect the conditions and reality of the global North world rather than that of the global South. This massive gap has been identified by Nilan (2011), who states that most youth studies generally have used the Western point of view, or borrowing from (Furlong, 2011), it is more 'Western centric':

> *Youth sociology very often has a western-centric focus and trends are discussed with little reference to the very different sets of issues facing young people in less advanced country* (p. 55).

In this sense, the adaptation of a particular global conceptual meaning used in the global North, such as school violence, might not perfectly represent the real meaning of school violence from the different contexts in global South. This study seeks to represent school violence from students' perspectives in a particular context of high school in Jakarta. Moreover, there should be plurality and diversity of perspectives on violence; such as the conceptual meaning of social capital in western academic literature cannot accurately capture the meaning of social capital that students want to really construct

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[7]http://edukasi.kompas.com/read/2012/12/26/17510280/Suara.Pelajar.Masih.Belum.Didengar

within the Indonesian condition and culture (see further discussion of this issue in Chapter 7).

## 1.2.    Outline of the study

The main aim of this study is centred on exploring students' perceptions of violence and examining the cultural contexts influencing their perspectives. As Cohen (1955) argues, when exploring students' views, it is inseparable with their culture, which includes their behaviour, habits, values, codes and tastes. Based on the main aims of the study, there are two research questions raised: firstly, what are students' perceptions of school violence?; and secondly, how have their perceptions been influenced by students' social practices and their daily interactions within the school environment? In order to answer these two research questions, this study has been designed as an ethnographically informed case study in the sense that the emphasis is placed on participants' own understanding of school violence within a specific case study school in Jakarta, Indonesia. There are several methods of data collection, namely interviews, focus group discussions, participant observation, artefacts and other documents, including images and texts from blogs, YouTube, Facebook and WhatsApp, for example. The data collected were analysed through the employment of thematic analysis.

## 1.3.    Indonesia as a Metropolitan City, Jakarta, and the School: Context

### 1.3.1.  Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the setting of the study. It begins very briefly by providing a description of the country, Indonesia, and then is followed by the description of the context city, Jakarta. The next section describes school systems and the structure of the school, and the final section explains the socio-political condition of the country.

### 1.3.2.  Indonesia—An Overview

Geographically, Indonesia is constructed by thousands of islands scattered between the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean. Situated in amongst a huge number of islands, the

country is rich in culture, customs, traditions, local characteristics, language and other social practices.



**Figure 0.1. The Map of Indonesia**

In terms of the governmental system, the country is divided into provinces, where each province has its own sub-district areas. There are 34 provinces, including DKI Jakarta, where the study is conducted.

The educational system is divided into two: higher education, which falls under the authority of Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education; and primary and secondary education, which fall under the Ministry of Education and Culture. Primary education comprises elementary schools, whilst secondary education comprises junior high school and senior high school, which includes vocational school. There are two specialisations when the students graduate from junior high school: entering either senior high school or vocational high school. There are significant differences between senior high and vocational high school: Senior High School (SMA) students are expected to have higher education or to be aiming towards preparing in the continuation to university, whilst students of Vocational High School (SMK) are prepared with the skills needed to work after their graduation. Although the students of vocational high school are able to continue on to university, the orientation of entering this type of school is mostly geared towards securing employment. Economically, the students of vocational high school commonly are from lower economic status; this is not the case of

the students of senior high schools, as their orientation is centred on to the university level. Accordingly, they have a relatively higher economic status.

These two types of school are designed for three years; at the end of the study, the students should pass the national examination to obtain a certificate of graduation, which is used to apply jobs and continue on to study at university. This national examination is carried out at the same time and during the same day within the country. However, the type of national examination is slightly different: where the vocational school adopts theoretical and practical aspects, high school only assesses students through theoretical tests/paper-based methods.

### 1.3.3.  The Capital, Jakarta

Jakarta is the capital city of Indonesia, with its population equal to more than 10,000,000 (based on the central bureau of statistics 2014). Jakarta is divided into five areas: North, West, Central, East and South. Based on the survey of economic, geographical conditions and economic areas, Central Jakarta is recognised as the hub of economic activities. Whilst Central Jakarta is the hub of economic activities, the South of Jakarta is another hub area of economic activities within the capital. According to data statistics garnered between 2009 and 2013, South Jakarta was recognised as having the second lowest rate for poor population only after Central Jakarta, with only 74.6% if compared to North Jakarta, for example, with the highest rate of poor population of 90.9%.
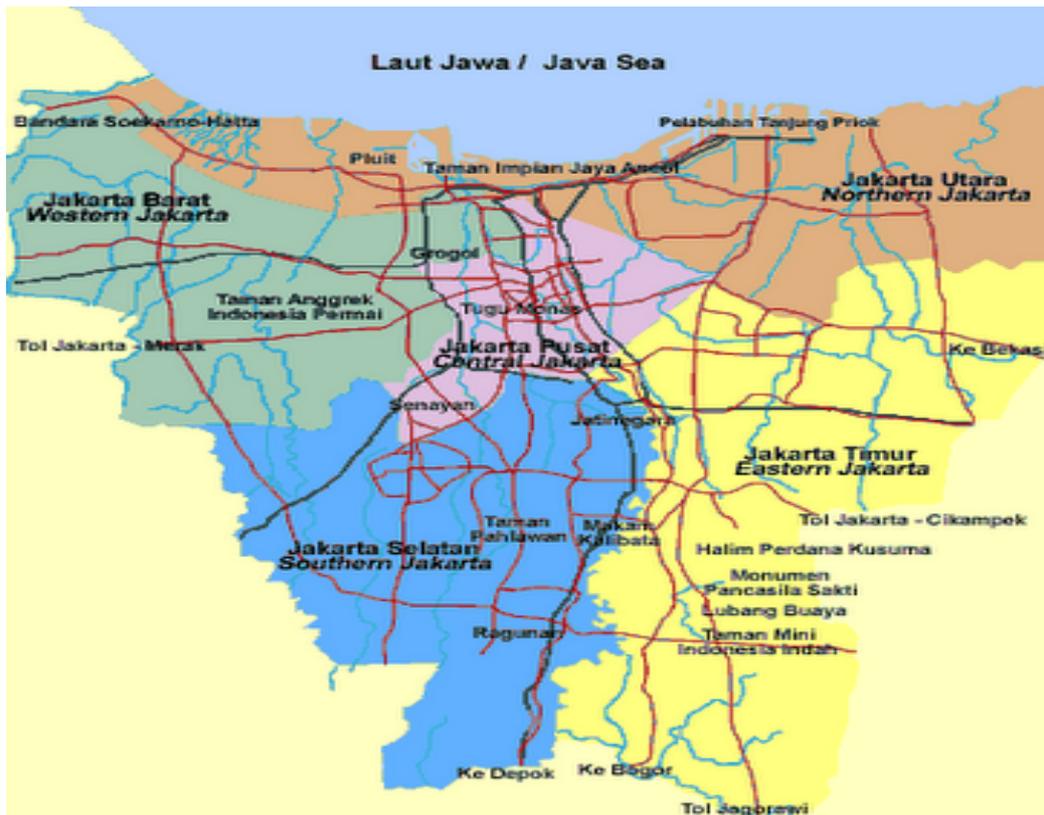
**Figure 0.2The map of Jakarta**

In terms of education, there are 426 private high schools, 116 state high schools and 100 vocational high schools in Jakarta. In South Jakarta, on the other hand, there are more than 100 private high schools, 60 vocational schools and 28 state high schools. The school in which this fieldwork has been conducted is in the area of South Jakarta, within the hub of *bisnis* activities, at one of the elite schools in the capital. The school was a merger of two schools, which initially had been recognised as involved in school violence. According to the school booklet, when the two schools merged, there were more than 4,800 students, 183 teachers and 11 Vice Head Masters; this was the school that had a huge number of students within the capital.

In terms of school development, the school ran the Acceleration Programme in early 2001. In 2004, the school gained a status of Senior High School Plus or National Standardised School, which use a national standardised curriculum, and is allowed to adopt the international standardised curriculum. In 2007, the school was granted a status of *Sekolah Berstandar International* (SBI) or International Standardised School, which, in regards school fees, is much more expensive than non-International Standardised

Schools, as the resources and examination of particular subjects are based on International Standards, such as IGCSE. In the same year, in 2007, the school was the Cambridge International Examination Test Centre in Jakarta.

In addition, the school is also dynamic in terms of its fast substituting of the Head Master, particularly since 2008, as there have been 5 (five) changes in this position. The shortest period was in 2011, where the Head Master was only in his role for 8 months. Interestingly, based on the biography of each Head Master, before they were appointed as Head Master of SMA 1001, mostly, they had been awarded as the best Head Master in other schools. This implicitly means that being assigned into the role of Head Master at SMA 1001, the Head Master candidates have earned a previous good reputation in managing schools. The fast rotation of Head Master in SMA 1001, according to the teachers and staff, could be connected to its continuous involvement in school violence. More about the school and its students is discussed in Chapter 3.4.

## 1.4.   Outline of the Thesis

This thesis is divided into eight chapters, consisting of Introduction, Literature Review, Methodology, Findings (spanning three chapters), Discussion, and Conclusion. The first chapter provides the background of the study, presenting an overview of the problem of school violence in Indonesia, and in Jakarta specifically. In this chapter, the responses and views of people with regards school violence, as reported in the online local and national newspapers, are included, showing how adults view the youth phenomena from various perspectives. I outline the effects and factors of school violence from the previous studies, carried out on different disciplines and contexts. In addition, I also present the motivation for the study, followed by the outline of the study. The context of the study, geographical and sociocultural conditions of the research context in Indonesia, also is included.

Chapter 2 will provide a theoretical framework for the study. This chapter will explore the key concepts of youth and violence from different perspectives, considering the psychological, psychosocial and sociocultural factors. In this chapter, I will consider how the role of a personal peer group, including gangs and the school environment, plays a crucial role in the construction of youth violence. With regard to the role of peer groups on the construction of violence, social identity theory will be employed to

examine to what extent identity matters to youth violence. In addition, the theory of masculinity and hegemonic masculinity will be utilised to uncover the relationship between males and violent behaviour. Further to the discussion of masculinity and violent behaviour, the social capital theory, concerning 'dark' or 'perverse' social capital, will be examined to see how youth violence is closely related to the concept of social capital.

Chapter 3 discusses the research methodology. It covers the aims and research questions, the rationale of the design of the study in which an ethnographically informed case is adopted, subject of the study, methods of data collection, data analysis and ethical review. At the end of the chapter, reflections on my pilot personal interview are provided.

Data analysis is presented in three chapters, spanning chapters 4, 5 and 6. Chapter 4 discusses the findings of students' perspectives concerning school violence. Various positive perceptions of violence are derived from the voices of the individuals within the school context; these include violence as a symbol of masculinity, violence as about identity, violence as able to build-up character and achieve strong solidarity, and violence as sensational, addictive and a positive memory, as presented in sections 1, 2, 3 and 4, respectively.

Chapter 5 aims at examining various social practices within the school, as well as its underlying motives, particularly with regard to the efforts of the students and alumnae in perpetuating the school tradition. This chapter further examines students' daily routines, revealing some of the practices characterised by the strict hierarchical practices. These include hanging-out, communication patterns and style, all of which can be used to argue that the environment and daily routines can prove very important in terms of constructing students' understanding and perceptions.

Chapter 6 illustrates the interaction patterns created, maintained and practiced by students as their identity. These interaction patterns are not only the interactions amongst students themselves, but also as involving alumnae who graduated many years ago. The importance of interaction patterns reveals that school violence is not only concerned with students' orientation to take part; the influence of alumnae through social practices within the school is clear.

Chapter 7 presents the Discussion of the Key Findings. There are three key findings discussed in the chapter: school violence and the concept of masculinity, school violence and identity construction of the students and institution, and school violence and social capital.

Chapter 8 offers a Conclusion stemming from the Discussion of the Key Findings, and includes implications for future research and for education policy in Indonesia

# Chapter 2
# Literature Review

## 2.1. Introduction

The objectives of this section are to address several theoretical frameworks with regard to school violence. This will begin with the conceptual theory of youth in a global context and will then be followed by the contextual meaning of youth in Indonesia. The second section will examine the theoretical framework of violence and will narrow this down to the theories on youth violence. The third section will explore the underpinning factors of violence, as derived from various theoretical perspectives, including from personal, biological, social and cultural viewpoints. The next section will discuss the nature of males and its relationship to the concept of masculinity, focusing on the role of masculinity in violent behaviour. Further to the role of masculinity, the next section will examine the youths' world, pertinent to their peer group or gang activities, covering the motives of youths joining a gang and its implication on contributing to violent behaviour. The final section will discuss the theory of social capital, which is also significant for explaining youths' violent behaviour by considering the concept of 'dark' or 'perverse' social capital. It will conclude with a summary.

## 2.2.  An Overview of Youth

There have been many conceptions of youth, namely youth as an age period, youth as a biological phase, and youth as social category. In the literature, youth is illustrated as an age period spanning 11–18 years old (Arnett and Hughes, 2012). Youth also is described as a state of 'Storm and Stress' (Hall, 1904), suggesting that youth as the psychological 'crisis' transitional condition between childhood and adulthood due to biological (puberty) and physical development. Moreover, the concept of youth also is contextual, such as the category of youth in Solomon island, as determined by the status of individuals in terms of whether or not they are married (Droogan and Waldek, 2015). Having recognised that there are multiple conceptualisations pertaining to youth, it is important to go on to further conceptualisations of youth, including the concept of youth

in Indonesia and its relationship with youth violence, or in Indonesia as being associated with school violence.

Youth definition is fluid in that there is no fixed category of the youth life period in terms of when it begins and ends, which is indicated not being categorised as youth anymore. This conception is deeply influenced by the construction of age based on the social, institutional, historical and cultural context (Muncie, 2004: 42). Frith (1984: 3), for example, connects the term youth with their social responsibilities, such as family and work. Whilst youth sometimes is simply referred to as 'persons who are no longer children and not yet adults' (Heaven and Tubridy, 2003), youth also may be defined as being the 'hope' or 'danger' (Miles, 2000). However, youth often is equally associated with adolescence, but rather is a broader concept than this (Furlong, 2013). Arnett and Hughes (2012) note that adolescence and youth differs only as a matter of its emerging popularity term, with both terms often used interchangeably. Adolescence, according to Arnett and Hughes (2012), is 'a life stage between the time puberty begins and the time adult status is approached, when young people are preparing to take on the roles and responsibilities of adulthood in their culture' (p. 4). In contemporary research, adolescence is no longer extended up to twenties, but rather is seen to span approximately 10–18 years old (Arnett & Hughes, 2012). This changing term, as based on many research, is heavily influenced by changing society, including the changing level of education and the compulsory education, which requires youths to complete their basic education at the age of 18 (Arnett & Hughes, 2012). Moreover, at the age of 18, it is a period of emerging adulthood, where it is marked by various legal purposes, including signing legally binding documents and being eligible to vote (Arnett, 2012). Muncie (2004), for example, illustrates that youth is determined by certain ages, such as 13–19; when at this age, individuals already have their independence from family as they already are in the workforce.

In addition, adolescence is not only restricted to the life period, but also concerns particular characteristics attached to them, commonly possessing emotional adjustment and physical development (Muncie, 2004: 67). It is therefore natural, when adolescents carry out violent behaviours, that they will be associated with the theory that youth is at the transition stage where their mental is still unstable. Youth, at this point, often is stigmatised as being at an age of deviance, disruption and wickedness (Brown, 2005).

Therefore, the term 'adolescent' and youth itself, when referred to in Rousseau's term (Muncie, 2004), is understood as 'a period of emotional turmoil, which led to various forms of moral degeneration, and most particularly sexual precocity' (p. 68). Cieslik and Simpson (2013) divide youth into two categories, namely transition and identities: whilst the transition period is characterised by the transition process of youth from childhood into adulthood, by considering physical and social changes, the identity youth, on the other hand, is marked more by individuals rather than the transitional process. The two conceptual frameworks of youth as the life stage, and biological and psychological stage development then could be linked with the traditional research in Britain and the United States, which examines the concept of working class youth identities and the concept of deviance and its social consequences in young people's cultural practices (Bucholtz, 2002). In the latter stage, the development of youth culture is derived from this traditional research, particularly the tradition of working class youth identities (further discussed in Section 2.4)

Moreover, in many studies, youth is defined based on legal actions, such as alcoholic consumption and the right to vote (Heaven and Tubridy, 2003). This notion could be associated with the term 'agency', in which youth have their capacity to think and make of themselves at their own risk (Valentine, 1996). At this point, youths are the actors and thinkers, where 'thinking and doing' are the essential concepts in defining agency. The definition of the agency itself is associated with the children (James and Prout, 1997); in recent times, however, it also is used in a wider context, applicable to youths or adolescents. This is due to the concept of children extending to older children.

Similarly, the youth in Indonesia also are understood from various aspects: according to UUD 1945 or constitution 1945, for example, youth is stated as being the future generations and the hope of the nation. This term emerged during the period of independence, along with youth's term *pemuda*, which is associated with and closely linked to the heroic spirit in social and political transformation. This term is derived from the views that at the *masa perjuangan* or period of gaining independence, where youth was more salient in terms of movement and the military system, as generated by youth rather than adults (Parker and Nilan, 2013).

However, in the contemporary informal term, youth often is referred to as *ABG, Anak Baru Gede* translated, as has just become big or mature (Nilan & Parker, 2013). Another term for youth is *remaja* and *anak muda*—or roughly can be compared to the Western term, i.e. adolescent/teenagers and young people. *Remaja* or teenagers are being considered as youth aged 13–18 or junior and senior high school students. This is why there have been various opera—in Indonesia, this is called *sinetron*—on television, which reflects the life of *remaja.*

In addition, with regard to sociocultural view point, youth is defined based on the status of individuals, either married or single. Naafs and White (2012) illustrate that, when the individuals have left school at the age of 15 and get married, they are not categorised as youth, despite the fact that some individuals have completed their higher degree at the age of 24 but not got married and continue to live with their family, or have already completed their studies but are still seeking a job and remain unmarried; nonetheless, they are considered youth (Parker, 2013). Similarly, based on the married regulation, the minimum age for getting married is 18, which implies that, before this age, individuals should be categorised as youth. At this point, youth is formulated based on the independency, either in economic or family terms.

Youth also can be understood as an entity that can contribute to the building of a nation through their right to vote in general elections. To be able to vote, individuals should possess *KTP* or a citizenship identity card, and should be eligible to obtain a citizenship identity card. Individuals should be 16/17 years old or at senior high school. Similar to the general conception of youth, which is measured in line with legal actions and responsibility, youth is defined based on the possessing of a citizenship identity card, demonstrating the responsibility of youth due to their actions, including when they are at court.

However, when the concept of youth is connected to violent behaviour, it is associated with students studying at senior high school, with violence in Indonesia centred on high school students (Nilan, 2010, Kadir, 2012). Drawing on the concept of youth in relation to age period, social category and legal actions, the conceptual theoretical framework of youth in Indonesia is seen to be in line with the concept of youth presented in general

and with regard to violent behaviour; youth violence in Indonesia also is referred to as school violence.

## 2.3. The Conception of Violence

Violence has been defined as the infliction of 'emotional, psychological, sexual, physical and/or material damage' (Stanko, 1994: xiv). Hearn (2006: 42) defines violence as 'that which violates or cause violation, and is usually performed by a violator upon the violated'. The definition of violence also may be seen from its outcomes, either physical injuries, such as coma, or just verbal abuse (Greene, 1999). Sometimes, violence is juxtaposed with the term 'aggression'. Hatty (2000: 45) defines aggression in 'terms of behavioural and affective which range from acts of assaults and threats of abuse to emotional outbursts'. Silverberg & Gray (1992), as cited in Hatty (2000), define aggression as 'the initiating towards some other(s) of an act that is higher on the violence scale than the previous act in a given interaction sequence, i.e., a readiness to initiate acts at higher levels of violence' (p. 3). Similarly, Schaffer (1996) demonstrates that aggression is any behaviour designed to harm others, either as verbal or physical, in groups or individuals. In the basic sense, violence and aggression lay a similar ground in that it is intentional and mediated through verbal or physical harms. In addition, World Health Organization (Organization and Krug, 2002: 5) provides a more comprehensive definition of violence, covering a broad range of the effects, intentions and use of power. WHO defines violence as 'intentional use of physical force or power, threatened or actual, against oneself, another person, or against a group or community, that either results in or has a high likelihood of resulting in injury, death, psychological harm, mal-development or deprivation' (Organization and Krug, 2002: 5). Moreover, alongside this definition, WHO developed 'Typology of Violence', showing the three broad categories of violence, as can be seen in the following diagram in Figure 0.1.
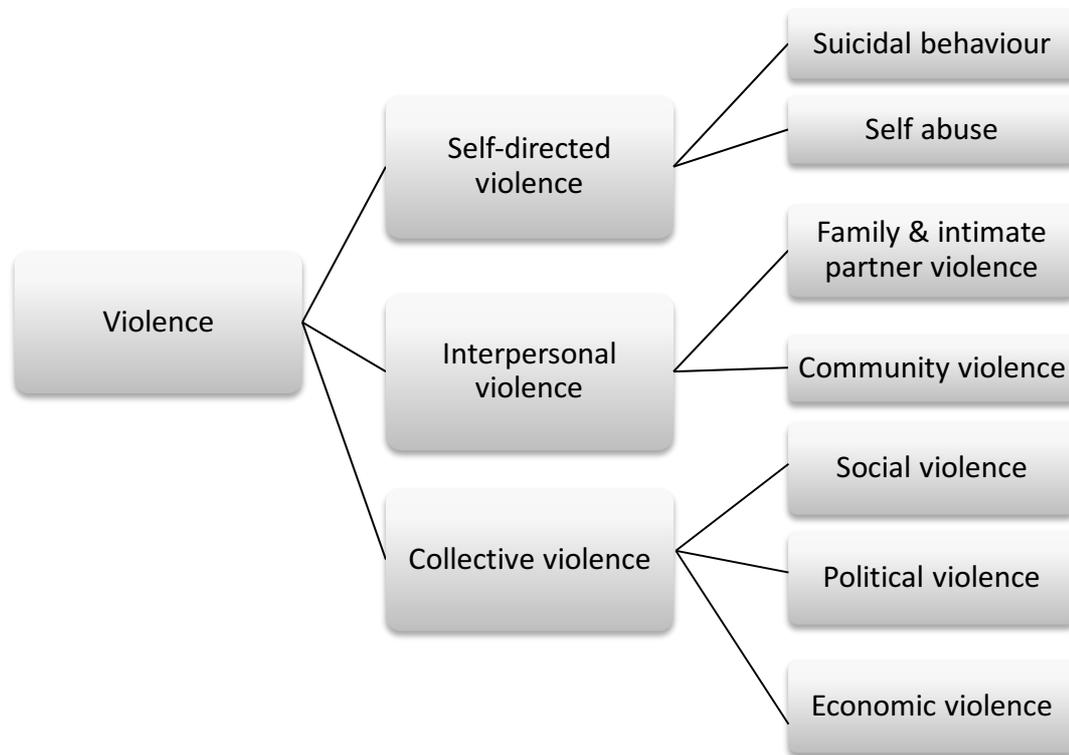
**Figure 0.1 WHO's Typology of Violence (2002)**

Violence, which is categorised as self-directed, includes suicidal thoughts, attempted suicides or completed suicides, and self-mutilation, whilst interpersonal violence includes violence between family members and violence between individuals who are unrelated, and commonly occurs outside the house, such as in the cases of youth violence and institutional violence, including school violence.

However, the term violence is 'always fluid, multiple, and complex' (Stanko, 2003: 3-4). Stanko (2003) then provides examples of various terms of violence, such as domestic violence, racist violence and sexualised violence. Stanko (2003) suggests the characteristic of violence as comprising four elements: (1) the act itself, (2) the relationship of the participants to each other, (3) the location of the act, and (4) the outcome or the resultant damage (p. 11). Although the characteristics of violence, as suggested by Stanko, are in a similar vein to that of other definitions of violence outlined by other scholars, including WHO, the location of violence, which is included in his definition, is worth consideration. As illustrated, when violence occurs at home, it would be considered domestic violence; therefore, when violence occurs at a particular

place, it could be suited to the name of violence. The significance of the setting in determining the definition of specific violence therefore is appropriate in terms of providing insight in regards the definition of school violence.

Barbanel (2005) remarks that school violence extends from bullying to aggravated assault, from suicide to homicide. Cowie and Jennifer (2007: 13) note that the definition of school violence is multi-layered, and involves personal, relationship-based, social, cultural and environmental factors. Similar to the concepts of violence suggested by Stanko (2003) and Cowie & Jennifer (2007), Benbenishty and Astor (2005: 8) situate school violence within a specific context, within the school, by defining 'school violence as any behaviour intended to harm, physically or emotionally, persons in school and their property (as well as school property)'. In this regard, the school grounds have become recognised as an important component in providing the definition of school violence; however, although it is clear that the visible context (school ground) plays an important role in defining school violence, the virtual context (cyber bullying) also is worth considering, such as in terms of whether or not it includes school violence. Finley (2014) argues that any violence resulting in unsafe or an ineffective school climate is considered school violence. This is due to the fact that the term of school violence itself is extended to include any behaviour severity and frequency, such as bullying (Finley, 2014), gang violence and school fighting (Schåfer and Smith, 1996). Moreover, (Flannery et al., 2004), in their study on the impacts of school violence, such as bullying, threats to carry weapons, and spree-shooting and fatalities, have been included within the notion of school violence.

Drawing on the WHO's typology of violence, particularly the interpersonal sub-violence (community violence) and the definition of school violence presented in this section, it is relevant to garner understanding as to the meaning of school violence used in this study. School violence, in the specific context of this work, is understood as the violence involving individuals in groups intended to harm others physically or emotionally within the context of school environment. This includes bullying and school fighting. The term 'violence' or 'school violence' therefore will be used throughout this thesis.

More importantly, as this study focuses on school violence in particular, it should be connected to the underpinning theoretical frameworks of youth violence, examining selection of the wider literature pertinent to youth and violence. As has been mentioned in the previous section, youth violence in Indonesia also refers to school violence, where the selection of the theoretical school violence falls under the theoretical framework of youth violence.

## 2.4. Theoretical Perspective on Youth Violence

Youth violence is approached from different perspectives, ranging from psychological, cultural and sociological standpoints. Psychologists have carried out various experiments and have proposed various theoretical considerations in explaining youth violence.

### 2.4.1. Psychological Perspectives on Violent Behaviour

Freud's Instinct Theory revealed that each individual, according to Freud, is inborn with the tendency to destroy (Schaffer, 1996), whether this is targeted at other people or property. Freud analogises this nature of destruction with the hydraulic model, which needs to be released when it reaches a particular level. Catharsis is the way of releasing excessive energy, which has the potential to be destructive; however, Freud's theory about aggression innateness is no longer widely used. A further argument relating innateness with adaptive value is proposed by Lorenz (1966, cited in Schaffer, 1996), in that individuals bring along their instinctual destruction. This theory is also known as the genetics perspective, which is that crime and any delinquent behaviour is heavily influenced by heredity. Jukes & Goddard (1927), cited in Muncie, 2004) traced more than 1,000 families in New York, and accordingly concluded that criminal children are inherited from their family, arguing that criminality is innate and not learned. In a more substantive argument about this perspective, biological determinism argues that children are more likely to inherit their parents' characteristics, such as intelligence and aggressiveness. Similarly, Herrnstein and Murray (1994) provide clearer insight about genetic factors in criminal behaviour by providing examples of particular races in the US who are seen to be less intelligent, according to their research, and therefore more likely to be poor and commit crime. The positive relationship between lesser

intelligence and crime is mainly due to their potential inability to distinguish between right and wrong, where the genetic factor inherited from their parents plays a crucial role in forming their inability to make a distinction between right or wrong.

Having recognised that biological factors can be used to predict individuals' tendency to commit crime, further research was developed by considering the conditions around the individuals, which potentially influence them in conducting violent behaviours. This was the beginning of the research that considered social factors, which may be a trigger of individuals to commit crimes. This is also the focus of criticism concerning the biological theory, where failure to consider the roles of environmental factors is witnessed. Vold and Bernard (1986: 86), for example, criticise that the criminal family can be influenced by the poor conditions of the family themselves, as well as by unemployment, lower educational levels and other environmental factors. They further argue that the individuals have their own capacity to perform violent behaviours as there are situations and conditions that inhibit or encourage them in performing violent behaviours.

Besides biological determinism, youth-deviant behaviours also may be connected to Freud's view pertaining to id, ego and super ego. He argued that deviant behaviour is situated between unconscious drive (id) and conscious understanding of self, morality and social order (the ego and super ego) (cited in Muncie, 2004). Any criminal behaviour, thus, is understood as a result of the inability of individuals to manage symbolic conflict, or their inability to control deviant behaviours. This view is perceived due to the crisis within the youth stage, which is associated with the notion 'Storm and Stress' (Hall, 1904), explaining that, at this stage, there are changes in the hormones of the youth. Moreover, the youth Storm and Stress also is due to the belief that the youth is situated between two poles: 'back to the primitive states of the stone age baby and forward towards the rational and enlightened state of modern man' (Cohen, 1997: 184); therefore, as research consistently indicates, crime reaches a peak during the adolescent period and decreases during early adulthood (Liebregts *et al*., 2015). The explanation for this argument is that stable relationships and employment, positive engagement in activities and psychological reorientation all become apparent when individuals become adults (Veysey *et al*., 2013).

However, in the contemporary research on adolescence, the notion of Storm and Stress is criticised for not being able to generalise the adolescent condition (e.g. Mead, 1954). Mead argues that not all youth experience this stage, as found in Samoa. She then provided examples about this condition by establishing the youth condition of that place and how it cannot adequately reflect the Storm and Stress. Notably, however, her work and conclusions subsequently became controversial after new evidence revealed from the same research site in Samoa that the youth portrayed in Mead's study were not representative of actual youth. Although Mead's claims about the inability to generalise the condition of youth cannot be used to challenge the proponent theory of Storm and Stress, the argument poses that there is a need of further development of the theory delinquent behaviour.

Scholars have argued that, aside from the psychological perspective, violent behaviour also should be approached from the psychosocial context (Cowie and Jennifer, 2007), in that there should be efforts directed towards developing an understanding of violence from more complex and multi-layered contexts, as involving personal, interpersonal, community and wider society. With regards the personal context, Cowie & Jennifer (2007) argue that violent behaviour is closely linked to the personal history and biological characteristic of the individual. Interpersonal context relates to interactions between youth and adults, either in academic settings or in the home, including in neighbourhood, whilst the wider context covers values, norms and other social factors. The primary reason is that youth experience significant changes, particularly in early and late adolescence, due to more complex and heterogeneous social situations, which are demanding in relation to their roles, expectations and responsibilities in terms of interactions with others and group memberships (Gecas & Mortimer, 1987, cited in Tanti et al. (2011). The psychosocial approach on violent behaviour, thus, is seen as being the criticism of the psychological perspective, which is centred on their research within the boundary of 'laboratory work', without necessarily observing within the real life setting (Schaffer, 1996).

### 2.4.2. The Significance of the School Context and Peer Interaction on the Youths' Development

In this section, the youths' development is situated within the realm of peers and schools, both of which arguably significantly affect and provide important and meaningful development for youths. Schaffer (1996: 1) argues that social development refers to "the behaviour patterns, feelings, attitudes and concepts which manifest in relation to other people and to the way that these various aspects change over age". The section will set out to examine individuals in relation to their educational setting and determine how their educational setting influences them with respect to their behaviour and attitudes. This will be followed by the role of peers, which is also prevalent in the youths' violent behaviour.

Salkind (2004: 5) argues that youth development "is the result of interactions between biological and environmental factors". Thus, to garner an understanding of youth violence, the study should be centred on the development of individuals within their environment, particularly their school, and the interaction between individuals within groups. Research consistently shows that school plays a significant role in causing students to behave violently, particularly schools that are characterised by having large size, overcrowding and poor resources for learning (Flaherty, 2001). The underpinning argument that a school has a significant influence on youth development comes from the fact that school is the place where the students spend an amount of time together with their peers whilst being relatively separated from the wider society (Cotterell, 1996).

Recent research consistently reveals that the school environment affects youths in many aspects of their lives either in positive ways, or by having a negative influence on violent behaviour and their academic achievement (Crosnoe et al., 2002). A literature review study conducted by Johnson (2009), for example, shows that a school that has less violence is inclined to have students who are aware of the school rules and believe that they are fair, have positive relationships with teachers, and have positive feelings about the school with regard to learning and interactions. Moreover, it is noted by Kyriacou and Zuin (2016) that the positive, prosocial school community is perceived to be an effective way of tackling cyberbullying in the school, and emphasising the

disapproval of cyberbullying conducted by peers, such as not contributing to comments and forwarding them to other peers, is perceived to inhibit the problem of cyberbullying.

However, research conducted by Leung and Ferris (2008), about the relationship between the school's size and rates of violence, shows that the school's size really matters with respect to increasing or decreasing the rate of violence. The research illustrates that if the school enrolment increases by 1,000 students, it will increase the rate of violence to about 10 percent, and if the school enrolment is increased by more than 2,000 students, the rate of violence will rise to 22 percent. However, this pattern most likely only occurs within the schools that have a large number of students.

In addition, the historical context is also prevalent in contributing to violent behaviour. In a study about cowboys in the late nineteenth century, Moore (2014) finds that violence was maintained for social harmony and for a social hierarchy in which one could obtain advantage over others. Maintaining racial hierarchy through violence was crucial, considering the history of violence between Anglos, Mexicans and African Americans after the civil war, and the position of African Americans as the victims of white cowboys. A similar study that was conducted in Indonesia illustrates that the historical aspects of school violence in several cities in Indonesia is also clear. The study conducted by Kadir (2012), for example, demonstrates that the fighting that occurs in Jogjakarta school is due to the history of the school having confrontations with other schools. The study of school violence in Solo also shows a similar pattern to the violence in Jogjakarta school, as illustrated by Kadir (2012), which indicates that the historical aspect of school violence, along with other factors, is important to the continuing school violence (Nilan, 2011).

As well as the school context, which plays a role in the construction of youths (as has been illustrated in the previous paragraph), friendship is also an important factor in constructing youth life and culture because friendship often encourages positive psychological development, but it also promotes antisocial and deviant behaviour (Gifford-Smith et al., 2005). The importance of friendships for youths is undoubtedly significant on their development. The relationships that are marked by egalitarian and equal positions make youths feel they are comfortable and secure unlike when they engage in relationships with adults (Bowlby, 1984). This is due to what Douvan (1983)

hypothesises, which is that friendships in early adolescence are characterised by similar tastes and loyalty, but loyalty is the main consideration in friendship among adolescents. Moreover, according to Kandel (1978 cited in Espelago, et al., 2007), group members would most likely behave similarly due to their self-selection, peers' socialisation and the combination of both factors. Self-selection refers to the selection of friends by individuals who have similar attitudes or participate in similar behaviour, and the impact of socialisation concerns on the process by which individuals within the group influence each other and internalise the norms established by the group. Therefore, when the group membership shares similarity in tastes and characteristics, it can then be determined what kind of behaviour they will most likely exhibit, including displaying antisocial behaviour (Ennett and Bauman, 1996).

In addition, besides the shared values among group members, the motivation for joining a group is to gain emotional and social support (Crosnoe et al., 2002). In addition, Hartup (1992: 184) identifies the importance of friendships amongst children and youth; they are: 1) acquiring and elaborating basic social skills such as social communication, cooperation and group entry skills; 2) acquiring self-knowledge, knowledge about others and knowledge about the wider context of the world; 3) being emotional and cognitive resources; and 4) being a model of mutual regulation and intimacy. Hatty (2000: 55) notes that the cause of young men being "at risk of being caught in violent events, either as perpetrators or victims, is the expectation to sustain the position in the group and to maintain access to their chosen mate". However, when an adolescent is getting older, loyalty and similar characteristics are not the main issues in their friendships.

With regard to antisocial behaviour, research has shown that youths' delinquent behaviour is often associated with the notion of friendship. However, as to whether peer groups promote or inhibit youths' delinquent behaviour depends on the norms and the behaviour of peers in that group (Brown et al., 1986). The influence of peers on negative behaviour has pervasively been studied, including the influence of peers on aggressive behaviour (Farmer et al., 2003), alcohol and other drug abuse (La Greca et al., 2001), and delinquent behavior (Tolone and Tieman, 1990).

Friendship is also connected to the term 'gang'; both of them share similar key features, as Morrow (1996) notes, such as trust, togetherness, connectedness and strong ties, which will be discussed in the following section.

### 2.4.3. Gangs and their Relation to Youth Social Development and Violent Behaviour

In seeking to understand the term "gang", we could start with the description proposed by Thrasher (2000: 16), who spoke of a gang being "spontaneous and unplanned" in its origin: "its beginnings were unreflective—the natural outgrowth of a crowd of boys meeting on a street corner". The direct and regular engagement of members at a particular place is enough to ensure the existence of the gang. Rivalry with another gang through fighting and other delinquent behaviour is another characteristic of the gang, and members' typical activities include drinking, smoking and sex.

> The gang is an interstitial group originally formed spontaneously, and then integrated through conflict. It is characterized by the following types of behavior: meeting face to face, milling, movement trough space as a unit, conflict, and planning. The result of this collective behavior is the development of tradition, unreflective internal structure, esprit de corps, solidarity, morale, group awareness, and attachment to local territory. (Thrasher, 2000: 18-19).

Thrasher pointed out the power of the gang in controlling individuals within the group, enabling its members to follow behaviour based on group norms and rules. Gangs can also be characterised from their territory and illegal activities, and commonly possess a formal name (Sanchez-Jankowski, 2003). Miller (1980) identified several types of gang, namely territory-based, fighting gangs and gain-oriented gangs. Similar to that of Miller (1980, Sanchez-Jankowski (2003) suggested that gangs can be defined based on two categorises. Firstly, they are a place for individuals who lack identity to seek and find an identity—they satisfy individual needs in regard to seeking identity. In this sense, gang is the "house" that unites similar individuals in term of sociocultural and psychological needs. Secondly, gangs are characterised by collective deviant acts (including illegal activities) that have generally their own territory. Gang territory is crucial to gang definition since the territory provides members with a secure place from where to control their activities.

Another important characteristic alongside criminal and delinquent behaviour is the focus on fighting. Fighting is perceived as competing to survive and as a way to be recognised by others. Police, park officials and other gangs are the common enemies that the gangs fight (Thrasher, 2000). Decker & Van Winkle (1996), however, point out that fights between gangs were more a way of integrating and strengthening the solidarity of the members than of seeking recognition. Hallsworth and Young (2006: 4), drawing from a number of sources, describe a gang in this way:

> A gang is a relatively durable, predominantly street-based group of young people who see themselves (and are seen by others) as a discernible group for whom crime and violence is integral to the group's identity.

Similar to fighting, "hanging out" is also a characteristic of gang activities and is aimed at uniting the members. Through intense face-to-face interactions, strong relationships among the members of the gang can be forged. However, the impact of "hanging out" on group ties is not clear. Moore (2010) asserts that close ties among members were due more to threats from outsiders and other gangs. Gangs, just like other groups, offer members of the group what they want; they provide a particular status and identityand respect from others (Klein, 1997).

Whilst gang characteristics have been examined from a wide range of sources, it is important to consider the characteristics of gangs in Indonesia, particularly the "youth gangs"—also associated with "school gangs" (Kadir, 2012). The term youth gang in Indonesia is different from the definition of gang in the United States and other countries that characterise the gang by its involvement in the drug trade or criminal organisations and criminal behaviour (Kadir, 2012; Nilan et al., 2011). Kadir (2012: 353) argues that the term gang or geng in the context of youth violence in Jogjakarta is "a group of young men who express and demonstrate their identity through hostility, sporadic attacks and mass fighting with another gang". Nilan et al. (2011: 473), in their research in Solo, describe a gang as "a group of young men characterised by the use of violence". A gang in the Indonesian context, therefore, refers to activities related to fighting but not necessarily to getting involved in criminal behaviour. Although, to some extent, the school gang engages in criminal behaviour (such as killing other students in school fighting), the main activity of the gang is different from the Western perspective of a gang.

The understanding of what a gang is, and its characteristics, is critical since this study also includes gangs when examining student social practices within the school environment. However, the term gang in this study is somewhat different from the proposed definition given in previous research either in the West or in Indonesia, because in this study the term is associated with the school year, or batch, or group name. However, in general the term concurs with the definition in the Indonesian context: a gang that is not involved with criminal behaviour such as drug dealing or drug consumption. Whilst the term refers to batch or group name, it is also important to distinguish between odd or even batches (further discussed in Chapter 6.2). The use of a gang name is not only about group identity in relation to school violence, but also is intended to help the alumnae, peers and some teachers to recognise and identify the students, by simply referring to their batch name. More importantly, the existence of a gang or batch name in each class year is crucial to hierarchical interactions, particularly when the interactions involve alumnae (further discussed in Chapter 6.2). It is much easier for each batch to be connected with one another, as the hierarchical interactions are emphasised on the gang/batch level rather than on the personal level.

### *Some underpinning motives for joining a gang*

Gangs and delinquent behaviour are inextricable components in youth and violence studies. Not only are the gang members stigmatised for engaging in anti-social behaviour, but research consistently also shows that youth who are gang members are more delinquent than non-gang members (Barnes et al., 2010). This is because gang members represent the rules and values of the gang and these rules and values are often associated with delinquent behavior (Stretesky and Pogrebin, 2007). Moreover, research has shown the significant intensity of the crimes conducted by individuals after they join the gang in comparison with before joining the gang (Gordon et al., 2004). At this point, gang socialisation of particular values and norms plays a significant role in the frequency of the criminal and delinquent behaviour of gang members. Shaw (1972) argued that gang development emerged from delinquent and normalised behaviours, demonstrating that criminal behaviour is learnt from other offenders.

Not only do gang norms contribute to youth involvement in delinquent behaviour, but also to the motivations of individuals to join the gang. Some motivations for joining

gangs, such as "to get a reputation" and "to get away with illegal activities" (Decker and Van Winkle, 1996) clearly explain the individual's involvement in gang and delinquent behaviour. Another motivation for joining a gang is intimidation and the need for protection . Moreover, the role of family, particularly when siblings or cousins are already members, is a strong motivator for individuals to join a gang (Hill et al., 1999). However, the motive of joining a gang in Jogjakarta, Indonesia, as Kadir (2012) argued, is somewhat different. It is more about filling the young life with "the sweetest experiences" (togetherness and solidarity among peers) and gaining higher status and empowerment. The implication of being a gang member, according to Kadir (2012), is that it builds and embeds a sense of solidarity among gang members and, in turn, generates hatred among other gangs (further discussed in the section on identity).

Whilst some scholars have argued that delinquent behaviour among gang members is due to the gang's rules and norms, Tannenbaum (1938) argued that the community contributes to the formation of gangs, pointing out that the conflict between young people and the local community encourages young people to unite and move up the criminal hierarchy. From the social capital view, however, Putnam (2001: 316) notes that: "where constructive social capital and institutions are allowed to wither, gangs emerge to fill the void". Moreover, with regard to the school environment, the emergence of gangs is the result of weak schools that enable gangs to have a "near monopoly on status-conferring activities" (Hagan, 1990). Whilst youth gangs in Indonesia are often associated with school gangs, Kadir (2012) identified twenty-three school gangs in the city of Jogjakarta, Central Java. He demonstrated that the weakening authority of the state and the reduced control of the family and schools heavily contributed to the emergence of school gangs in the city. With regard to the motives for joining a gang, research on the situation in Indonesia revealed that being a gang member would provide excitement, security, solidarity and physical protection (Kadir, 2012).

All in all, youth motivation to join a gang differs widely; some are motivated to establish a group-based identity, some others are more interested in seeking prestige or protection or to fill some type of void, whilst still others feel under pressure to join. What is clear is that the factors that lead to the formation of violent gangs are complex and are not determined by a single aspect, such as youth characteristics. It could also be

about the nature of men and other underpinning concepts of male identity, as will be discussed in the following section.

### 2.4.4. Men, Masculinity and Violent Behaviour

An interesting perspective of youth violent behaviour relates to gender differences. Research has illustrated that youth violence is more strongly associated with males than females. Weiler (1999) noted that boys were much more likely than girls to be physically aggressive at school; boys were more often both victims and perpetrators of school violence, and boys fought more often than girls. Morrell (2002: 38) demonstrated that violence was gendered in that "violence is bound up with issues of power – used to enforce power, used to shift power, used to resist power" and males have more power than females. Book et al. (2001) argued that males were more inclined to violent behaviour than females because males have more testosterone than females. Scholars have consistently argued that males are more violent than females. Hatty (2002: 6), for example, described the relationship of males and violence thus:

> Clearly, violence is still the prerogative of the youthful male, especially when confronted by the contradictions and paradoxes of thwarted desire and personal and social disempowerment. Reaching deep into the historical and cultural storehouse of masculinity, a young man may still retrieve the ultimate tool of manly self-assertiveness: omnipotence through violence.

It is clear that males are legitimated to behave violently and be aggressive. This legitimation shapes the construction of male identity and masculinity (Hatty, 2000). Masculinity and delinquent behaviour, in fact, revolve around young men. As pointed out by Collier (1998), young men are associated with the characteristics of "dangerous" and "wild", which make them fit the stereotype of a specific kind of masculinity. However, Kenway and Fitzclarence (1997) asserted that masculinity articulated with violence is an exaggeration. They argued that assertiveness as a masculine characteristic was often interpreted as aggression, while physical strength and toughness was interpreted in terms of physically beating others (p. 121). Campbell (1992: 1) maintained that men attempted to pacify "the disruptive and frightening forces in the world around them". Men view aggressive or violent acts as an attempt to assert or maintain control over others, reinforcing masculinity through violent behaviour (Hatty, 2000: 59). This is due to the close link between masculinity, crime and violent

behaviour on the one hand with the concepts of power, honour and respect on the other (Tokiharu & Pasko, 2011). When men are at risk of losing honour, prestige and respect, violence is the way to regain power (Gilligan, 1996). Further to his argument, Gilligan noted that "nothing is more shameful than feeling ashamed, and often violent men will tap other masculine resources to hide this secret: a defensive mask of bravado, arrogance, machismo and insouciance" (p. 112). One study conducted by Spencer (2012) about masculinity and sports in MMA (mixed martial arts) found that bodily injuries and pain is a normative masculinity among fighters, yet domination over other fighters is perceived as being masculine. The notion of power, domination and masculinity could be connected to medieval society where masculinity was recognised using one parameter, winning or losing (Clover, 1993). This implies that, according to Clover (1993), being born male did not confer automatic superiority.

In addition, with regard to youth and violent behaviour, Messerschmidt (1993: 59) argues, "…both masculinity and power are linked with aggression/violence…as a result, most young males come to identify the connection between masculinity-power-aggression-violence as part of their own developing male identities". It has been suggested that the implication of identifying the notion of masculinity and violence among youth is the acceptance that violence becomes symbolic of masculinity (Fagan and Wilkinson, 1998). With respect to youth and violent behaviour, a study carried out among youth in Indonesia, Nilan (2009) asserts that being "bad boys" is aimed at achieving legitimate power and masculinity.

It is thus arguable that tough and violent behaviour is not only about displaying masculinity alone, but is also an instrumental motive for survival for a particular social class. The following section discusses the relationship between masculinity and social class.

### *Masculinity and Social Class*

As pointed out by Mayeda and Pasko (2012), masculinity and violent behaviour is often associated with young men and lower social classes. The authors argue that when boys and men are economically and racially marginalised, crime and violence are the ways to exhibit their manliness and show their appreciation and/or utilization of such qualities as ferocity and cunning. In recent research on adulthood masculine development,

Sanders (2011), through in-depth (narrative) interviews of adult substance abusers, found that the construction of adolescent masculinities is centred on juvenile delinquency and substance abuse, which is a typical lower social class style. Sanders's study argued that the construction of masculinity via violence agreed with the concept of "protest masculinity" where lower social class families use violence and other stereotypical lower-class lifestyle behaviours.

Moreover, Messerschmidt (1986) argues that masculinity and violence were closely connected to marginalised men. When they feel "economically powerless, they remain powerful in terms of gender", or what Connel (1995) has called "protest masculinity". When there are no real resources to display power, violence is the only way to show masculinity. Sanders (2011) demonstrates that protest masculinity emerges as a result of comparing working class masculinity with the standard white, middle-class concept of masculinity, or the Western representation of what it means to be a man. In other words, violence is an instrument to establish male domination, control and autonomy when the role of traditional masculinity, such as family provider, is weakening. Holter (2005) suggests that "the men at the top of the social hierarchy may use mainly gender-neutral ways to achieve their aim and the men below will use what they have, namely their gender". A similar study about compensatory masculinity can be found in the study of a Chicano gang (Flores and Hondagneu-Sotelo, 2013), in which aggressive behaviour and street violence were found to be symbols of masculinity, due to few alternative sources to display dominant breadwinner masculinity. In another study, research conducted by McMahan (2011) in Heartland America has shown that fighting is dominant in creating and displaying masculinity among bartenders in rural taverns. The study suggests that, traditionally, fighting is a fundamental strategy in the quest for social status. This is due to the community of rural taverns highly respecting and admiring masculinity as represented by toughness, competitiveness and dominance through fighting.

However, a study on masculinity among college students in America indicates that the term masculinity is perceived somewhat differently, with masculinity a stigma among the working social class. For the college students, masculinity is equated with being confident, being respected and assuming responsibility (Harris III, 2010). Moreover, Khalaf et al. (2013) have shown that masculinity among university students in Malaysia is far from the ideology of masculinity that is marked by being tough, violent and

aggressive; rather, masculinity for them is having a good body, having success with women and being respected. Similarly, the research carried out by Nilan (2009) concerning contemporary Indonesian youth indicates that masculinity among educated and religious youths reflects more positive images such as piety and responsibility.

Kimmel and Messner (2007) demonstrate that masculinity is socially constructed in that its meaning prescribes what it means to be a man. Similarly, McMahan (2011: 52) drew on Franklin's argument—that is, how masculinity is understood, defined, identified and positioned within the social system is created by, and reflected within, the interactions of social group members. Masculinity is thus culturally bounded; in order to display socially accepted masculinity, individuals should understand the shared meaning of masculinity within the cultural group.

However, when the ideal or prescribed masculinity bounded within the cultural context is disrupted by social conditions such as poverty and unavailability of the means to achieve it, men tend to compensate through other available symbols of masculinity. The research conducted by Naples (1994) in rural America, for example, showed that traditional masculinity was understood by the local society as the ability to provide financially for the family, but when changing economic circumstances reduced the men's breadwinner role it led to a redefinition of being masculine; at this point, masculinity will likely become equated with violent behaviour. In addition, Amuyunzu-Nyamongo and Francis (2006), in their research of masculinity in a slum area in Kenya, showed that compensatory masculinity (such as extreme sexism and homophobia and the tendency toward violent behaviour) was the result of reduced hegemonic provider (see definition below) and breadwinner masculinity. However, compensatory masculinity is not always a negative social behaviour; it can be positive. A study conducted into the Palestinian construction of youth masculinity in a refugee camp in Lebanon (Fincham, 2014) found that when the ideal of masculinity was not possible to be constructed or maintained, males tended to compensate with other forms of masculinity. When Palestinian male youths were unable to construct dominant masculinity based on their traditional culture (i.e. protecting and providing economically for their families), they compensated through adherence to their religion and international labour migration.

### *Hegemonic Masculinity*

Another salient aspect of masculinity and violent behaviour is how masculinity is used to marginalise others or what is called "hegemonic masculinity". Carrigan et al. (2004: 154) suggested that hegemonic masculinity is concerned with the ways "particular groups of men inhabit positions of power and wealth, and how they legitimate and reproduce the social relationships that generate their dominance". The concept of hegemonic masculinity was drawn from the Gramcian notion of class hegemony, which maintains a particular configuration of power not primarily through force, but rather through the persuasion of most people in a society of the legitimacy of the ruling group's position (Gramsci, 1971). Further to the notion of hegemonic masculinity, Messerschmidt (2000: 130) argued that hegemonic masculinity was the "culturally idealized form of masculinity in a given historical setting". In this sense, the concept of hegemonic masculinity has been fundamental to capturing men's patriarchal dominance over women and the hegemony of men over other men, Messerschmidt (2012) or what Demetriou (2001) notes as external hegemony (dominant over different gender) and internal hegemony (within the gender).

Connell (1995) distinguished internal hegemonic masculinity in terms of subordinated masculinity, complicit masculinity and marginalised masculinity. She provided an example of subordinated masculinity as being homosexuals who are marginalised, just like men who are marginalised because of their class or race/ethnic position. In this sense, masculinity can work to empower, suppress, marginalise and subordinate men and women. Finley (2014) has suggested that particular groups of individuals are commonly marginalised, namely individuals with disabilities (physical, developmental, intellectual, emotional) as well as individuals who identify as lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered (LGBT).

A study by Gahman (2015) aimed at identifying the concept of subordinating and marginalising men with regard to gun ownership. It suggested that the possession of a gun for men is not only a compensation for being marginalised from their role as breadwinner, but is a way of showing their hegemonic masculinity. Since hegemonic masculinity is closely related to power, control and dominance, owning a gun for men in rural Kansas displays power and control in the sense that, by owning a gun, men can show a symbol of masculine conviction and commitment to the family.

Research conducted by Barron and Bradford (2007) in Ireland in regard to gay men's identities in the educational sphere found that gay and bisexual men were often "discredited" and "othered" by peers through symbolic and material violence. Barron and Bradford suggest that gay and bisexual young men are subjected to negative marginalisation due to their "feminine body", illustrating that any behaviour by men that could represent a feminine characteristic would be considered as not masculine or subjected to subordinated masculinity.

In addition, ethnographic research conducted by Spaaij (2008) about hooligans in three different countries (UK, Spain and The Netherlands) revealed that hooligans used hegemonic masculinity to marginalise and abuse other hooligans. The research shows how hegemonic masculinity of particular hooligans is symbolised as hyper-heterosexual masculine identity (real men), whilst opposing hooligans is symbolised as non-masculine identity such as "poofs" and "gays". Similarly, a study of masculinity and alcohol consumption among young British men showed that drinking alcohol accorded with their masculine identity, whilst the men who did not drink were potentially evaluated as not being masculine and were often regarded as homosexual (De Visser and Smith, 2007).

Taken together, it is clear that subordinate masculinity is associated with men who do not display "normal" male characteristics and so in effect are often excluded from the men's group membership. Moreover, subordinate masculinity (referring to gay, homosexual, little boys or other related subordinate masculinity characteristics) is a common resource used to marginalise or supress other individuals or groups, whilst at the same time hegemonic masculinity is used to empower in-group members to contest dominant masculinity within the male hierarchy.

Whilst this study is centred on masculine identity and its relation to violent behaviour commonly conducted by men, other concepts of identity should also be considered to examine the problem of school violence.

### 2.4.5. The Construction of Identity and the Occurrence of Violence

Before going on to further discuss the relationship between identity and violence and conflict, it is important to introduce a conceptual framework for identity. Bucholtz

(2010) suggests that in constructing identity, individuals are not passive entities to be assigned a particular identity—rather they actively negotiate and navigate their own identity. In addition, Bucholtz noted that identity is the result of social practice and social interaction, which implies that what individuals think of themselves could be different from how others see them and vice versa. Identity is complex. Many factors play a role in the construction of identity, such as gender, social class and sexuality. Similar to Bucholtz (2010), Côté and Levine (2002: 49) note that identity was "realised strategically and circumstantially" through interactions with others. In this sense, identity is socially constructed through day-to-day interactions, which involve both internal (individuals themselves) and external such as social, cultural and institutional factors.

Identity can be seen from three consecutive perspectives: social constructionism, categorisation and membership definition, and anti-essentialist vision of the self (De Fina et al., 2006). Drawing from social constructionists, De Fina et al. (2006: 2) highlighted that identity was "a process that take place in concrete and specific interactional occasions, yield constellations of identities instead of individuals, monolithic constructs, does not simply emanate from the individual, but results from processes of negotiation, and entextualisation and discursive work". Antaki and Widdicombe (1998), drawing from social categorisation and membership, note that inclusion and exclusion were the principal elements in identity construction. Identities in this perspective are multichannel, representing not only "in discourse, but rather as performed, enacted and embodied through a variety of linguistic and non-linguistic means" (De Fina et al., 2006:3). Identity, according to Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 2), is defined as two interrelated concepts:

> how the individual's idiosyncratic behaviour reflects attitudes towards groups, causes, traditions but is constrained by certain identifiable factors; and how the identity of a group lies within the projections individuals make of the concepts each has about the group.

Identity can be linked with the notion of performativity (Butler, 1993) in which performance is crucial to conveying how a particular person wants to be seen by others. At this point, there is a relational aspect between the performers and audiences in which both of them shape and re-shape the formation of identity. The function of audiences is

to recognise and approve the performances of the actors, whilst the role of the actors is giving (repetitive) actions in order to be recognised in the way that they want to be recognised. In addition, Goffman (1990) argues that there was a back stage and front stage in which people provided their performances based on the audiences. At this point, the performance of the actors would be different when giving performance to different audiences; in contrast, different audiences would have different preconceptions of the actors. An important point from this illustration is that actors would try their best to impress the audiences.

With regard to identity construction, according to Brown (2014: 80) there are four elements of identity construction: 1) structural forces, which refer to the social categories by which we are known, in terms of their implications in constructing power hierarchies of recognition; this includes class, gender and ethnicity. 2). Performances refer to the process and outcomes created through students' actions and interactions in the school. 3) Narratives concern the stories students tell themselves and others tell them about themselves, in order to inform and make meaningful their performances. 4). Dynamic arenas refer to the organisation of space and time into the micro-level framing of different school contexts.

### *Personal identity*

Identity based on a psychological perspective is perceived as being the individual's property or inner working (Cote & Levine, 2002: 49) in which individuals can manage their particular identity based on conscious mental processes. With regard to youth studies, identity could be linked with the notion of "storm and stress"—the construction of identity during the adolescent period, where adolescents are in confusion about themselves. As a result, exploring and conducting different behaviour is an effort to seek their identity, as identity is formed during adolescence (Kroger, 2004). Moreover, according to longitudinal research, personal identity develops progressively during adolescence (Meeus, 2011) rather than adulthood, except for ethnic identity. This implies that identity is relatively stable during adulthood. Brewer and Gardner (1996: 84) demonstrated that there were three levels of self-representation: the level of the individual, the interpersonal level and the group level. They then explained that at the individual level, identity related to self, whilst at the interpersonal and group levels

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identity connected with relational and collective identity. Taylor (1997) argued that personal identity was the unique combination of personal values, goals, attitudes, behaviour and characteristics of each individual, the question central to the concept of personal identity being "Who am I?". The quality of particular characters, which is the answer to the question 'who am I?' (such as "I am a hero") refers to personal identity (Schwartz et al., 2008, Campbell, 1990).

### *Social Identity*

Whilst personal identity is understood as the unique individual's identity, social (group or collective) identity refers to an individual's self-definition as a member of a group. Social identity is defined as "the individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership" (Tajfel, 1972a cited in (Abrams and Hogg, 1990: 2). In constructing social identity, based on Abrams and Hogg (1990), one seeks to compare oneself with others within the group and out-groups, resulting in self-identification and social identification that are distinct from other individuals or groups. From this definition, Tajfel (1981) categorised two components associated with social identity: "belief that one belongs to a group ('I am an American') and the importance of that group membership to oneself ('I am damn proud to be a citizen of the greatest country on earth') (Ashmore et al., 2001: 6).

Group membership refers to people's social identity or collective self (Brewer and Gardner, 1996) and many kinds of group memberships represent collective self such as gender, race or membership in a social club. With regard to social identity, which is prevalent among adolescents, Kroger (2000) argues that the inclusion of a sense of belonging within the valued social group was crucial among adolescents. Katz 1988, cited in (Fagan & Wilkinson, 1998: 131) identified the aims of aggressive behaviour as, namely, to compel and deter others, to achieve social identity, and to obtain justice. In addition, two other factors motivate adolescents to belong to a group: seeking opportunities for self-enhancement due to a group's prestige and enhancing self-esteem (Cooper and Thatcher, 2010).

Brewer (1991) and Hogg (2003) argue that group membership shaped the way members think, feel and behave. Moreover, group membership facilitates the construction of self-

definitions about "who we are" with regard to in-group members and out-group members. This relates to self-categorisation in which seeing oneself as a typical member of the group is salient rather than perceiving oneself to be a unique individual or what Turner et al. (1987) argue is about in-group loyalty and favouring in-group members. In this sense, the group members would act according to group characteristics and norms (Mackie et al., 2008), as the group members would internalise the shared values and norms of the group as important components of their identity construction (Ashmore et al., 2004). As a result, when in-group members define themselves with their in-group's characteristics and norms, they would likely reject the characteristics of the out-group (Simon and Hamilton, 1994, Cadinu et al., 2013). When the norms and values tend to promote violence and are internalised by the group members, violent behaviour would be selected to protect their identity from any threats from others (Tedeschi and Felson, 1994). Research has shown that group norms are crucial to influencing members' bias in that they tend to see group members positively and perceive the members of other groups negatively (Jetten et al., 2002). This relates to the common question of group members: "Who am I as a member of my group?" (Usborne and Sablonnière, 2014).

Moreover, Marx (2009) demonstrated that group membership could influence members either negatively or positively depending upon the stereotype created by the group. If the group has a negative stereotype compared with another group, the members of the group would act accordingly.

An important question raised is: what is the relationship between group membership and delinquent behaviour? The following section discusses group membership and violent behaviour.

### *Identity Matters in Violence and Conflict*

The relationship between identity and violence can be traced back to the seminal work of criminologists, particularly about gang membership and street-corner boys decades ago (Cohen, 1964, Shaw, 1972). Theories of group identity and intergroup conflict, such as Hewstone et al. (2002), provide basic understanding that individuals are naturally motivated to be a group member to satisfy the need for belonging and identity (Baumeister and Leary, 1995).

In addition, Tajfel's (1986) social categorisation theory has also helped scholars to understand in-group and out-group phenomena in intergroup violence, in that the more the members bond to their group, the more they tend to dislike other group members or the term "in-group love and out-group hate" (Brewer, 2001:17). Social category, thus, enables the partition of intergroup relations. Brewer (2001) demonstrated that self-categorisation enables group members to assimilate and enhance their sense of similarity with other in-group members whilst it distances and distinguishes them from out-groups. In addition, research has indicated that the implication of self-categorisation is strengthening the self-stereotyping in which in-group members would associate themselves with the characteristics of the in-group and reject the characteristics of the out-group (Spears et al., 1997, Simon and Hamilton, 1994, Cadinu et al., 2013).

However, Brewer (2001) contended that "in-group love and out-group hate" touched only the surface of intergroup conflict. She argued that in-group favouritism (love) did not necessarily mean hatred for the out-group. She demonstrated that there were two factors that constructed "in-group love and out-group hate", namely trust and emotion (2001: 20–21). She illustrated that individuals live in a complex society where they need to extend their interaction to a larger community. To be able to engage and cooperate with the larger community, they need to be able to trust, but trusting everybody can be dangerous. Thus, they tend to keep trust within the boundary of their in-group members and this could lead to suspicion of others (out-group members), leading to the in-group and out-group stereotype. Another factor that constructs "in-group love and out-group hate" is emotions. Brewer (2001) demonstrates that lacking contacts and social mixing with others (out-groups) enabled individuals to neglect and disrespect out-group members. When they are placed in situations where they need to have close contact and interactions with out-group members, they would likely feel invaded, resulting in fear and anger (Ashmore et al., 2001). These two factors, according to Brewer (2001), can be used to explain the "in-group love and out-group hate" phenomenon.

In addition, the relationship between social identity theory and conflict can be explained in terms of the overt competitive and assertive behaviour of the intergroup relation. Overt competitive and assertive behaviour is a result of defining and evaluating the in-group positively and the perceived out-group negatively, or what is commonly called in-

group and out-group stereotype (Brewer, 2001). When in-group members perceive that their group has a positive image, they tend to see out-groups as threatening their security and stability (Runciman, 1966 cited in (Hogg and Adelman, 2013). In addition, drawing from social categorisation theory and social identity, Brewer (2001) demonstrated that the impacts of prejudice, stereotypes and discrimination towards out-groups were the primary factors in intergroup conflict.

According to Jussim et al. (2001), drawing from Jones (1997), Tajfel (1981), Turner (1987) and Goldhagen (1996), there are three layers to be considered in examining the relationship between social identity and conflict: individual, group and national. At the level of the individual is the strong bond of individuals to particular groups and their opposition to other groups; the group level refers to the supporting group (status quo) and the comparing and competing to other groups; at the national level broader conflicts occur such as ethnic group conflicts against government. With regard to the national level of conflict, Sen (2004) argues that identity really matters in the enactment of communal conflict. He provides examples of violence occurring in several countries such as Africa, India and Yugoslavia where communal violence often occurs in the pursuit of identity. Identity in this sense can be the principal orientation of people to confront others, as they perceive that others are different—others are the enemy.

The example of conflict in Belfast (White, 2001) also indicates that identity matters. The conflict between Protestants and Catholics in Belfast was arguably more about identity with each side perceiving it belonged to a particular affiliation and the other belonged to a different affiliation. Moreover, the compilation of articles edited by Ashmore et al. (2001) highlighted that conflict influenced social identity, and social identity could contribute to intergroup conflict.

### 2.4.6. The Relationship between Social Capital and Violent Behaviour

The approach derived from social capital theory is relevant to an understanding of school violence and any delinquent or criminal behaviour. Putnam (2001) argues that the implications of social capital could be associated with positive or negative aspects. Positive aspects can be mutual support, cooperation and trust, whilst negative aspects can be sectarianism, ethnocentrism and corruption. Essentially, Putnam's concept of social capital in regard to violent behaviour or conflict consists of "bridging" social

capital and "bonding" social capital (further discussed in the section on the dark side of social capital). In relation to delinquent behaviour, Putnam then argued that bonding social capital has a greater tendency to such kind of delinquent behaviour. This is due to its nature, which enables the formation of stronger ties within the group compared with bridging social capital. Moreover, Field (2008: 79) notes the negative outcomes of social capital or perverse social capital (De Souza Briggs, 1997), in that social capital can lead to achieving common goals of individuals or groups, many of which may be negative in their consequences for others, either directly (as for victims of organised crime) or indirectly (as illustrated by roles of informal norms and networks in underpinning institutional discrimination). However, before looking at the relationship between social capital and violent behaviour or crime, it is important to contextualise such discussion within a wider understanding of social capital and its definitions.

According to Field (2008: 14), social capital consists of networks that are a valuable asset: "networks provide a basis for social cohesion because they enable people to cooperate with one another – and not just with the people they know directly – for mutual advantages". The basic meaning of social capital is defined as "assets capable of generating future benefits for at least some individuals" (Lachman cited in (Ostrom and Ahn, 2010). Putnam (2000:18–19) defined social capital as "connections among individuals—social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them". With regard to the discussion of social organisation, Putnam centred on the value of social networks, reciprocity and the significance of circulation information. Moreover, Coleman (1990: 334) defined social capital as "the set of resources that inhere in family relations and in community social organisation and that are useful for the cognitive or social development of a child or young person".

However, De Souza Briggs (1997: 112) defined social capital more generally as "resources stored in human relationship, whether causal or close". He pointed out that there are levels of social capital: individuals, neighbourhood, city and society. When linked with individuals, social capital serves as the social support for day-to-day life and for improving life circumstances. Social capital benefits individuals by giving them opportunities to increase social and economic status through their further connections, financial loans, psychological supports and other resources (Bourdieu, 1983, Coleman, 1988). For economic benefits, the role of social capital is in terms of obtaining jobs and

gaining positions in the workplace or what is called "get on and get ahead", particularly for disadvantaged and vulnerable youth (Billett, 2014, Putnam, 2001). Drawing on Bourdieu's concept of social capital, Field (2008: 19) illustrates the reciprocal relationship between social, cultural or financial capital in terms of professional membership such as lawyers or doctors who use social capital as "a capital of social connections, honourability and respectability to win the confidence of a clientele in high society, or even to make a career in politics". A concept of social capital centred on reciprocity is the crucial aspect of Putnam's social capital in that it is the expectation that anything done by individuals will be repaid in the future either by another individual or through group membership (Putnam, 2001).

As well as benefiting individuals, social capital is also used as an interventionist programme to reduce delinquent behaviour among youth. Recent research has highlighted that social capital can inhibit delinquent behaviour (Dufur et al., 2015). The authors highlighted that the role of family and school social capital consistently supports previous research that violent behaviour can be minimised by creating a healthy environment of interaction within the family and school. Within the family, social capital can be induced through the quality of interactions between parents and children, whilst within the school, healthy interactions between students, teachers, and staff enable social capital to be promoted, all of which eventually inhibits delinquent behaviour. Putnam (2001: 308) claimed that, based on the social capital index, "states with more social capital have proportionately fewer murders". He then concluded from the previous study that: "higher levels of social capital, all else being equal, translate into lower levels of crime" (p. 308).

In addition, with regard to academic achievement, Coleman (1997), for example, has highlighted that social capital—the relationship between family, school and stakeholders— contributes to the academic success of students. He illustrated that a Catholic school is higher in school output compared with state schools in the Chicago area. Coleman (1997) has argued that the social capital that is constructed by the family and school was able to decrease the drop out rates and enhance students' academic achievements. Family social capital refers to the quality of relationship or interactions between parents and their children (Coleman, 1988). This quality of interaction is often commonly marked by the quantity of interactions between parents and children. The

study highlights that positive interactions between parents and children help reduce the school dropout rate (Teachman et al., 1996) and inhibit delinquent behaviour (Hoeve et al., 2012). The primarily reason for this notion is that parents spend more time paying attention to their children's development, providing intense guiding and monitoring, and, if necessary, making direct interventions. The relationship between parents and children and the family norms are key to the success of child development. Coleman (1990), for example, illustrated that raising children by the two biological parents and single biological parent could have different results in term of social capital in that the two biological parents have more social resources than the single biological parent (Putnam 2000). Other research (Portes, 2000) has consistently supported the notion that family social capital plays a crucial role in the students' academic achievement. In his study, he used three parameters—the presence of biological parents, parental involvement in school, the closure of parental networks—to recognise the effects of (family) social capital on student achievement. He revealed that the students who had strong connection on the three parameters obtained higher test scores and grade-point averages than students who had a weaker connection. In school, the structural social resources for students including teacher–student, student–student and staff–student relationships can be significant aspects of the success of social-capital building. In addition,Voydanoff and Donnelly (1999) highlighted that students' academic achievement is associated with the degree of concern the teachers have for the students. The key concept of school capital is, therefore, teacher support. The previous study has consistently revealed that school social capital plays a crucial role in students' development among the impoverished (economically disadvantaged) (Coleman, 1988; Dufur et al., 2008; (Furstenberg Jr and Hughes, 1995). This section has illustrated the benefits of social capital, as has been argued also in the previous chapter. The following section discusses the perversity of social capital, particularly in regard to violent behaviour and crime.

### *The dark side of social capital*

Whilst social capital is mainly used to uncover positive encouragement of individuals and group identity, there have been few studies that address the dark side of social capital (Graef, 2010). Putnam (1993: 89–90) argues that instead of being the glue to

develop positive relationship through "the habits of cooperation, solidarity and public service", other aspects of social capital might also generate a dark or perverse side. Fukuyama (1995) demonstrates that social capital might induce negative outcomes such as hatred and violent behaviour (Glaeser et al., 1995). The explanation for this argument was that the stronger social interactions among criminals enabled them to exchange information and to know how to reduce the cost of crime (Glaeser et al., 2002). Moreover, Rubio (1997) argues that drug cartels, guerrilla groups and gangs generated perverse social capital that corrupted whole communities by providing youth with negative role models and by training them in the use of arms and violence.

However, Allen (2008: 173) argues that bonding and bridging capital are critical in enacting conflict and violent behaviour. She noted "when networks create boundaries, excluding some, and control network member actions, they can reinforce durable inequalities in societies, thus fuelling conflict". This is due to bonding— homogeneousness and exclusiveness create little space for others to be integrated. Exclusiveness, as Allen (2009) argued, is the cause of conflict. Moreover, strong bonds within the group can potentially deteriorate trust toward outsiders and, at worst, can generate intolerance, hatred and violence to out-groups (Fukuyama, 1997). He illustrated that organisations that are associated with crime and violence consistently show very high scores in variables to measure social capital. More specifically, Putnam (2001: 21–2) pointed out that "social capital can be directed towards malevolent and antisocial purposes", as he illustrated in the case of Timothy McVeight. It was through McVeight's network of friends, bound together by a norm of reciprocity, that he was able to bomb a federal building in Oklahoma City.

Putnam has, in fact, highlighted the distinction between bridging and bonding capital in that bonding capital encourages solidarity and exclusive identities and maintains homogeneity; while bridging capital tends to facilitate the formation of wider identities, bridging the varied social divisions between people. With regard to young people, Putnam (2001) argued that that they needed to extend to wider networks to get the benefits from it. However, bridging capital for youth has been criticised for not always generating positive outcomes, particularly for youth living in deprived areas (Franklin, 2007).

In relation to school violence, the concept of bonding and bridging social capital (Putnam, 2000) can be associated with the notion of inclusion and exclusion. Putnam (2000: 23) noted that building strong in-group loyalty might also create strong out-group antagonism. When the group has been indoctrinated with particular values, this could raise self-confidence, which can lead to seeing others as being different or to what is called "exclusion". In this sense, bonding and bridging are the negative aspect of social capital (Putnam, 2000). Moreover, Portes (2000) demonstrated that if social capital reinforced mutual cooperation for the benefit of members, it could then promote harmful as well as positive outcomes.

The study conducted by Unlu et al. (2014) about social capital and its impact on substance use (using the National Survey on Drug Use and Health 2007 in the US) revealed that social capital in terms of social networks significantly influences individuals to abuse substances. The research showed that if individuals had peers who abused substances, they would more likely use them, because in-group membership tended to produce cooperation, reciprocity and trust between members. Similarly, the study about social capital and regular alcohol use in Greece found that connections with friends, acquaintances and neighbourhoods who consume alcohol influenced youth to consume alcoho (Koutra et al., 2014).

A more recent study about violence and social capital in Beirut (El Hajj et al., 2011) showed that bonding capital in gangs positively related to violence among youth. Although the youth were not directly involved in fighting, when their peers, acquaintances and neighbourhood become involved in violence, they were likely to help their peers. The bonding they had with the gang, peers and the neighbourhood led them to become involved in violence. Moreover, the study about the relationship between social capital and adolescent violence, conducted by Wright and Fitzpatrick (2006), indicated that instead of reducing the amount of delinquent behaviour within the school, social capital also contributed to the enactment of violence, particularly in sports competitions. Although the reasons underpinning this argument were not included in their analysis, the authors speculated that bonding in a sporting group serves as a reason that competition can lead to violence.

However, instead of social capital generating conflict, conversely conflict can also generate social capital by generating strong bonds between the group members. Allen (2001) showed that conflict escalation and the resolution process in a local school in Nebraska generated increased social capital in the community. The increasing social capital in the community was due to the consequences of the collective actions. Moreover, Nan (2009) argued that exclusive networks, or what is referred to as bonding capital, could be the cause of conflict and were not well suited to conflict resolution, whilst inclusive networks or bridging capital could lead to conflict resolution. The argument underpinning this notion is that the values of respect for diversity, trust, relationship and dynamic interconnectedness can be built through inclusive networks, not exclusive networks.

## 2.5. **Summary**

This chapter provides the theoretical underpinning for the present study with regard to youth violence in general, and situates it within youth violence in Indonesia. The first section of this chapter has explored and highlighted the concept of youth from the Western viewpoint and linked it with the concept of youth in Indonesia. The linkage of the conceptual framework of youth is particularly pertinent to the theory of youth and school violence that is adopted in this study.

The second section of this chapter is an overview of some relevant theoretical frameworks in regard to the nature of violence. It begins with psychological and biological theories that are crucial in gaining an insight into youth violent behaviour from personal perspectives. Whilst providing some theoretical underpinning of youth violence from personal perspectives, the wider contexts that influence individuals to conduct violent acts should also be considered, and so the next section highlights the sociocultural aspects of delinquent behaviour, including the role of peers, schools and group membership.

The third section focuses on the effect of group or gang membership on the construction of youth identity and the social development of young people. In this section, the motivations of young people to join gangs are also highlighted and followed by contextual understanding of gangs in Indonesia, which is somewhat different from the concept of gangs in the West. This is important as the current study includes the term

"gang", which also refers to the batch name pertinent to the activities and characteristics of gangs.

The fourth section discusses the theory of masculinity and its relationship with violent behaviour. According to the theories of masculinity, Connell emphasises that masculinity is embedded within male characteristics and reflected through male activities. The theory of hegemonic masculinity is also used to capture the issues of power, dominance and subordinated masculinity.

The fifth section discusses the theory of identity and its relationship to conflict and violence. The theory of self-identity and social identity are crucial to explaining the underpinning motives for conflict and violence. This includes social categorisation theory, which provides a clear view as to why youth get involved in violence by considering the in-group love and out-group hate phenomenon.

To conclude, the theory of social capital is employed to examine the problem of violent behaviour. It highlights the benefits of social capital including the benefits for interventionist programmes designed to prevent violent behaviour. This section also discusses the dark side of social capital in which connection, trust and reciprocity are crucial contributors to violent behaviour.

# Chapter 3
# Research Methodology

## 3.1. Introduction

This section will cover the aims of the study and research questions, research design, research methods, research ethics and followed by reflection of pilot study interview.

## 3.2. Study Aims and Research Questions

This study is aimed at garnering an understanding of students' perspectives of school violence and examining cultural contexts that influence their perspectives. More specifically, this study is designed to answer the following questions:

1. What are students' perceptions of school violence?
2. How have their perceptions been influenced by the students' social practices and their day-to-day interactions?

In seeking the answers to these questions, this study is designed as an ethnographically informed case study as discussed in the following section.

## 3.3. Research Design

This study is designed as an ethnographically informed case study in the sense that it emphasises the meaning of school violence from individuals' viewpoints of the selected participants within a specific case study school in Jakarta, Indonesia.

A case study may be defined as the study of social phenomenon in natural settings, which aims at explaining and describing social processes, including interactions, perceptions and opinions of the people (Swanborn, 2010). Merriam (1988) argues that a specific phenomenon is not restricted to people but could be about a programme, an event, a process, an institution or social group. The focus of a case study, therefore, is centred on the individuals or groups—not the population. According to Creswell and Clark (2007: 73), a case study involves 'the study of an issue explored through one or more cases within a bounded system'. Since this study seeks to achieve an

understanding of students' perceptions of school violence in a specific school setting (SMA 1001), the case study is in line with this investigation. This study is also regarded as multi-layered in that it involves multiple cases of participants in one school setting, namely students and teachers.

In addition, this study adopts an ethnographic approach in an effort to understand students' behaviours and their social practices in the natural setting. Woods (1986: 4) illustrates that 'ethnography concerns with what people are, how they behave, how they interact together'. Moreover, Creswell (2007: 70) mentions that, 'ethnography is appropriate if the needs are to describe how a cultural group works and to explore the beliefs, language, behaviours and issues such as power, resistance, and dominance'. Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) argues that ethnography focuses on the study of people in a natural setting and attempts to find the meanings behind the actions of the people. Natural setting, in this sense, refers to the people's way of life in an everyday context or as undisturbed by the researcher (Hammersley and Atkinson, 2007). Moreover, Brewer (2000) suggests that ethnography studies people in a natural setting with the main aim of seeking to understand a way of life from what Malinowski calls 'the native's point of view' (Spradley, 1979);  the actors' point of view is considered the strength of ethnography (Goldthorpe, 2007).

Atkinson & Hammersley (2007: 3) identify features of the ethnography approach, as follows: 1) People's actions and accounts, which are studied in everyday contexts rather than under conditions created by the researchers; 2) the main features of data collection are relatively informal conversation and participant observation; 3) small-scale in order to achieve in-depth study; and 4) the analysis of data involving interpretation of the meanings, functions and consequences of human actions and institutional practices. In order to capture all these things in their natural settings, ethnography offers the opportunity to ensure direct participation in the field so as to achieve 'thick description' Geertz, cited in (Brewer, 2000) in a reasonable length of time (Woods, 1986).

There are several reasons as to why the ethnographic approach is relevant with this study. Through the application of the ethnographic approach, I was able to describe and explore students' behaviours and their social practices by conducting observation, interviews, group discussion and field notes pertaining to events within the field.

Conducting interviews allowed me to gain insight into the more immediate voice and engagement of the individuals in the study. It also enabled understanding of what the individuals actually feel so as to sense a particular event and construct and re-construct the meaning of their behaviour and actions. It implies that this study was to work with rather than work on individuals within the contexts. In this sense, the researchers provided a space for individuals to voice their views, aiming at discovering meaning rather than imposing meaning (Eckert, 1997). By so doing, the researchers were able to gain an understanding of participants' behaviours and voices. James and Prout (1997) suggest that the research on children and youth should consider an ethnographic approach in order to ensure a voice and greater involvement of their voices on the data.

To be able to discover meanings, the researchers should have access to the context of the study through observation and deep involvement in the day-to-day practices. This is because meaning can be understood from only the contexts or daily practices (Eckert, 1997). Being in the school for a reasonable length of time was about observing the context that could be used to understand the implicit and explicit meaning of certain actions and/or events in contextual culture. Observations within the school were carried out, and I ensured active participation and involvement with the students when they were hanging out around the school, participated with them when doing sports, got involved in their communication in the canteen and classroom, and even performed religious activities with them. These were efforts to present my study through an ethnographic approach.

## 3.4.    Selecting the Research Site and Subject of the Study

There are a number of considerations that need to be taken into account when choosing a research setting. Merriam (2002) demonstrates that selecting the setting for case study should be based on the interest of the researcher. She further argues that the site is not randomly assigned, but it has features that are selected purposefully by the researchers. The school was primarily selected based on practicality reasons; namely, accessibility. I obtained school access via a personal contact, enabling me to speak with the Headmaster, Deputy Headmaster, and the teachers. Having access to the research site plays a key part in conducting qualitative research; that is, finding people and places

that will allow us to study their lives, viewpoints and routines (Tracy, 2012). Although a personal contact provided access to the school, I was not familiar with its context or condition as it is located in Jakarta, far from where I live.

An additional factor influencing selection of the school as my research site was the literature I had read about youth violence in Indonesia, where I identified a gap in the research. Mostly, the research into youth violence is conducted in cities other than Jakarta. The problem of school violence is prevalent in Jakarta, however. In fact, it has been a serious concern for the Government for many years, evident in the appearance of school violence in national newspaper headlines and on national television. The school I chose to research is one that is often featured in mass media due to the problem of school violence.

Another important reason for my selection of the school, which will be referred to in the study as SMA 1001 for anonymity purposes, was based on historical and educational considerations. From a historical perspective, the school has long history of school violence. The merging of two schools (SMA 999 and 888, also anonymized) in 1982 to become SMA 1001, was, according to media reports, due to the difficulties of the local government from stopping these two schools from pursuing their continuous opposition and violence. Based on the information gathered, this school is the only school within the capital that was restructured and merged. The merger of the two schools becoming SMA 1001 is evidence that the school violence has been practiced by students for many years. In addition, the school, when considering its historical school violence, has received much reporting and media coverage, whether in national newspapers or on the television. When I tried to search Google with the keyword *perkelahian pelajar* or *tawuran pelajar SMA* 1001 or school violence of SMA 1001, there have been more than 75,000 links to the related news.

Interestingly, although SMA 1001 is notoriously known as the school that always gets involved in school violence, the school has been, and continues to be, one of the favourite schools in the capital. Based on the media report,[8] the school has even been nominated as the number one school in producing the most artists in Indonesia, and is well known for its government officials' children studying there. Whilst it is also

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[8] http://majalahouch.com/7-sma-penghasil-artis-paling-banyak-di-jakarta/

recognised that artists and government officials are mostly middle-class families, the students of SMA 1001 represent this view. Moreover, as a national news media reported,[9] approximately five favourite schools in Jakarta are detailed as proposing that the government charge its students to pay school fees, with SMA 1001 included at the news report. Moreover, in the news report, the Governor of Jakarta, Mr Basuki Purnama, acknowledged that SMA 1001 is an example of elite schools (many artists and rich people study there) that should charge its students. This means, implicitly, that, publicly, the school is recognised as one of the favourite schools in the capital.

In terms of academic achievements, based on the school data of 2006–2012 (Figure 0.2), more than 77% of average students were accepted at the most prominent universities in the country, such as UI, ITB UNPAD, and UGM. According to the QS university rank amongst Indonesian universities, state universities are dominated by positioning the top ten[10]. This indicates that, intellectually, the students are quite competitive in terms of securing their position for acceptance at the top universities. Acceptance at state universities also can be used as a parameter for students to have a reputation in academic achievement.

[9] http://ahok.org/berita/news/sekolah-negeri-elite-di-dki-boleh-tolak-bop-asal/
[10] (http://www.topuniversities.com/university-rankings/asian-university-rankings/2014#sorting=rank+region=+country=97+faculty=+stars=false+search).
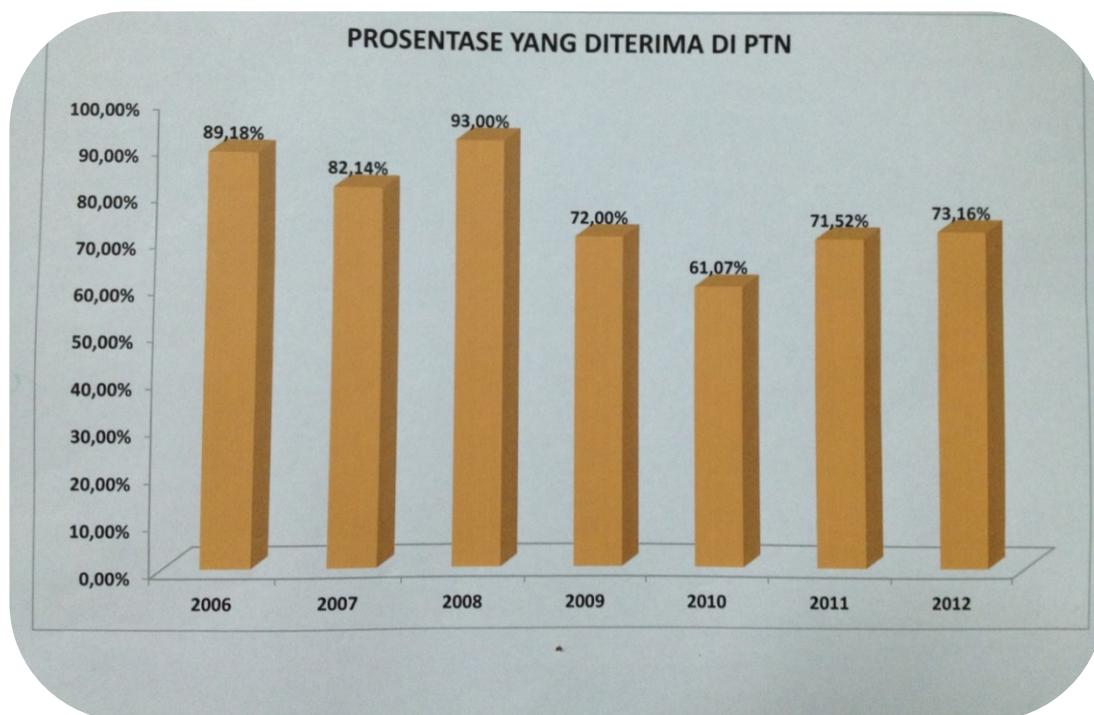
**Figure 0.1. The Percentages of Students Accepted at the State Universities in A Six-Year Period**

Whilst the newest figure and graphics, which show the breakdown of the students accepted at state universities between 2006 and 2012, have not yet been published, the following Figure 0.2 illustrates that the majority of the students are accepted at the top universities in the country.
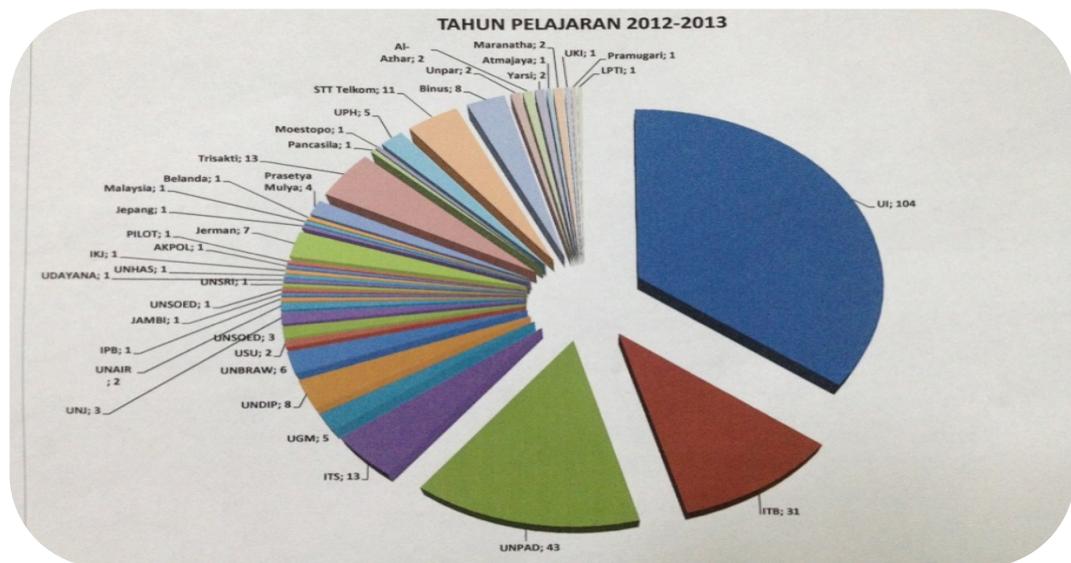


**Figure 0.2. The Distributions of Accepted Students at Universities Within The Country and Overseas**

I was curious to know why the favourite school in the capital could be actively involved in school violence, as I recognised that the schools on the outskirts generally are more actively engaged in school violence than inner-city schools. In addition, studies have repeatedly shown that poor academic performance can be an indication of delinquent behaviour (Agnich and Miyazaki, 2013).

SMA 1001, however, is not categorised as one of the features stated in previous studies, i.e. school of violence. The school reputation, students' socioeconomic background and students' academic capacity indicate that the school is the exception of school violence. Moreover, the school is one of the international schools[11], one of only 13 international schools in the capital city. The students of the international school mostly come from a

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[11] International school is the school which is designed by the former government to have international standard based on the Cambridge model.

middle economic status, and are accepted at the international school as they pay much more expensive fees than when studying at non-international standard schools.

Generally, another consideration in choosing senior high school was that the students at this level of study are recognised as being in a transition stage. Dating from the year 1903, after the Dutch colony, the stratification of the study was applied based on the colour and patterns of uniform, where a transition is indexed by changes in the colours and patterns of the school uniforms that are from white-blue (junior high school) to white-grey (senior high school), and also from shorts to trousers. These changes index the transformation of the identity of the students from children to young adult, as it is common in Indonesia that students wearing shorts as their uniform are viewed as children. This transformation arguably influences not only the way of thinking but also the behaviours closely related to who they are and what they do.

### 3.4.1. Strategies to get Access to the School

The first procedure before I was able to conduct the field research involved getting ethical approval from the University of Leeds and the official letter regarding my fieldwork at SMA 1001. Having obtained a formal letter from the Leeds University, my procedure was centred on getting a research permit from the headmaster. As I had already involved myself in intense communication through emails and via telephone in relation to my intentions to carry out a research at the school prior to my fieldwork, the process of obtaining the headmaster's approval was less problematic. Although I had initial contact with the vice headmaster, the formal procedure was needed to show that I was legal and formal. I needed to provide various documents, such as the letter from Leeds University, to state that I would conduct fieldwork at SMA 1001, research proposal, student ID as well as *KTP (Kartu Tanda Penduduk)* or resident identity card for the school document. Having fulfilled the formal procedure, I visited the headmaster's office to ask for a formal grant access for final approval. He was very welcoming and said he would be glad to provide any help. I then said that I would conduct observations, interviews with the students and teachers, and possibly access school data. He seemed quite understanding of what I would do during my fieldwork, as he was also experienced in fieldwork. Once he approved my fieldwork at the school, I then approached and made personal contact with several teachers (such as sports

teachers and counselling teachers) and security staff. Approaching and making personal contact with particular teachers and security staff has two purposes: to get preliminary information about the students' actions and 'key persons' within the school; and to get involved in any school activities under their authority. During my fieldwork I adopted the tradition of trainee teachers (see section 3.5.3)

Getting to know and accordingly maintain a good relationship with a sports teacher, for example, was important in relation to my role as a participant observer. With permission form a sports teacher, I could attend and participate in sports exercises, such as futsal and volleyball, with the students. By so doing, I could familiarise myself with the students and the students also would recognise me, such as when calling my name when playing futsal. However, maintaining a good relationship with teachers was sometimes difficult to achieve as I felt teachers often perceived outsiders (researchers) as a threat. They felt that my status as a PhD student studying at an overseas' university undermined their own status?. They were afraid if I monitored and evaluated their performance and then reported my findings to the headmaster or local government. Therefore, they always asked similar questions during the first couple of months of my fieldwork: 'What do you research? What have you written in your book? What data have you already obtained?' (see Section 3.6.3).

With the teachers asking similar questions, this could indicate that they were still curious and cautious as to whether or not I was hiding something from them or that there was a lack of trust between myself and the teachers. Recognising this situation, I started to involve them in my fieldwork, sought their opinions and recommendations about what should I do and how I should approach the students. By involving them in my fieldwork, the problem about feeling undermined was eliminated eventually. From then on, they did not ask the same questions, and I was able to garner important information regarding the practices within the school, including students' diaries and key persons (students) in their groups, as well distinctive terms used by students. Moreover, engaging in interactions with the teachers made me aware that there had been various opinions and perceptions amongst the teachers regarding the social practices adopted by the students: some tended to agree with what the students did whereas others strongly disagreed. Having established a good rapport with the teachers, the next step was to seek closer contact with the students.

### 3.4.2. Selecting Participants

Selecting participants to work with in voicing what they had experienced, seen and heard through personal interviews and focus group discussions was quite challenging, particularly when the topic is a sensitive issue, such as in the case of their 'hidden' practices (the hierarchical practices) and school violence. Initially, I planned on interviewing 4 students who have been experienced school violence; however, I was able to interview only two students. This also applied when my plan to conduct focus group discussions with a limited number of students (see Section 3.6 in more detail) was unable to be carried out. Thus, I sought to engage with a varied mix of students who have been experienced, witnessed or been affected by school violence and students' social practices (1st year students were excluded). I also interviewed three teachers in an effort to provide further contextualisation of students' perceptions of school violence. I selected four individual participants, mainly due to their role within the school (three were the leaders of different groups), and could be used as representation of different groups' views. Satria was the batch leader, Ahong was the leader of the police informant, and Ilham was the leader of religious group, whilst Mambo was amongst the most respected students within the batch. Selecting them as participants, practically, would reduce the harms potentially emerging from their participation in the study. The following table provides the profiles of the participants.

**Table 0.1 Profile of Participants**

| No | Respondents | Description |
|----|-------------|-------------|
| 1 | Satria (70 minutes) | Satria is a third-year student and was a batch leader and leader of school violence. He always stood on frontline when the students had conflicts with other schools. Satria is also a person who is responsible for the first year students in conducting indoctrination. |
| 2 | Mambo (25 minutes) | He is a third-year student and has been involved in school violence many times. He has just had a school punishment (is not allowed to go to school for 14 days) because of slapping first year students in indoctrination process. |
| 3 | Ahong (20 minutes) | Ahong is a Chinese second-year student chosen to be a student police (informer for the police). His major tasks are reporting whenever there are any students' violence to police and the teacher. To |

| | | distinguish with other students, a police officer gave him a badge written with 'school police' attached on his right shoulder. |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | Ilham (32 minutes) | Ilham is a serious and smart student in the third year who is actively involved in religious activities. He is also a leader of religious/Islamic school extracurricular, a typical student who stays away from the involvement of any students' social practices. |
| 5 | Pak Najib (52 minutes) | He is a former vice principal who was responsible for students' activities. He knows much about students' violence, as he was responsible if there was school violence. |
| 6 | Bu Lusi (59 minutes) | Bu Lusi is a current vice principal who is responsible for students' activities. She was appointed to be a vice principal the previous year. |
| 7 | Bu Umi (21 minutes) | She is a senior teacher and her daughter and son were students in the school. |
| 8 | Focus group I (26 minutes) | There are 4 (four) students in this focus group discussion, 3 girls and a boy. All except the boy are in the second year and have experienced the practices of seniority and indoctrination. |
| 9 | Focus group II (31 minutes) | In this focus group discussion, all students in the classroom attended but only 7 students were active in this focus group discussion. All are third year students majoring in social science. |
| 10 | Focus group III (29 minutes) | This focus group study III is the third year students majoring in social science. There were 20 students in the classroom who attended, but not all of them are active in discussion |
| 11 | Focus group IV (25 minutes) | This focus group discussion involved 4 girls, second-year students, recognised as troublemakers in the classroom. |
| 12 | Focus group V (27 minutes) | This focus group discussion has 20 participants, both boys and girls. However, not all participants are actively involved in this group discussion. The participants are second year students |

### 3.4.3. Negotiate Access to Participants

As we have seen, SMA 1001 is one of the favourite schools within the capital, and its students are quite homogenous in terms of their social background, mostly coming from middle-class families. Although they are quite homogenous in their socioeconomic background, they are diverse in terms of their attachment to particular groups/class

years and batches[12]. When I first entered the school, I was confused about the way they identify themselves in terms of their group affiliation, such as '*kami ini aud* (*dua*)'[13] or 'we are second year', '*mereka agit-agit* (*tiga*) *kam*i' or 'they are my third year (seniors)', '*kami adalah angkatan genap'* or 'we are even group'. For a newcomer like me, hearing the 'odd' word I have never heard before, such as *utas, aud* and *agit*, was quite confusing. Their existence (the categorising and group division) was real, and they were visible characterised through their segregation of places in the canteen and the way and style of the uniform they wear as well as the way they communicate with others were also easily spotted.

Having recognised that were different groups and different characteristics of the students within the school, the first thing to do when entering the field after a couple of months was to familiarise myself with the school's condition and situation, including the terms they used in their communication, such as the group's names and its members, and the roles of each member in the group. My intense engagement with the teachers and security staff was helpful in familiarising myself with all things within the school, including the participants identified for personal interviews and focus group discussions.

The strategy I used by empowering the key people (teachers) was quite effective. I mostly gained access to the participants due to their recommendations and the close interactions I had with them. I did not know why some teachers enjoyed close contact with the students but others tended to be students' 'enemy' (the students often mock and talk about particular teachers). I had been fortunate that most of the teachers I had made close connections with were respected by the students: for example, I gained access to the leader of the batch (Satria), who was from the recommendations of the teacher, who personally introduced me to him by saying *'bantu Pak Irfan, ya…'* or 'help Pak Irfan.' Satria just nodded his head and replied '*siap'* or 'yes' (Field note, July 18, 2013). Although the role of the teachers was quite significant during my orientation process and the process of the selection of participants, they did not interfere with the process of

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[12] Batch refers to academic year in which the students registered, either odd or even. For example, A is registed in 2000 so he is even batch, whilst B registered in 2001, he belongs to odd batch.

[13] There are three groups within the school which are divided based on school year: *utas (satu)* or first year, *aud (dua)* or second year and *agit tiga)* or third year.

the interviews itself. This is important since the interference of the teachers in the interviews would create bias pertinent to the research topic and questions in the interviews.

Another technique used for getting informants is through snowballing. When I had already gained a close link with Satria and had already interviewed him, I asked for his help to recommend other students who were willing to be my participants, either in personal interviews or through focus group discussions. Although he had the power to control the students as his role as batch leader, he seemed selective in recommending his peers to be my participants. His careful selection of his peers was due to him feeling inconvenient with his batch friends if they were to know that he had recommended others to be interviewed. As the leader of the batch, he should be able to ensure that the practices within the school are kept secret; he should be an exemplar for his friends. Thus, only one focus group discussion was successfully generated. The snowballing method to generate more participants seemed ineffective when considering that the study is concerned with sensitive issues and within the strict hierarchical environment.

## 3.5. Data Collection Methods

Gregory in Conteh (2005) suggest that various methods may be used in ethnographic research, such as participant observations, interviews and case studies. In this study, I employed several methods for data collection, namely interviews, focus group discussions, observations and documents, including diaries, images, Blogs, YouTube, Facebook and WhatsApp. The use of a diversity of research methods allowed me to triangulate the accuracy of the collected data and analytic statements. Moreover, the use of multiple methods in this study was aimed at collecting data from different sources. The data gathered from interviews, such as through the perspectives of school violence, was generated through interviews served to inform, extend and refine themes in other methods, such as through focus group discussions. In this sense, utilising multiple methods contributed to highlighting the contradictions, discrepancies and commonalities of the individual's perception of school violence from different sources. The data collected from interviews and focus group discussions then was contextualised through observation.

**The hints between theoretical framework, research questions, methodology**

The theoretical framework provides scientific justification of my research, how my research will differ from, or indeed be similar to previous studies. In this sense, the theoretical framework assists in identifying gaps in data or knowledge in the literature about youth violence in other parts of the world, in addition to how this might be relevant to the study of youth violence in an Indonesian context. It also demonstrates that the research is not conducted in isolation from previous research; rather, it is grounded in and based on existing scientific theory. With regard to research questions, the theoretical framework serves as a context in which to formulate and reformulate questions to be investigated. Conversely, research questions help to frame theories to be used in the research.

Furthermore, the theoretical framework and research questions inform the methodology selection: methods to be used in the research of methodology, and their relevance to the research strategy. Where the research questions are aimed at exploring students' perceptions of school violence, for example, the appropriate methods should be adopted. In this instance, the researcher should consider interviews, focus group discussions, and other methods, such as utilizing artefacts and diaries, in an endeavour to gain insight into students' subjective perceptions. In addition, as the theoretical framework includes a theory of youth violence, which explains that social and cultural factors play significant roles in influencing youth to become involved in school violence, the research methods used should be diverse. Not only should interviews, focus group discussions and collecting artefacts be considered, but also observation for data gathering will be important in gaining a better understanding of the research context.

More specifically, the ethnographic approach used in this research is informed by the theoretical framework and research questions, and vice versa. The basic research questions guide the selection of appropriate design and methods. Having selected the design and methods, the research questions are formulated more specifically before starting data collection. In this sense, research questions formulated and are reformulated throughout several stages: building the theoretical framework, deciding on research design and methods, and collecting data. Thus, the theoretical framework,

research questions, and methodology are intertwined; they shape, and are reshaped by one another.

### 3.5.1. Interviews

Interviews have been pervasively used in almost all social science research. According to Briggs (1986), approximately 90% of all social science investigations use interview data. Like observations, interviews in ethnographic study have long been employed to generate data, particularly information relating to the events and perspectives of participants (Hammersley & Atkinson, 2007), where their purpose is to 'obtain descriptions of the life world of the interviewee in order to interpret the meaning of the described phenomena' (Kvale and Brinkmann, 2009: 3). Madden (2010: 73) similarly states that, 'to ask ethnographic questions is to interrogate in a manner that draws out descriptive, structural and comparative responses from an interviewee'.

There were several procedures prior to completing the individuals' interviews: firstly, the identification of potential informants, where the process of the identification of informants, as aforementioned, involved collaboration with the teachers and security staff; secondly, one of the teachers carried out an initial introduction for students about my intentions to involve themselves in my research interviews. In asking for their volunteer participation, I provided and gave them a project information sheet (Appendix 1) to explain the aims of my study. I also told them that the information they would provide would be confidential; their names would be anonymised. After they agreed to take part, I asked for their availability to arrange a time for the interviews. Thirdly, prior to the interviews being conducted, I explained once again that the participation was highly voluntary, meaning they could withdraw from the interviews at any time and without providing a reason. I also explained that the interviews would be recorded and transcribed at the end of the interview. After they agreed to take part, I asked for their consent by signing the consent form (Appendix 2). At the end of the interviews, I gave them small gifts, such as pens and keyrings, to thank them for their participation in my research.

I interviewed 7 respondents, 4 students and 3 teachers using semi-structured interviews. When I conducted the individual interviews, I was reminded of the types of ethnographic interviews, as Spradley (1979:55), Burgess (1984a), cited in Hammersley

& Atkinson (2007), assert that ethnographic interviews are similar to friendly conversations, which they refer to as 'a speech event'. My reflection of the pilot interviews was very useful in guiding me to remain true to the ethnographic characteristic. However, when the situation and condition did not quite provide space to conduct an ideal informal interview, it became a dilemma (illustrated in the following paragraph). The main aim of the individual interviews in this study was centred on how the respondents made sense of themselves with regards school violence and any hierarchical practices within the school. This was followed by encouraging participants to talk about the practice of school violence and any hierarchical practices within the school, and how all these practices were practiced and perpetuated. Hammersley & Atkinson (2007: 117) suggest that the interviewer should not ask 'the same questions to each interviewee'. The argument underlying this proposition is that some themes in the research questions might be able to be covered in other interviews—contrasting and complementarily talking on the same theme and issue' (Angrosino, 2007: 39). Although I did not ask similar questions, when my questions about the school culture were asked, the participants always referred to the students' practices (school violence and the hierarchical practices, which include the segregation of school facilities, different styles, backwards languages, etc.) within the school. Thus, the individual interview data generally was about the perceptions of school violence and the types of hierarchical practices.

With regards to the interviews with students, instead of completing 8 individual interviews, as planned, I had only 4 respondents for interview. They came from slightly different affiliations: one of them was the leader of the batch, one was a school police student, one was the leader of religious extracurricular activities, and another was a member of the batch (see Table 3.1). There were a number of factors that meant the individuals' interviews were limited and varied in nature. Firstly, the topic of interviews pertained to sensitive issues, which I believe could potentially harm respondents (students). They were aligned with the doctrine of seniors, meaning they would not tell the hierarchical practices to anyone including the teachers, parents and probably outsiders. This made it difficult to find students who would voluntarily participate. Secondly, I tried to get respondents who could represent the diverse perspectives of the individuals within the school.

I conducted individuals interview either with students or with teachers within different places across the school. I carried out interviews with the students after school in the mosque and library. Initially, I conducted interviews in the counselling room, but recognising that the students (Ahong, lasted only in 20 minutes) did not tell me much during the interview, I decided to change the location to the mosque and library where relatively few people or teachers were seen after school. I assumed that the short interview with Ahong was due to his belief that his story could be heard by teachers outside the room. This could be seen, for example, when I tried to use 'why and how' questions; he only answered in very brief sentences. It became evident when completing the pilot interview (see Section 3.8.1.1) that the selection of location for conducting interviews was crucial to the success of achieving a friendly and informal interview; however, it was difficult to conduct interviews outside the school, and so they had to be carried out where there was some quiet. The students felt there was more freedom to voice their stories and views. With the interviews with the teachers, on the other hand, I conducted these in their room after school hours, where there were no other teachers. Interviewing teachers was relatively unproblematic with regard to their availability of time, place and topic. All interviews were digitally recorded on Sony Walkman and backed-up by mobile phone.

The language I used during the interviews was Bahasa Indonesia (Indonesian language). With regard to the interview with the students, I sometimes experienced difficulties in understanding the terms they used during the interviews. They often used youth language (slang) and backwards language (see section 6.2), with which I was not very familiar. I did not interrupt them by asking them to repeat or explain the terms, however, but sometimes I just showed the expression that I did not know what they meant. Recognising that I did not understand the terms, they sometimes explained them, but mostly they continued speaking. After the interviews, I often asked them about the meaning of the terms they used during the interviews and wrote the definitions in my field notes. Later, owing to my intense interactions with the students and teachers, I got used to using their language in daily communications within the school; this was the process of my attempts to be an insider and accordingly achieve thick description in ethnography, making the strange familiar. (see appendix 2 for interview schedule)

### 3.5.2. Focus Group Discussions

The similar procedures of individuals' interviews were also implemented when I conducted focus group discussions. I conducted 5 focus group discussions; three focus group discussions were from second-year students and 2 others were from the third-year students; however, they were from different classes. The use of focus group discussions in this study was aimed at aiding individuals' interviews in the sense that focus group discussions that involved a number of students would help to balance out the deficiencies of information generated from the interviews. Moreover, by conducting focus group discussions, it was useful to identify the similarities and differences in participants' perceptions through their argumentation and disagreement about particular topics (school violence) across gender during discussion. Krueger and Casey (2000) argue that focus groups aid in generating viewpoints and opinions across a group. According to Puchta and Potter (2004) and Bloor (2001), focus groups often are used as a complementary to other research methods, such as interviews.

I conducted focus group discussions in several places within the school during school hours; in the classroom, library and counselling rooms in the counselling office. I conducted three focus groups in the classrooms, which involved a number of participants (see Table 3.1), whilst two others were carried out in the library and counselling room, respectively. There were several reasons behind why I conducted FGDs involving a number of students. Firstly, as the topic was about hierarchical practices, including school violence, and these were secret code, the subjects were afraid to tell the truth; this was due to the threats and the commitment of them not to discuss the secret practices to anyone, including teachers, parents and outsiders. For example, when I conducted Focus Group Discussion 3 in the library, 5 participants (girls) always said, *sudah ya pak*? (Is enough, Sir, isn't it?) *Eh si itu datang* (He is coming) *Sudah ya pak* (Is it enough, Sir?), many times. I recognised that they were afraid when the boy approached them. This situation made it difficult for me to find my initial plans of employing 4–6 volunteers to participate in focus group discussions. Secondly, it was the consequences of conducting focus group discussion in school hours in the classroom. I found it difficult to arrange the agreed times for focus groups after school as the students generally left school directly after class finished. They seemed

unhappy when I asked for a few more minutes. I realised that asking them to stay in the classroom could disrupt their time—time for having meals, breaks and additional lessons. Another problem when conducting the focus group discussions after school were owing to the availability of the rooms within the school. The rooms soon could be cleaned after the school bell had rung and the school was then locked. When it was not possible to conduct focus group discussions after school hours, I decided (also from the input of teachers) to arrange focus group discussions in school hours. This sometimes proved to be a dilemma as my being there ideally would not disrupt the nature of the classroom activities. However, my intention to conduct focus groups in the classroom was perceived positively by other teachers and the headmaster. They were happy to provide me with access to conduct interviews and any other research activities in the classroom as it would help the students to stay in the classroom (almost every day several classrooms were unattended by teachers). The consequences of conducting focus group discussions in school hours in the classroom, was that many students would come and participate in the discussion, which would make more difficult for me to recognise whose voices were speaking when I transcribed the discussions. To anticipate this condition, I made a note of who spoke and where he/she sat; near or far from the recorder. By doing this, it helped me to recognise the voice.

However, involving a large number of participants and mixed-gender focus group discussions was also very useful in terms of generating active discussion and yielding much information from their active participation. For example, when I conducted FGD 3, after, I asked the question, 'What do you think about *tawuran* (fighting)?' there was a pause for a couple of secondsbefore a girl started to comment: 'from boys, boys first', followed by another voice, 'Meng (the name of the boy), you need to speak', and then followed by other girls' voices 'Komeng first'. When no-one spoke for another minute, the girls started to speak. She asserted that 'we girls don't know about fighting, you boys get involved in fighting'. After being provoked by the girl's statement, the boys replied by saying *'bo'ong, halah tahu'* or 'you lie, you know about it'*,* boys started to speak and eventually they enthusiastically discussed school violence. In this sense, there should be a 'provocateur' when engaging discussion with boys and the involvement of the girls in the discussion as a provocateur could invite boys to speak. When I asked them about this situation at the end of the discussion, they said that there was no reason

to discuss anything if all members of the group (boys) already know the information and probably share similar thoughts. 'There is no new information to tell', they said (field note, September 15, 2013). Moreover, the involvement of mixed genders in discussion also was effective in enacting debates about their perspectives of school violence; this automatically yielded varied perspectives from the participants.

To help the participants stay focused on the topic, I prepared various themes or guidelines that are found to be in line with the research questions. These prepared themes serve as a direction for getting the intended data from the interview. Some example themes could be:

- The students' perceptions of school violence
- The relationships between school violence and masculinity
- The importance of school violence in the construction of identity
- The students' hierarchical practices and its meaning.

The main themes used for discussion were mostly generated from the interviews performed prior to the focus group discussions. In addition, the probing of more specific discussions around the themes, such as the positive aspects of getting involved in school violence and the underlying motive for getting involved in school violence, also were used in different focus group discussions.

Audio-recording and video recording were used during the focus group discussion. However, when the participants were unwilling to be video-recorded, I utilised only audio recording. I placed my audio recording in front of the participants' seats to capture voices from different participants in different seats. I also acted as a moderator to manage and direct the discussion without necessarily forcing the participants to speak. At the end of the focus group interviews, I then read the summary of the discussion and asked them to clarify the information if it was not what they had said. This was followed by closing and thank them for their time.

### 3.5.3. Participant Observation

The key feature of the ethnographic approach is participant observation. To conduct participant observation, I need to focus on the context of physical settings (classroom, canteen, sports halls, mosque, toilets, school health centre, the place for hanging out), as

well as participants' behaviours, activities and interactions. Shkedi (2005) demonstrates that ethnography means learning from people, thus suggesting that the researchers are required to have the ability to understand the implicit and explicit meaning of actions and events within the context culture. This implies that, when conducting my observations, I not only need to observe students' behaviours but also to immerse myself with them, which enables me to be more reflective.

Immersion is the key in ethnographic research method, and the efforts I had taken to immerse myself with the school staff and the students were my attempts at getting closer to them, such as through sharing my thoughts and experiences in return for what they had shared with me. However, as aforementioned in the previous section, they always asked similar (see Section 3.4.2) questions during my initial fieldwork. Although these were simple questions, it was quite challenging to answer. I need to be more diplomatic sometimes whilst still giving honest answers in an attempt to answer the questions. I had two answers, one for the teachers and staff and one for the students. For the teachers and staff, I advised that my research is important in terms of helping resolve the school's problems and school violence. For the students, I generally answered that I need to know about some of the youth phenomena within the school and garner their perspectives on the phenomena, explaining that their voices and thoughts are crucial to the study. One important point to note from my observation was that, as I got closer to the students, they often expected me to act as a mediator. This was evident during my focus group discussions, where the students asked me to tell teachers and outsiders, through my reports or articles in newspapers and other online media, that they need to hear students' voices and that the hierarchical practices are not always associated with negative aspects; many positive aspects were apparent as a result of their involvement in hierarchical practices. When the students expected me to act as mediator to voice their views, it indicated that trust had been established.

Regarding what I did and where I stayed during school hours, I adopted the tradition of trainee teachers in Indonesian schools, adopting substitution lessons (further discuss in section 'role and identity as a researcher' in the following). I taught if the classroom was unattended by teachers; this was a way for me to get to know the students, such as through at least saying hello and knowing their names, which was very important. I also stayed in the teachers' office when I did not have any teaching scheduled, which

allowed me to do administration work, such as helping teachers to check students' work, and helping teachers and the school to prepare things in relation to the teaching and learning process. However, I did not follow this tradition in full as I was not a real teacher trainee; I was more flexible in terms of joining sport lessons, engaging in communication with the students in the canteen and sometimes going around at break time. Adopting the role as a trainee teacher provided me with more flexibility to immerse myself with the students, whether in the classroom or out of the classroom; I could stand in front of the class to teach but at the same time I also could involve myself with them out of the classroom, without making them feel worried about any judgments being passed on their behaviour, such as being troublesome. My flexibility also allowed me to engage in interactions with teachers and other staff within the school; sometimes, I was in the counselling office for a couple of days and then moved to the teachers' room, library, health centre, canteen, etc. Moving from one place to another place and engaging with various people provided me with access to gain information from different sources.

In addition, as mentioned earlier, I moved from one place to another place in different times, from the place that enabled me to engage in interactions with the teachers to the places where only students were there; however, I needed to specify different places and particular times to observe. As has been indicated by Flaherty (2001) and Dwyer et al. (1998) in their research, the time before and after school hours and the changing time of activities and school hours, as well as in different locations, such as in hallways, parking lots and at bus stops, are the frequent places violence to happen. Therefore, I spent most of my time with the students in the canteen at break times, joined sport lessons with a selected class, and sometimes went around behind the classrooms. Outside of school, on the other hand, I hung around in a particular place, such as at a food stall and in front of shops near the school where I could observe students' behaviours. Sometimes, I also got involved with students during their hang outs around the school. All events, actions, sites and daily practices were written in my field note's book on one side of the page, with extra information on the other. However, "Field notes are always selective… and need to pay closely attention to what to write down, how to write it down, and when to write it down" (Atkinson and Hammersley, 2007: 142). Considering the appropriate time to write down field notes, it should be noted that I did not immediately record

moments as they occurred during my participant observation; rather, I recorded them at a later time, away from the group. This decision was influenced by the settings, and the role I assumed during my fieldwork. My interactions with the students occurred in informal settings, where we gathered to talk in designated places (see ... I did not carry my notebooks or papers, as this might disrupt my natural participation with them; however, I was able to jot brief notes on my mobile phone, which I started to develop after leaving them, including my reflections on particular findings or incidents.

Although I did not carry my notebooks and papers during informal sessions with participants, I often brought them when I conducted interviews, focus group discussions, and particularly when I was in the canteen during break time. I overtly made field notes during interviews and focus group discussions, as in these data collection settings the participants had been made aware that their interactions, ideas, arguments, and conversations were being recorded. I also often made notes during observations in the canteen. As it was quite noisy and busy during break times, the students took little interest in my activity, including note taking. This may also be due to the fact that students had become accustomed to seeing me in the canteen; therefore, they did not focus on what I was doing there.

Some open field notes, however, were taken at the initial stage of my fieldwork in order to build trust by writing notes in front of the teachers and, at times, in front of students. As mentioned in the previous section, during the initial stages of the fieldwork, teachers, security staff, and students often asked me about the notes I was writing. Once students and teachers were quite familiar with my taking field notes, I started to write closed field notes.

Two kinds of materials were recorded in the field notes: descriptive and reflective. Descriptive materials include observations on the settings, actions and conversations observed during my natural interactions, interviews, and focus group discussions, while reflective materials record feelings, thoughts and ideas concerning the descriptive notes taken. Reflective notes were placed together with the respective descriptive field notes.

Although I spent 7 months in the field work, practically, I only had 4 months in the school. The school holiday, national examinations and new academic year meant there were constraints on my fieldwork. When I came to the school in early April 2013, the

third-year students were having national examination for three weeks. As this was the national examination, the school was very busy in preparing the annual event, which resulted in strict access to the school. This caused the problem that I could not start my observations during that month. This went on until the end of April. However, when I started to observe the students in the following month, the third-year students did not come to school as they had completed their examinations; therefore, there were only two class years in the school. This situation meant that, when the observations centred on considering the dynamics of the students' movements, behaviours and other activities within the school involving all class years, this was not effective or possible. Moreover, there seemed to be dramatic changes with regards the students' behaviours and activities when the third-year students did not attend school. The situation was quieter, and the school activities seemed unable to make the students busier. When I contrasted the situation after the new academic year started, there were significant differences: students, particularly the new third-year students, were far busier. I realised the noted changes of the school situation before and after new students started their school was when I had completed my data analysis. This was mainly due to the hierarchical practices. The introduction, socialisation and indoctrination process had just begun. I also was aware that, since the new students had started their school, many new third-year students were caught getting involved in violent behaviours with other students, including my interview participants. Knowing particular actions—why the students acted at particular times and why they acted in this way and not in that way— was also part of my research journey, centred on discovering meaning or attempting to achieve rich descriptions in ethnography research.

What I learnt from my fieldwork within the school was that, when we are going to conduct observations, we should direct serious consideration to the school's academic calendar. This is important if the focus study is concerned with examining dynamic behaviours amongst students. We need to be aware that the school holidays and national examinations (in my context) could potentially constrain the comprehensive data or information to be gathered during the fieldwork if the fieldwork was only a couple of months. Fortunately, my fieldwork was more than 6 months to enable comparison, particularly in terms of the dynamic behaviours of the students before and after first-year students started their school.

In addition, spending more than 6 months within the field enabled me to form friendships with teachers, security staff, canteen sellers, students and alumnae. Having informal discussions, conversations and engagement in various activities, including hanging out and doing sports, helped to contextualise and inform some of the data, particularly when I conducted the data analysis. The friendships established could be a difficult factor in terms of leaving the site. Hammesley & Atkinson (2006) reminds us about the planned exit from the field, particularly for ethnographers. I planned one week prior to end my fieldwork, which would provide me time to prepare lunch meals to thank all school personnel and to provide the students with gifts as thanks for their assistance and participation. It was also agreed that the results of my fieldwork would be sent to the school as a document.

**Role and Identity as a researcher**

During the fieldwork, my role and identity within the research context shifted from that of trainee teacher, to education consultant, to interviewer and observer.

As mentioned above, in the early stages of my fieldwork, I introduced myself as a trainee teacher. Trainee teacher, in the Indonesian context, as well as in other part of the world, is a term denoting that individuals are in need of more teaching practice, training, and input from other teachers. In the role of trainee teacher, I was able to approach and engage in interactions with teachers and students in the classroom, as trainee teachers are often provided with their own slots to teach in the classroom, or asked to substitute absent teachers. Assuming the role of trainee teacher within the research site was quite reasonable, since the school has a long history of collaboration with several universities, and has often provided opportunities for teacher training and practice.

Although my official role was as a trainee teacher, teachers often told the students that I am a PhD student studying at a university in the UK; therefore, my identity as a PhD student was overtly revealed. Pertaining to the social category of PhD student also meant that teachers and students regarded me as more knowledgeable, particularly related to English language and education. This status enabled me to negotiate a position and develop reciprocity, where teachers and students were offered English language training in conversation skills and IELTS practice, and provided with information about the education system in the UK. Most teachers were interested in

improving their English skills as they are expected to teach subjects in English, and the students were eager to learn about studying at universities in the UK. Meanwhile, I was interested in learning about school traditions, students' activities. Considering these two factors, reciprocity would likely be achieved. From that time, students and teachers established my new position as an 'education consultant'.

One of the advantages of being regarded as an 'education consultant' was the respect behaviour of both students and teachers towards me. Although this role granted more intimate access to students and teachers, especially those eager to learn about English conversation, IELTS exams, and the education system in the UK through the programmes I offered, it could also be interpreted as having its scope limited to those matters related to my research objectives. Although I gained closer access to students in the role of an 'education consultant', particular students, who were often recognised as the troublemakers, kept themselves at a distance. This is perhaps due to the fact that troublesome students often position themselves in opposition to the students who are most concerned with academic achievement.

Over time, however, several teachers, who are often perceived by the students as insiders (see chapter 3.4.3), introduced me to students in the classrooms where I conducted research on school traditions. Teachers often explicitly told students that my research was about school traditions, including the student styles, and their involvement in school violence. The justification for revealing my identity as a researcher and participant observer was so that I was able to conduct interviews, observations, and focus group discussions. To conduct all of these activities, student participation and involvement was necessary. In this regard, I ensured that students were positioned as individuals whose views deserved respect and attention, their voices being vital components of my research. Meanwhile, I positioned myself as a listener, and as a person with little experience of the school context, including its traditions, routines, and other social practices. My new identity as a researcher, having been introduced as such by the teachers, facilitated access to the troublemakers. It also enabled me to become more involved in many of the students' activities, particularly extra-curricular activities taking place after school. Through this involvement, I was able to gain students' trust, which was evident in the information that students revealed to me, as a mediator in focus group discussions and as an interviewer. They were willing to voice their views

on indoctrination and school violence to outsiders (see chapter 3.5.3), and therefore my insider identity became clear from that time forward.

Identity is relational, however, and we are unable to control how others perceive our participation (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996). The inherent imbalance of power in the relationship between me, as an adult researcher, and a young person being researched may also be apparent. My personality, appearance, cultural background and personal style, therefore, played an important role in reduce any perceived power imbalance that might arise between the students and myself. Moreover, efforts were made to adopt a friendly persona: greeting students, making eye contact, watching and listening, and avoiding asking too many questions at the initial stage. I also conveyed enthusiasm, and an eagerness to engage in interactions with other students, while remaining alert and interested in events occurring within the research context. In doing so, I was able to establish a good degree of acceptance within the school. Furthermore, after learning about students' extra-curricular activities, I began to participate in as many as possible, including playing futsal twice a week, spending time with students from different years at particular places, and participating in religious activities.

Through the multiple roles and identities I assumed, as trainee teacher, education consultant and researcher, my presence became familiar to the students. In particular, my identity as a researcher was explicitly stated when conducting interviews and focus group discussions. The shifting and development of my roles and identities, from trainee teacher to education consultant, a complete observer in both, to the subsequent role of researcher, indicates the dynamic nature of my self-presentation within the research context. This accords with Walsh's (2004) suggestion that flexibility is a necessary part of one's role in ethnographic research. Moreover, Walford (1987), cited by Hopwood (2007), argued that location, time, and social setting influenced the multiple roles he adopted during his ethnographic fieldwork in a school. It is clear that flexibility in role and identity are advantageous in conducting ethnographic research, particularly in gaining insight into people's dynamic behaviours (Ng, 2011; Chege, 2015).

### 3.5.4. Artefacts and documents

Data collection, where data had been gathered through interviews, focus group discussions and observations, were supplemented through the use of artefacts and documents, including personal documents (diary), school documents, images, Blog, YouTube and WhatsApp. Woods (1986: 98) points out that personal documents provide a wealth of information about personal views and attitudes with regards people's backgrounds and experiences. Creswell (1998) asserts that there are several ways of utilising documents as a useful way of gathering data, namely by keeping a journal during the research study, collecting personal letters from participants, analysing public documents (archival material, official memos) and examining autobiographies and biographies.

With regard to the students' diary, I found out about these from the teacher with whom I engaged in informal conversation during breaktime in the teachers' office. She told me that, if I wanted to know more about students' experiences and perceptions about the hierarchical practices, the students' diaries in the library would be worth reading. According to this teacher, it was the assignment of the *Bahasa Indonesia* teacher as a way of providing students with writing skills and as an effort on the behalf of the school, to empower students to help make the library attractive through their own contributions. Moreover, by writing a diary and stored it at the library, the juniors could read and know the story of their seniors and the reality condition of the school.

I read more than 60 student diaries available in the library, but only 15 were selected for my review. I chose them through the selection process, which I considered would correspond with my research; otherwise, they were selected based on my self-criteria; telling their experiences and perspectives about school violence and other practices with the school atmosphere.

Other documents collected during my fieldwork was the school data (figures, school regulation, school booklet and teachers' handbooks), which I obtained from the counselling office and from teachers. Moreover, I also collected data from Blackberry messenger, which allowed me to obtain evidence of the students' communication. The Alumnae's blogs and YouTube also were employed as sources of data. The documents and artefacts utilised were crucial since the data from the interviews and focus group

discussions might be 'exaggerated' by the students. Through including these sources in the data analysis, it is hoped that the description of my findings would be stronger and would provide more nuanced arguments. This is what Langmann and Pick (2014) argue in their research: photographs have value in terms of enabling the authenticity, integrity and validity, as well as objectivity, of the study to be emphasised (Prosser and Warburton, 1999). YouTube and images, for example, would provide the real insight and details of situational context and the ambience surrounding the events, as can be seen in Chapter.5.3, where students carried different weapons based on the role in fighting. It also enabled the situation in fighting to be portrayed, as illustrated by participants in the interviews and group discussions. Moreover, it also confirmed the role of alumnae in school violence the participants often discussed in interviews and group discussions. How the alumnae scold, kick, push and berate their juniors and criticise them due to losing in fights was evident. In this sense, the students and teachers' stories about the role of alumnae in contributing to and pushing the students to get involved in school violence can be contrasted through the use of YouTube.

**Handling social media data**

Before accessing Blackberry Messenger, blogs, Facebook and YouTube entries related to the practice of school violence, indoctrination, rituals of passing on school gangs' names, and hierarchical practices, I searched for information in online newspapers. Once trust had been established between the study participants and myself, I asked them for information about 'hidden practices', which may not necessarily be recorded in student and teacher stories. They told me that YouTube, blogs, and Blackberry Messenger might be the best sources if I wanted a more comprehensive and reliable insight into the hidden practices. The students then provided me with key words to search on YouTube and blogs. Moreover, they also gave me key words to search on Twitter in connection with school fighting; for example, hate speech and determining sites where the fighting takes place. They were uncertain, however, whether I would be able to locate the link, as they said the name is often changed on Twitter. This is because the information is considered sensitive, in the sense that police officers are often able to detect tweets about when and where school fighting will occur.

Besides recommending YouTube and blogs as sites where information about hidden practices could be found, the students also provided evidence of hierarchical practices within gangs, in term of the language used between seniors and juniors on their Blackberry Messengers. They often reminded me, however, not to disclose the kind of information I had received to their seniors, in particular regarding communication via Blackberry Messenger, as they feared being bullied by their seniors.

Although social media is open access, it was necessary to proceed with care where safety and respondents' anonymity were concerned. Moreover, as students reminded me that Twitter is often monitored by police officers, care was also needed in accessing this online forum. For these reasons, only data from YouTube, blogs, and Blackberry Messenger, are included in the study.

With regard to the data from YouTube, blogs, and Blackberry Messenger, I have ensured that names and phone numbers associated with individuals appearing on Blackberry Messenger, and any signs appearing on images, have been obscured. Handling data will be discussed in further detail in relation to ethics, in chapter 3.7.

## 3.6. Data Analysis

### 3.6.1. Thematic Analysis

The data in this study were analysed by adopting thematic analysis. The data went through several steps of analysis; principally, through three steps, namely familiarising oneself with the data, generating initial codes and searching for themes (Braun and Clarke (2006).

The first step was to familiarise myself with the data. The step of familiarising myself with the data started when conducting the transcribing process. The interviews and focus group discussions were listened to several times during the transcription process in order to ascertain that all information in the data were accurate and transcribed clearly. Moreover, I transcribed all the data by myself as an attempt at immersing myself in the data (Braun & Clark, 2006), ensuring close contact and familiarising myself with the data. All verbal utterances in the data were transcribed verbatim. As the data was in Bahasa Indonesian, the transcription also was made in the original language. At the end of the transcription, all data were translated into English and put it together

in columns (see figure 3.3). The translated data was important in terms of helping me to communicate with my supervisors with regards the coding process and development of themes. Through the process of transcribing and translating from the original language into English, I went through the first phase of familiarising the data.

The second phase was generating initial code. Having been transcribed and translated, the data generated from the interviews and focus group discussions were coded. A manual coding technique was used, highlighting the sentences indicating potential issues in the transcribed data and making notes. Numbers were utilised in order to identify issues in the transcribed data: for example, when I seek an issue pertaining to the students' perceptions of school violence, I highlighted the sentences that indicate participants' views and accordingly made a note by using short phrases and sentences, and accordingly numbering them. The data-coding process mainly was driven by the research questions. I used number 1 (one) to indicate students' perspectives of violence, number 2 (two) to highlight the factors contributing to the perpetuation of school violence and number 3 (three) to indicate hierarchical practices. This also applies to the data generated from the students' diaries, highlighting the sentences and making notes. In order to generate initial code, three columns in the transcription data were used: at the left side was the original transcription of the interviews and focus group discussions in the original language (Bahasa Indonesian); in the middle column was the translation of the original transcription; at the right column was the initial notes (see Figure 0.3).

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 277 | tangan kosong tiba-tiba menjadi ada | till at the end there was some hatred raised | |
| 278 | senjata untuk saling menakuti, untuk | from generation to generation which was | The relationsip between Indoctrination |
| 279 | saling menyerang, saling menyakiti | inserted with personal assumptions and was | and school violence (2) |
| 280 | hingga pada akhirnya timbulllah suatu | then descended into the juniors as suggestions. | |
| 281 | kebencian yang turun temurun yang | Suggestions that came from the doctrines from | |
| 282 | dimana masuk berdasarkan asumsi | their seniors were then became reasons to start | |
| 283 | pribadi dan berdasarkan untuk | student-brawls. *At the beginning was a place to* | |
| 284 | kebawahnya adalah dengan sugesti. | *compete in physical power…looking for* | |
| 285 | Sugesti yang melalui doktrin dari | *acknowledgement of existence. You knew it by* | |
| 286 | senior-senior itu dia bermulanya | *yourself, Sir that teenagers always want to have* | Conflict means to them (1) |
| 287 | tawuran dari situ. *Awalnya karena* | *their names acknowldged always want them to* | |
| 288 | *pingin adu kekuatan ya..ingin cari* | *be looked high by others.* That included me | |
| 289 | *exist. Bapak tahu sendiri karena anak* | when I was involved in student-brawls. Wwhen | |
| 290 | *selalu inginnamanya dipandang selalu* | I entered this school, I knew nothing. I | Environment plays role on violence and |
| 291 | *pingin dipandang. Termasuk saya dulu* | graduated from SMP 41 which was well-known | students' involvement (2) |
| 292 | *waktu saya tawuran, saya masuk sini* | as a (academically) reputable school among | |
| 293 | *ga tahu apa-apa an. Masuk sini saya* | junior high schools, one of the favourites. But | |
| 294 | *dari SMP 56 yang dimana adalah* | then I got trapped in this environment. | |
| 295 | *sekolah belajar termasuk sekolah* | | |
| 296 | *unggulan untuk seukuran SMP, nah* | | |
| 297 | *tetapi saya tiba-tiba terperangkap di* | | |
| 298 | *lingkungan ini.* | | |
| 299 | | | |
| 300 | Kok bisa ya. Begitu kuatnya pengaruh | How could that be? Was the influence from the | |
| 301 | lingkungan? | environment that strong? | |
| 302 | | | |
| 303 | *Dari senior-seniornya itu sendiri* | *From the seniors themselves, they designed that* | The role of seniors on the school |
| 304 | *mendesain untuk itu terhadap* | *for their juniors and it was inherited from* | violence (2) |
| 305 | *juniornya dan itu turun-temurun.* | *generations. Even-numbered generations were* | |
| 306 | *Angkatan genap terkenal dengan* | *famous with their being sadistic and my* | |

**Figure 0.3 The Manual Coding**

Having completed the second phase, I continued to conduct the third phase, which was centred on searching for themes. This analysis step primarily focused on collating a number of codes generated from the second phase, aiming at identifying and forming overarching themes (Braun & Clark, 2006). Mind-maps (see Figure 0.4) were employed as the personal reason in collating codes. Having been coded, the data from each interview, focus group discussion and students' diary were grouped based on its theme. From grouping these themes, the final new themes emerged, as used in my analysis chapter.
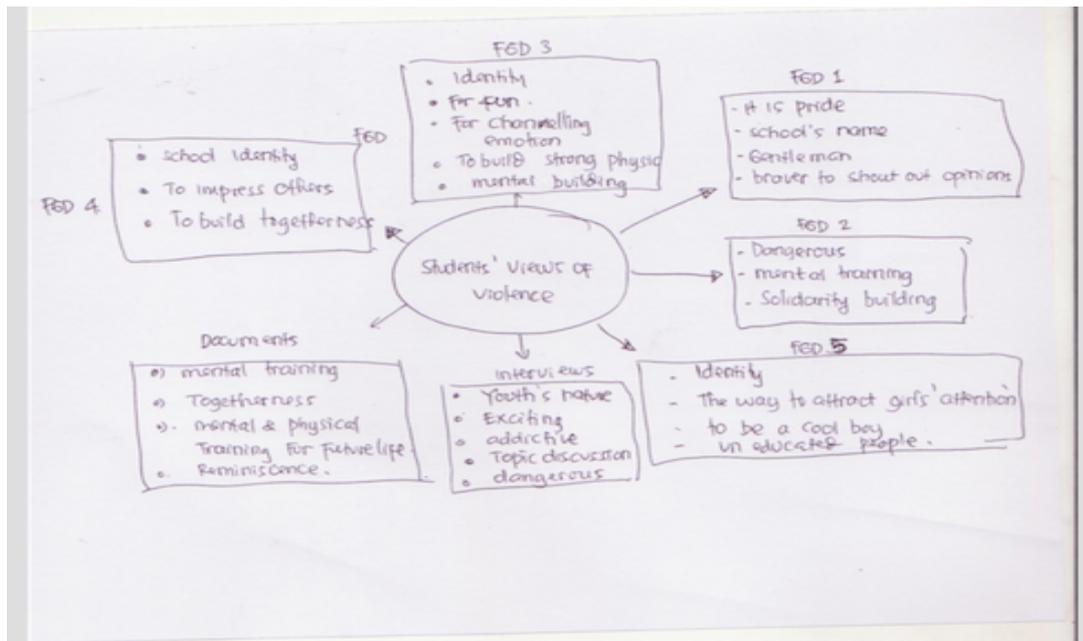
**Figure 0.4 The Coded Themes**

Figure 0.4 was the first issue to have emerged from collating codes. The second issue—for example, factors contributing to school violence—underwent a similar process to that of the first issue to reach themes. From the first coded theme, there were a number of themes that emerged, as can be seen from Figure 0.4, where each participant data brought its own themes. From the process of collating themes, these themes were reduced into a small number of salient themes: violence is a symbol of manliness, violence is about identity, violence can build character, and violence is sensational and a positive memory, and is addictive. However, when I presented the findings chapter, I arranged these themes based on the general phenomena at the beginning, and then followed with a specific context theme.

## 3.7.   Ethic

Ethics is a very sensitive issue when carrying out research involving humans or animals. This means that the researcher needs to manage the effects of the research towards the participants.  Protecting the participants from any potential harm is not merely restricted to maintaining their physical and psychological safety but also privacy and confidentiality (Flick, 2008). Gray (2013) contends that, principally, ethical consent deals with the avoidance of harm, the respect towards someone's privacy and the avoidance of deception. Prior to my fieldwork, I applied for Ethical Review from the

Faculty Research Ethic Committee at Leeds University. Having gained an approval, I complied with the guidelines in collecting data; informed consent, anonymity and confidentiality, harms/risk and data security.

This study strictly maintains its ethics when conducting research with the individuals through the research process. Informed consent was obtained from each participant prior to the interviews and focus group discussions. Before attaining informed consent, however, I first had distributed a project information sheet; this was to ascertain that all individuals understood the research project. Having read the project information sheet, I asked about their willingness to be interviewed or be involved in group discussions. In this sense, informed consent is a part of the contracting process, referring to the agreement between the researcher and each subject (Gomm, 2008). However, there are some technical aspects of informed consent that must be considered. When the subjects are under the knowledge and right of others, the researcher needs to get approval from those in authority. Those subjects are, for example, children and young people, people with special needs and people with experiences of abuse or violence that may be considered vulnerable to such sensitive topics. As this study dealt with young people (senior high school students), informed consent was obtained directly from the participants. An interesting point to note when conducting the group discussions was that it was attended by a number of participants—more than 18 participants. I was confused as to whether or not all the attendants needed to sign informed consent forms. As I did not know whether they would participate or not in the group discussion, all were offered, and subsequently signed, a consent form.

Another issue to be carefully considered was that of anonymity and confidentiality. Corti et al. (2000) assert that all data that could potentially lead to the identification of the research subject should be anonymised. I assured them that all participants are anonymised during the process and after the study by using pseudonyms with regards to names, locations and group affiliations. However, although I tried to assure that names would be anonymised, several participants asked me to use their nickname for the sake of anonymising. They agreed that I could use their nickname and not their real name. However, although several participants asked for their nickname to be detailed in the data, I only used two of them; I used their nick names, such as Rambo and Mambo, to give additional nuance in regards the actors' characteristics. This is in line with what

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Kitzinger and Kitzinger (2015) argues about the use of pseudonym that can reflect the subject's characteristics.

In addition, as many data sources in this research are from online, internet sources and photographs, I need to be aware of the anonymity surrounding the information from the internet, including through YouTube, Facebook, blogs and media coverage. This includes the name of the school, the participants and the generation (class year) through stating gang names. According Kitzinger and Kitzinger (2014) and Saunders et al. (2014), public information display on the media is not necessarily for public consumption; rather, some of the aspects of their public domain remain private. Drawing on Ketzinger's argument, the name of any attributes is blackened, which can be recognised as the place and name of institution. However, in relation to stating the name of the school gang, I did detail these throughout the thesis as the gang names can be found in many schools and therefore do not necessarily indicate particular schools.

However, another important issue in regards maintaining confidentiality is that of anonymising the participants, places and events. Although I changed the name of the school, when I presented the geographical areas around the school and the typical characteristics of the school, the people in Jakarta specifically might easily recognise its reference. Moreover, when revealing that the students wear a particular jacket with the gang name printed, the school they are from would be recognised. In anticipating the harm that might result, blocking the name off their jacket and blurring names and geographical places would ensure the name of the school was not clear or apparent; this is pertinent to the concept of managing and manipulating images in research, which seeks to anonymise the images of the participants (Jordan, 2014) by blurring, managing pixels and cropping without necessarily changing actual purposes. Although the people in Jakarta eventually would recognise the place, at least they would not know the participants; in this sense, anonymising subjects fulfils the ethical issue.

## 3.8.    Reflections from My Pilot Study Interview

I conducted a trial interview with a 22-year-old participant in Leeds in 2013. The participant was a master student at Leeds University. The rationale in choosing this participant was through considering the participant's past experience in school violence, which fit with the purpose of the study. Since an ethnography approach was used in the

study, the pilot study interview was carried out following the guidelines of ethnographic approach.

### 3.8.1. Ethnographic Explanations

Ethnographers have to explain the entire process of the interview to participants repeatedly. These explanations include information about what the project is about, any ethical issues related to the reasons behind recording the interview, the native language used in the interview, the interview explanation and the questions explanation. This is required for the interview to be regarded as an ethnographic interview. Prior to conducting my trial interview, I always carried out such explanations; that is, I explained to the interviewee about my project and the potential physical harms that could arise during the interview. At the same time, I also asked the participant to give consent.

Whilst this trial interview was a single process, it was not necessary for me to go on to the other steps, such as providing explanations of the interviews and the questions. However, when conducting real field interviews, I will have to follow all steps as I am involving my respondents as my co-ethnographers to actively shape and re-shape my interview questions, as well as the analysis, in order to get what is referred to as an emic perspective. This is in line with the explanation of the interview and questions explanation principle in ethnographic interviews, where the rapport develops during the interview and the researchers gain in-depth information from respondents.

A reflection from my trial interview in conjunction with the ethnographic explanation is that, although I had explained the ethical issues in connection with the interview, such as that the data obtained was completely confidential, the respondent was still afraid, particularly when he said the name of individuals or the name of the gang. He said 'please don't record… delete those names'. This relates to the issue of vulnerable participants where participants are afraid of the consequences if they were to give information to the interviewer. Thus, repeatedly explaining the interview procedures would help the informant to feel secure when saying things during the interviews; this also allows the interviewer to obtain more information. When dealing with ethical issues in my interviews, I involve teachers or headteachers in anticipating any problems that might appear during the interviews.

### 3.8.2. Ethnographic Interviews

The characteristics of ethnographic interviews, as based on Spradley's (1979: 55) argument, are the repeated explanations of the goals of the project, recording the interview, use of native language, interview and questions, and ethnographic questions, which include descriptive questions, structural questions and contrast questions. These characteristics were applied to my trial interview to make it an ethnographic interview.

From my trial interview, I was able to lead to friendly conversation, where the interviewee did not appear to be intimidated. This situation led to creating a flowing interview where he spoke for more than 30 minutes without any significant interruption and seemed enthusiastic about telling his story. Informal sometimes refers to friendly conversation, which can be determined by how good a rapport has been established during the interviews. Recognising the interaction in the interview itself as a communicative event (De Fina and Perrino, 2011, Briggs, 1986), where the discourse styles used during the interview are a way of identifying 'the degree of rapport and validity achieved during the interview' (Eder et al., 2003). In my trial interview, the respondent used mixed languages; mother tongue (Javanese) and Bahasa Indonesia. This indicated that the respondent felt comfortable by displaying their own preferred mode of speech during the interview. This is what Zentella's 1998, cited in (Eder et al., 2003) stated in the research on Puerto Rican children, when participants asked why she used mixed languages; the respondent stated that she knows the interviewer well. Establishing a good rapport with the respondents, however, is quite challenging. Conteh (2005), for example, needs around six months to establish a good rapport with the teachers before confidently being able to record their classroom. This implies that establishing a good rapport with the respondent is not a quick process. As I had already known my participants, the establishment of good rapport was not difficult. However, when in the real setting (fieldwork) where I am a complete outsider (I have not been there and have never met the people there), I need to direct consideration to many aspects, including the use of language in the interview, the place, and the situation, all of which can lead to informal or friendly conversations. I am aware that, if the interview is conducted within the school, the respondents will regard themselves as students and will indirectly act as if they were bound by school regulations. However, if the

interviews are conducted outside the school, they still will believe they have more freedom, including with regards to expressing their perspectives.

I would say that, through conducting a trial interview along ethnographic lines, I attained some knowledge pertaining to the strength and challenges of ethnographic interviews, where such an experience helped me to understand the ethnographic interviews, both theoretically and practically. Overall, my experience in the trial ethnographic interview benefited me to have self-confidence when conducting real fieldwork interviews.

# Chapter 4
# Students Perception of Violence

## 4.1. Introduction

This chapter discusses the findings in relation to students' perceptions and their understanding of school violence. School violence in this study refers to "the threat or use of physical force with the intention of causing physical injury, damage, or intimidation of another person" (Elliott et al., 1998:13) in the school context (Henry, 2000) further explanations see chapter 2. Personal interviews with different groups of students, interviews with teachers and a teacher-parent, focus group discussions with mixed gender group and level of study, field notes, diaries, images, Blogs, YouTube, Facebook and WhatsApp will be considered as a medium in order to unpack the students' opinions of school violence. The data used in this chapter, however, was largely generated from narrative interviews (four individuals/students interviews from different types of students and three individual/teachers interviews), focus group discussions (four gender-mixed focus group discussions) and students' diary obtained during fieldwork conducted from May to October 2013.

The following focuses on the students' perceptions of violence and the next two chapters present social practices (Chapter 5) and social interactions (Chapter 6) which play significant role on the students' social development and the construction of violence. All of which correspond to the research questions. The first research question is 'what are students' perception of school violence?' then followed by the second research question which addresses 'how have their perceptions been influenced by social practices and interactions within the school environment'.

The decision to present the data chapter in a particular order is primarily based on the research questions outlined in the study. The first research question is aimed at developing an understanding of students' perceptions of school violence. The perception appearing most frequently in the data analysis of interviews and focus group discussions is of masculinity as a main factor. Masculinity, therefore, has been included first in the data chapter. In addition to highlighting masculinity as the more prominent

theme recurring in interviews and focus group discussions, thematic analysis also identified a number of other themes, such as identity, character building, and channelling emotion. The ordered data chapter is also closely related to the theoretical framework of the study, which explains the micro and macro factors influencing violent behaviour. The ordered data chapter in this study is therefore constructed and derived from its relevance to the research questions, thematic analysis and theoretical framework. It focuses in particular on the concepts of micro and macro influencing factors where school violence is concerned, and discusses school violence from the students' own viewpoints, followed by a consideration of the social and cultural conditions within the school where the students spent most of their time.

The first section discusses students' perspective that violence is symbol of manliness and then followed by the notion that violence is about identity. The next sections present specific findings - violence can develop character and strong solidarity, violence is sensational and a satisfying memory, violence is an unintentional activity but eventually challenging and even addictive - which are drawn from the contextual perspectives (students who are exposed to and even got involved in violence within educational and neighbourhood settings in an urban high school in Jakarta).

## 4.2. Violence is A Symbol of Manliness

Some respondents perceived violence positively but many of them regarded it as negatively associated with deviant behaviour. Mostly respondents said that violence is about manliness.

*Extract 4.1*

| 1 | Mambo | *...Karna, kita kan di angkatan dididik, gitu. Lo harus berani, jangan* |
| 2 | | *jadi penakut ah. Jadi laki-laki yang bener. Latihan kuat, gitu-gitu sama* |
| 3 | | *seniornya* |
| | | *.* |
| 1 | Mambo | *...Because we are trained. "you have to be brave, don't be coward, you* |
| 2 | | *are man, you have to be a real gentleman,, be strong", the seniors said* |
| 3 | | *like that. (Mambo, personal interview)* |

They associated masculinity with strong physical endurance and a strong mentality. To build physical and mental strength, students should experience violence through fighting and other 'gentle' school activities including bullying. These 'gentle' school

activities are commonly referred to as the practice of seniority. One of the seniority practices, fighting, is believed to be able to build strong physical endurance for boys. Other seniority practices such as *peper* or an orientation programme conducted by each extracurricular activity for both boys and girls which generally involves violence is also perceived as beneficial to build students' physical and mental power.

Regarding the benefits of fighting in constructing character building, Lutfi, a third year student, argued in a focus discussion that students are trained through violence with the intention of being able to live their life, whether life in current condition or for their future life as they grow up and live in a diverse and competitive community. The indoctrination from the seniors as he told have led the students' understanding that living in society is much harder than school and that the students should be well prepared to anticipate living in any condition and situation. Fighting is a way to prepare and make them strong in every condition and situation. Lutfi has been involved in a lot of violence, whether fighting with other school students or in his own experience of being harassed by his seniors when he was a junior or first year student.

***Extract 4.2***

| 1 | Lutfi | *kalo dulunya senioritas itu kayak merasa kalo dari situ itu kita dibentuk* |
| 2 | | *untuk kuat di luar. Bagaimana kita bisa survive di luar. Bagaimana kita* |
| 3 | | *menghadapi anak sekolah lain, kita berantem itu kita diajarkan supaya* |
| 4 | | *kuat. (lutfi, FGD 3)* |

| 1 | Lutfi | *Seniority was seen as a way to form students' strength, to exist somewhere* |
| 2 | | *outside the school. How we can survive out there. How we fight other* |
| 3 | | *school's students. We are taught (by seniors) to be strong through fighting.* |
| | | *(lutfi, FGD 3)* |

The notion of being strong in this sense is closely associated with the term masculine. Just as the general understanding that males should be gentle, they should experience physical violence. Therefore, denying or avoiding trying on masculinity through physical violence can result in someone being excluded and being mocked by others. Mocking even bullying students who do not overtly show their masculinity is quite common at the institutional settings including at SMA 1001. Ilham, a smart boy student who is also actively involved in religious school extracurricular activities, reported that there was a student accused of reporting the violence he suffered to his parents or teachers. He became a victim of bullying from their peers.

*Extract 4.3*

| 1 | Ilham | *Pernah juga dulu yang dipukulin kan angkatan saya. Dia salah ngomong.* |
| 2 | | *Dia dipukulin terus ngadu ke orang tua nya. akhirnya pelaku yang* |
| 3 | | *mukulin itu kan dikeluarin, akhirnya dia dibully. Nah, karena dia dikatain* |
| 4 | | *cemen kayak gitu-gitu, akirnya dia pindah sekolah. Kayak gak kuat juga.* |

| 1 | Ilham | *There used to be a student who was hit by my peer(s). He told his parents* |
| 2 | | *that he was hit. Those who hit him were excluded and then the guy became* |
| 3 | | *a target of bullying. He was bullied that he was coward and eventually he* |
| 4 | | *moved to other school, as he could not bear it. (Personal interview, Ilham)* |

A common term for boys who deny the Indonesian stereotype of masculinity is *banci* or she-male, meaning boys who behave just like female. Females are commonly 'talkative', telling everything to everybody and, generally, do not fight. This discourse is publicly understood by the students within the school.

Whilst boys perceive fighting as a way to prove and construct masculinity and their status as a gentleman, girls see the concept of masculinity and gentlemen constructed by the boys is intended to attract girls' attention. Reni argued that one of the reasons in mass fighting is about getting girlfriends as well competing to get a status of being a 'warrior'.

*Extract 4.4*

| 1 | Reni | *ya menurut saya, pak. Itu pelampiasan juga. Tapi bukan pelampiasan* |
| 2 | | *waktu sekolah. Pelampiasan kehidupan pribadi kali, pak. Dendam sama* |
| 3 | | *sekolah lain, mempereputkan wanita, main hebat-hebatan gitu lho pak..* |

| 1 | Reni | *I think it is just a way to release (personal problems). But not school* |
| 2 | | *problems. They may be personal problems, Sir, revenge on other schools,* |
| 3 | | *competing to get a girl and showing 'jagoan'. (Reni, FGD II).* |

The girls conceptualise fighting as an arrow which has two points: one side is pointed to get the status of masculinity and the other side is intended to invite girls' attention. The concepts of masculinity and getting a girlfriend are different but they are actually two sides of the same coin. Getting *jagoan* status and masculinity often implies getting girls simultaneously.

However, based on the girls' understanding, getting masculine status and *jagoan* through fighting is complicated. It is about winning or losing in fighting. If one wins, it is about how many fights and how often. According to the girls, the degree of winning

in fighting is more acknowledgeable to get *jagoan* status. The more fights a boy wins, the more he will be acknowledged to be a *jagoan* and the implication of the acknowledgment is improving the reputation not only of individuals but the group as well. The following extract is an example of how a girl understands that winning the fight can also extend to the group's name.

***Extract 4.5***

| 1 | Irma | *Tapi kalo misalnya kita sering menang gitu kan berarti wah gitu. Kayak* |
| 2 | | *hebat banget. Berarti kita jagoan, gitu. Jadi punya prinsip juga, kita* |
| 3 | | *semua jagoan.* |

| 1 | Irma | *But if, for example, we often win, it is like 'wow'. It's great. So we are* |
| 2 | | *warriors. We have a principle too that if we win, we all warriors. (Irma,* |
| | | *FGD II)* |

With regard to becoming real man through fighting, girls said that anyone who does not get involved in fighting cannot be considered a real man. Cinta, a female second year student who has seen group fighting many times and experienced the practice of seniority, argued that boys are easily labelled as cowards if they do not fight. Fighting, according to her, is about being a real man. This opinion was supported by two of the other girls in focus group discussion 1.

***Extract 4.6***

| 1 | Cinta | *Ikut-ikutan biar…apalagi anak cowok kan gampang kaya 'ga gentle lo* |
| 2 | | *kalau ga tawuran ''.* |
| 3 | Ria | *Hahaha* |
| 4 | Ani | *Betul-betul* |

| 1 | Sinta | *…it is just following (others). Moreover, boys are easily labelled 'not* |
| 2 | | *gentle' if don't fight.* |
| 3 | Ria | *Hahaha* |
| 4 | Ani | *That's right (FGD 1).* |

The two other girls agreed with the previous statement that fighting is about becoming a gentleman, indicated by laughing and saying 'that's right'. However, Satria positioned himself a bit differently in responding to violence and masculinity. He argued that, as a leader in his batch and a leader of fighting, masculinity in group fighting is still to be questioned whilst one to one or in school fighting is true evidence of masculinity. He explained his experience of challenging his opponent to have a one to one fight and his

opponent not coming, meaning they are not masculine or they are not really a gentleman. He referred to masculinity and being a gentleman with regard to one to one fighting, not group fighting.

*Extract 4.7*

| 1 | Satria | *Tidak ada yang datang jika diajak berkelahi satu satu…mereka tidak* |
| 2 | | *gentlemen (narrative Interview 1)* |

| 1 | Satria | *No one comes to one to one fighting (Satria), they are not gentlemen* |

This is congruent with the one of the focus group discussions, particularly the girl who sees mass fighting as not gentlemanly. They relate masculinity to a single entity; boys are regarded as gentlemen if they fight in one to one. Those who get involved in one to one fighting are masculine, but if they get involved in mass fighting they are not gentlemen, but cowards. They then asserted that gentlemen take part in one to one fighting.

*Extract 4.8*

| 1 | Cinta | *Misalkan nih ya.misalkan ada sekolah B mencaci maki sekolah A nah* |
| 2 | | *sekolah A ga terima akhirnya terjadilah bentrok. Gitu-gitu padahal tanpa* |
| 3 | | *itu kita bisa, kita bisa sih menyelesaikan masalah itu tanpa gitu-gitu.* |
| 4 | | *Malah menurut saya misalkan satu lawan satu itu lebih gentle daripada* |
| 5 | | *rame-rame. Kalau misalkan kaya satu lawan satu kan kelihatan…* |

| 1 | Cinta | *For example, school B scolds school A and school A is irritated, so* |
| 2 | | *fighting occurs. Without it (fighting) we can resolve the problem. Those* |
| 3 | | *who fight one to one are more gentle than those who participate in mass* |
| 4 | | *fighting. If single fighting is more…(FGD 1)* |

Soraya in another focus group discussion maintained that it is cowardly if boys fight others in a group.

*Extract 4.9*

| 1 | Soraya | *…itu pengecut jika tawuran melibatkan banyak fihak.* |

| 1 | Soraya | *…People who fight with lots of people are cowards (FGD 4)* |

The argument that one to one fighting is gentlemanly is also acknowledged by Bu Lusi, a vice headmaster. She asserted that mass fighting is cowardly but one to one fighting is gentlemanly and can be a true arena to test adrenalin. She, however, highlighting

implicitly that if men fight, they should fight in person not inviting and getting involved in group fighting. What Bu Lusi said, in fact, showing her desperate (as a vice head master who is responsible of students including the problem of students' violence) about stopping the school brawls which is always associated with the term masculinity that the students always shouting about. This is a kind of denial about the concept of masculinity and the way the boys want to construct through the practice of school violence.

***Extract 4.10***

| 1 | Bu | *malah sebenarnya tawuran itu pengecut. Kalo berani satu lawan satu. Itu* |
| 2 | Lusi | *malah menguji adrenalin. Kalo rame-rame mah enggak* |
| 3 | | |
| | | *In fact (mass) fighting is cowardly. If they are brave, (they) should fight* |
| 1 | Bu | *one to one, it really tests adrenaline. If they get involved in mass fighting,* |
| 2 | Lusi | *they are not (gentle). . (personal Interview, Bu Lusi)* |

Masculinity, as Bu Lusi has been argued might closely situated in the realm of the local value which still considers one to one fighting is a real masculine rather than group fighting which is seen as a coward action.

Various arguments emerged from different participants with relation to fighting and the concept of masculinity; some argued that fighting is a way to train and test masculinity, some others see mass fighting as a cowardly action. But all tended to agree that the concept of masculinity is inevitably linked to the identity which many? students are trying to construct, either identity as individuals or as a group and institution. The following section is about violence and the way the students construct their identity through violence.

## 4.3. Violence is about identity

This section presents the relationship between violence and identity and how these two interrelated concepts are perceived by participants. There have been three categories of identity recognised from data analysis process; individual identity, group and institutional identity. The following section examines group identity; group/batch's name and school/institutional name and at the same time also introduces individual identity which has been partly discussed in the previous section. Whilst fighting for

students of SMA 1001 refers to the batch or gang's name, for the public, mass fighting is linked to the institution's name, the school which has a long history of violence and the school's identity, which is widely recognised as violent.

SMA 1001's violent identity, however, is problematic, since there have actually been many schools in the city which have got involved in mass fighting. The mass media's melodramatic representation of school fighting might have resulted in the stereotype that many schools are violent. Moreover, the students themselves perceived that they are part of violent school. The perception that the school is always associated with violence was admitted by respondents in my research. Lutfi, a male third year student, said that if the school does not fight other schools, it is not SMA 1001. Keeping the tradition of mass fighting and violence within the school is intended to build and maintain school identity.

*Extract 4.11*

| 1 | Lutfi | *Tapi kayak misalnya bahasa balik, tawuran, ama senioritas itu ciri khas* |
| 2 | | *dari sekolah kita. Jadi kayak SMA 1001 ya begini ini. Tapi meski banyak* |
| 3 | | *sisi negatifnya, tapi lulusan-lulusan dari sini juga nggak bego-bego banget* |
| 4 | | *kok. Banyak yang udah jadi orang juga.* |

| 1 | Lutfi | *Just like backward language, mass fighting and seniority are the identity of* |
| 2 | | *our school. So SMA 1001 is like this. Although there are many negative* |
| 3 | | *sides (to studying at the school), the graduates are not idiots, many* |
| 4 | | *(graduates) are successful. (FGD 3)* |

Another student, Rambo, also said that when the students are attending the school, they intentionally regarded themselves to be part of the school culture. It is not only students who are aware of being part of the existing school culture; the parents understand the consequences of sending their children to the school. The tradition of the school which is always associated with violence - school fighting, seniority, and other violent practices - has been publicly recognised as the school identity.

*Extract 4.12*

| 1 | Rambo | *Andaikata loe bukan sekolah di 1001, tapi sekolah di 1005, mungkin* |
| 2 | | *nggak tawuran? Nggak kan? Mau loe sejagoan apapun waktu SMP, kalo* |
| 3 | | *loe ditaruh di 1005 ya nggak mungkin tawuran. Jadi lingkungan itu* |
| 4 | | *biasanya terbentuk dari historis/sejarah, tradisi. Tradisi yang diciptakan* |
| 5 | | *kalo sekolah itu sering tawuran. Andaikata mungkin loe jagoan di SMP,* |

| 6 | | *tapi loe tiba-tiba keterima sekolah di SMA 1005, lingkungan disitu* |
| 7 | | *nggak mendukung loe buat tawuran. Dan temen-temen loe juga. Pasti itu* |
| 8 | | *nggak bakal tawuran dong* |

| 1 | Rambo | *If you don't study at 1001 but at (SMA) 1005, is it possible to fight? Of* |
| 2 | | *course not. How 'jagoan' are you at SMP, if you study at 1005, you* |
| 3 | | *won't fight. So the environment is formed from the history, tradition. The* |
| 4 | | *tradition is formed that the school often gets involved in fighting. If you* |
| 5 | | *were 'jagoan' at your SMP but you are accepted at SMA 1005, the* |
| 6 | | *environment and your friends don't support you to fight, you never get* |
| 7 | | *involved in fighting. ( FGD 3).* |

From the excerpt 4.13, line 3 "the tradition is formed that the school often gets involved in fighting" is associated with the school tradition which significantly affects the students within the school to follow and then accept that fighting has become the school identity. This signifies that the school is nurtured to be a violent school. The following story is told by Satria to show that the SMA 1001 is a 'benchmark' of school fighting within the city.

***Extract 4.13***

| 1 | Satria | *Eh…yang saya tahu lagi dengan..disitulah sma 1001 menjadi salah satu* |
| 2 | | *acuan untuk namanya ajang tawuran pelajar. Untuk mencari adu gengsi* |
| 3 | | *dimana e…SMA 1001 adalah salah satu SMA  yang apa ya…tergolong* |
| 4 | | *SMA papan atas waktu itu untuk…dalam hal segi tawuran* |

| 1 | Satria | *Eh… another thing that I know is that since that moment SMA 1001 has* |
| 2 | | *been used as one cornerstone in the field of student-brawls. SMA 1001* |
| 3 | | *was considered as one notorious school for having student-brawls.* |
| 4 | | *(personal Interview 1)* |

Moreover, Rambo stated that there is something at stake in fighting; it can be identity or the school name.

***Extract 4.14***

| 1 | Rambo | *Terus kalo masalah solidaritas, biasanya kalo kita tawuran itu ya bukan* |
| 2 | | *cuman sekedar bak buk bak buk gitu lah. Tapi biasanya ada yang* |
| 3 | | *dipertaruhin entah itu jati diri entah itu apa, sebagai nama sekolah itu* |
| 4 | | *dianggap apa ya?* |

| 1 | Rambo | *Then, it is about solidarity, when we fight is not just 'bak-buk-bak-buk'* |
| 2 | | *(onomatopea) (kicking, punching etc…) But usually there is something at* |
| 3 | | *stake - identity, school name or everything. (FGD 3)* |

Identity based on Rambo and Lutfi's argument is more salient to school's name rather than individuals or groups' when they want to show their identity to the public, including the students from other schools. This argument is also supported by other male students who believe when the students fight, they bring together their school name and tend to neglect the batch and individual's name. When the students refer to themselves as school representative rather than group or individual, they can be perceived as constituting institutional membership. This emphasises that although each batch should fight other batches within the school, they get together when they fight with other schools. The doctrine that third and first year students fight second year students is not clearly seen in the situation where they talk about how the school identity should be maintained through practices of violence. This indicates that the identity is multi-layered and contextualised, wherein, according to this case, the higher identity (institutional identity) is prioritised when they get involved in school fighting[14].

***Extract 4.15***

| 1 | Ilham | *Soalnya gaya hidup sini, ganjil sama genap itu misah. Malah kalo dulu itu* |
| 2 | | *utas nya dinyatain menang syaratnya itu harus berantem sama kakak* |
| 3 | | *tingkatnya. Kan dulu saya kelas satu, berantem dulu sama kelas dua nya.* |
| 4 | | *nah kelas dua berantem sama kelas tiga. Nah itu uda budaya. Gak tahu* |
| 5 | | *siapa yang buat. Tapi kalo di dalem kan bawa nama angkatan masing-* |
| 6 | | *masing. kalo diluar kan bawa nama sekolah.* |

| 1 | Ilham | *Because here, even and odd batch is separated. It is used to be that [15]Utas* |
| 2 | | *to be acknowledged win in fighting if they fight Aud. When we were Utas,* |
| 3 | | *we fought Aud. Aud fought Agit. It is culture. I don't know how it is* |
| 4 | | *created. But if they fight within the school, they bring their batch's name.* |
| 5 | | *if they fight outside school, they bring the school's name (personal* |
| 6 | | *interview, Ilham)* |

Shouting the school's name in school fighting, therefore, is obligatory for all students to show and maintain the existence of the school. This phenomenon is just like the concept of 'back stage and front stage' proposed by Goffman (1990) . When they fight they bring together their school name but when they go back to the school, they said that they belong to a particular batch which differs from other batches. When I asked Satria about his feelings in school fighting, he connected his feelings with the school name.

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[14] Fighting between schools
[15] Utas (satu) or first year students. Aud (dua) second year students. Agit (tiga) third year students.

***Extract 4.16***

| 1 | Irfan | *Terus itu tadi balik lagi ke perasaan pada saat menyerang itu gimana ya?* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *Kayaknya seperti….ohh eh (nada tinggi)..apa ya…seorang pendekar yang* |
| 3 | Satria | *berusaha menaklukkan suatu wilayah hehehe…untuk mendapatkan* |
| 4 | | *daerah jajahan, untuk mendapatkan daerah kekuasaan dengan* |
| 5 | | *meneriakkan nama gerbang sekolah kita. Nama sekolah kita gitu. Untuk* |
| 6 | | *nyari eksis sebenarnya.* |

| 1 | Irfan | *So...How do you feel when you fight?* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Satria | *It looks like…ehm (high tone)…just like a warrior who is trying to* |
| 3 | | *conquer a region to get a new land, getting a new land by shouting the* |
| 4 | | *school's name. Our school's name, seeking its existence. (personal* |
| 5 | | *Interview, Satria)* |

From Satria's story, fighting is like a warrior who fights to get new land and authority by shouting the school name as the way to dramatise the condition, invoking the spirits to conquer the enemies and at the same time function to exaggerate the power and confidence. However, as I have seen in many mass fights uploaded on YouTube, students who get involved in mass fighting also shout their batch's name. As can be seen from the following pictures, there is an inextricable relationship between school and batch's identity in mass fighting. When the students, usually third graders, get involved in fighting they shout the school name but at the same time they also wear their batch's jacket.



**Figure 2.1 Batch's Jacket in School Violence**

On the one hand, the batch's jacket is a symbol of identity of SMA 1001 as well as the cultural identity of the school, which is notoriously regarded as the 'bench mark' for school fighting within the city. On the other hand, wearing the batch's jacket in mass fighting could also be understood as signifying that they are part of a particular group identity. As can be seen from the figures, there is a specific sign wirtten on their jacket; the 'number' written on their jacket shows the school they are from, whilst the color and the name written on the other side of the jacket indicates their gang's name. This is a kind of 'perfomative' and intentional action, in that they are aware that there are audiences (seniors, juniors, foes, peers and public) who keep 'monitoring' them and the goals of wearing jacket are to appeal their attentions. This means they want to show to insiders that they are part of the batch's name, whilst to outsiders that they are part of the cultural identity of the school. This interdependence signifies that the delinquent behaviour should carry the aproval of others.

It is important, therefore, that by wearing batch's jacket in mass fighting would give an essential meaning to the social relations; their relation to seniors/alumnae, juniors, peers and perhaps to people or society. A key aspect of why they should wear batch jacket in school brawls is getting appreciation and acknowledgement from their seniors and the members of the school, ensuring that they can fulfill the given requirements for membership of the group/institution. Whether they obtain encouragement or stimulus or discourage or punishment from their surrounding, all of these values can lead the students to do violence repeatedly. When they get stimulus that they are brave and the best than other generation, it can give them pride and feel like to giving energy to do more violent behaviour. On the contrary, when they get punishment in terms of scorn from their seniors, they likely feel shame and trying to prove that they can emulate other batches.

***Extract 4.17***

| 1 | Lutfi | *ya kalo misalkan menang itu rasanya seru.* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Joko | *Ada rasa puas* |
| 3 | Lutfi | *Nama angkatan keangkat. Apalagi kalo loe ikut ngebacok, nama loe* |
| 4 | | *dicatet, di cari atau apa gitu. Tapi kalo misalkan loe kalah ni?* |
| 5 | Rambo | *Rasanya jatuh itu gelap, item, suram* |
| 6 | Lutfi | *Nama sekolah loe jatuh, nama angkatan loe jatuh. Loe bakal malu* |
| 7 | | *banget…Loe bakal malu lah…Bener-bener kaya malu banget lah ibaratnya* |

| 1 | Lutfi | |
| 2 | Joko | *If we win, its hilarious* |
| 3 | Lutfi | *There is satisfaction* |
| 4 | | *It will raise batch's name. Moreover, if you stab, your name will be carved* |
| 5 | Rambo | *(in the violence history) and you will be sought after. But if you lost?* |
| 6 | Lutfi | *It is dark, black and gloomy* |
| 7 | | *Your school and your bacth's name are down. It is embarrassing. You will* |
| 8 | | *be a small talk by other schools. You will ashame. It's really ashame.* *(FGD 3)* |

The concept of inclusion and exclusion in particular identity constructions through the symbols and rituals system in (Emler and Reicher, 1995) seems relevant to portray the identity that the students of SMA 1001 wanted to construct. Where the students cannot satisfy the requirements given by their seniors/alumnae through mass fighting and the symbolic system/jacket they wear, they will be excluded and vice versa. Students feel that being a member of the institutional identity gives such prestige that they should invest huge efforts even on occasion threatening their own life. Wearing a jacket in school fighting can also be meant as performing their membership in the school hierarchy.

***Extract 4.18***

| 1 | Rambo | *Jadi lingkungan itu biasanya terbentuk dari historis/sejarah, tradisi .* |
| 2 | | *Tradisi yang diciptakan kalo sekolah itu sering tawuran.* |

| 1 | Rambo | *So the environment is formed by the history, tradition. The tradition has* |
| 2 | | *been made that the school often gets involved in mass fighting. (FGD 3)* |

Another meaning of wearing a jacket in mass fighting can also be connected to the local government's policy that all the state schools within the capital are not allowed to attach school identity (badges) on the students' uniforms. There is no a clear reason why the local government implemented this policy since all other schools within the country use badges on the students' uniforms. This could mean that, since the students of SMA 1001 could not convey their messages through badges on their uniform, they used another symbolic system: wearing their jacket in mass fighting.

Whilst clothing is used to symbolise the group's identity in mass fighting, the other identity which the students wanted to construct is about individual identities. There seems to be mutual enforcement between individuals and group or institutional identity. The concept of *jagoan* which an individual will get when they win or are brave enough

to fight others is about individual identity. A majority participant said that fighting is about solidarity, solidarity which links to school name.

***Extract 4.19***

| 1 | Lutfi | *...dari penyimpangan sosial. Itu dilakuin karean mereka pengen jadi* |
| 2 | | *jagoan gitu. Mencari jati diri. Mengatasnamakan solidaritas.* |

| 1 | Lutfi | *...from their social deviation. They have done due to the status of being* |
| 2 | | *'jagoan' or a hero, seeking identity, in the name of solidarity. (FGD 3)* |

Extract 4.17 illustrates that 'one' could represent many. Fighting is multi-purpose: on the one hand, fighting can be a way to raise an individual's name; on the other hand, fighting can also raise a gang's and or a school's name. The common phenomenon in urban school fighting is that students who get involved in fighting will expose themselves through social media (Facebook, Twitter, and Blackberry Messenger). Exposing themselves on social media when they get injured and hospitalised will give them popularity that they are truly *jagoan,* brave enough to fight until getting injured. Spreading on social media that they get involved in fighting and get injured is aimed at getting acknowledgment from others. Getting acknowledgement from other peers and other students that they are *jagoan* will make others more cautious and respect them (see also extract 4.18). Asking for money, cigarettes and even sometimes asking for copying books for free are the result of achieving *jagoan* identity, whilst school identity is closely related to creating a continuous history about school fighting within the school and city.

| 1 | Ilham | *Nah kan jago-jagoan. Nyerang yang uda nyerang 1001. Misalnya 1001* |
| 2 | | *yang terkenal angkatan apa. Trus uda nyerang sekolah mana. Ntar kan* |
| 3 | | *diberitain itu (lewat forum tawuran pelajar). ntar kan jadi gengsinya* |
| 4 | | *tinggi.* |

| 1 | Ilham | *Its about warrior. This school, what is the most notorious batch of this* |
| 2 | | *school and which school has been defeated by them. Then the current* |
| 3 | | *batch imitates their seniors to attack other school, then they broadcasted* |
| 4 | | *it (through the school violence forum). So that, it can raise their dignity.* |
| 5 | | *(Personal Interview, Ilham)* |

However, Rani (a girl in a focus group discussion), argued that group/batch identity comes out as the results of comparing with others and, in the case of the school 1001,

identity is about comparing one batch with another batches. When older generations are committed to fighting with other schools, the recent generation should normally surpass or at least match the level of what their seniors did. If they achieve a lower level than their seniors they could be regarded as losers and cowards and this possibly could degrade their reputation until they are, eventually, excluded from membership. Their group identity could be eliminated from the history of the school fighting within the school and the city.

***Extract 4.20***

| 1 | Beti | *Kita juga kadang gengsi untuk menghilangkan itu.* |
|---|------|-----|
| 2 | Cinta | *Ya bener ada unsur gengsi untuk menghilangkan itu.* |
| 3 | Rani | *Ehmm oh ya ya.* |
| 4 | Beti | *Oh angkatan gue masak ga kaya gitu sih, cemen banget* |

| 1 | Beti | *We sometimes feel dishounoured to stop practising* |
|---|------|-----|
| 2 | Cinta | *Yeah..there is discredit to stop it* |
| 3 | Rani | *Ehmm yeah..* |
| 4 | Beti | *Oh…my batch is not like other batches, it's so embarrassing* |
|   |      | *(Rani, FGD 1)* |

It can be accentuated that stopping the practice of fighting could, on one hand, degrade the name of the school as being inferior in mass fighting which has been constructed by their seniors over many years and, on the other hand, it could eliminate the batch's name from the history of the school. Therefore, they always said in all the interviews and focus group discussions that fighting is about group identity. Not practicing fighting means not having a group identity.

Bu Lusi, a vice principal, suggested that identity construction could be linked with the practices of indoctrination conducted by seniors and alumni, including the identity of violent school and identity of seniority. When I asked her about why students still keep practicing traditions, which go against the school regulations, she said that it was indoctrination of identity.

*Extract 4.21*

| 1 | Bu | *Ini juga sih, ajaran identitas. Ajaran atasan. Ajaran yang rusak-rusak itu* |
| 2 | Lusi | *masih masuk.* |

| 1 | Bu | *This is identity's doctrine. Seniors' doctrine. The bad doctrine is still* |
| 2 | Lusi | *practiced. That's it. (Personal Interview, Bu Lusi).* |

It becomes evident that identity which is constructed through the practice of violence is multi-layered and arguably based on the gender perspectives. The identity which has been presented throughout this chapter, in addition, has the implication that verbal expressions are not the only media through which to construct identity. Identity can also be constructed through symbolic clothing as well as through physical violence, fighting with other students and schools. Clothing, physical violence and verbal expressions are then the sources of identity construction that the students of SMA 1001 have taken up.

Another feature of the students' perceptions in relation to violence is that it can be used to build up character and strong solidarity.

## 4.4. "*Violence can be mental training or like a pressure test for future life*"

Violence is believed to be able to construct character and strong solidarity among students. According to boys who get involved in school fighting, fighting can really help them to build up strong solidarity, whilst others who do not get involved in fighting perceive that the solidarity constructed through mass fighting and violence is absurd. Questions should be raised in accordance with the two different perspectives - what kind of character and solidarity do the students actually want to build? And to what extent do they understand the concept of character-building and solidarity? These two questions are central to get a better understanding of the connection between violence, character building and solidarity. The following is the students' arguments and opinions, as articulated by 'Rambo', which help to clarify the notion of character and solidarity which are constructed through fighting.

*Extract 4.22*

| 1 | Rambo | *...eksis di dunia globalisasi ini nggak butuh keren nggak butuh apa,* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *tapi butuh yang aneh. Kayak contoh gangnam style. Ada yang bilang* |
| 3 | | *gangnam style keren nggak? Enggak kan? Tapi itu bisa eksis. Jadi* |
| 4 | | *menurut gue yang penting loe punya satu ciri khas yang orang lain itu* |
| 5 | | *nggak punya, jadi loe dikenalnya itu kayak aneh tapi lama-lama secara* |
| 6 | | *tidak langsung loe tuh ngefollow dia. Iya kayak apa ya? Meskipun* |
| 7 | | *orang-orang berpikir negative gitu, kayak 1001 tawuran, senioritas,* |
| 8 | | *bahasa kilab kayak gitu-gitu. Tapi, pertama yang pasti kita punya* |
| 9 | | *kebanggaan lah dibandingin ama SMA-SMA lain. Kalo gue pribadi* |
| 10 | | *ya... dibandingin SMA-SMA lain kayak mental-mental kita itu disiapin* |
| 11 | | *buat kuliah, buat siap kerja, buat semua. Ya pokoknya kalo kita bisa* |
| 12 | | *muasin permintaan kakak-kakak kelas itu sama aja kayak di dunia* |
| 13 | | *pekerjaan gimana kita harus memuaskan hati bos kita* |

| 1 | |
|---|---|
| 2 | *...Existing in the globalisation doesn't need to be cool but eccentric.* |
| 3 | *Just like Gangnam style, who said that Gangnam is cool? No-one. But it* |
| 4 | *can exist. You must have something which differs from others. So,* |
| 5 | *you're known as strange yet gradually, indirectly, they start to pay* |
| 6 | *attention. It's just like what? like school fighting, seniority, and* |
| 7 | *backward language within 1001 which are seen negatively. But, we* |
| 8 | *have pride compared to other schools. For me personally.....if we are* |
| 9 | *compared to other schools, our mentality has been prepared for* |
| 10 | *studying in university, working and for everything. If we can satisfy our* |
| | *seniors (in the school), it's like in the work place, we should be able to* |
| | *satisfy our boss. . (FGD 3)* |

Based on Rambo's argument, character and solidarity are linked to the future competitive challenges that students need to recognise and prepare to face. When Rambo talked (extract 4.20) about the need for something different from the mainstream, he referred to the unique character that the students should have as an asset to live in the future by associating with the Gangnam style which is very popular around the world. His description about referring Gangnam and the practice of violence in school is about the globalised world is full of uniformity and therefore to be eccentric, individuals should be different or unique. Uniqueness is the 'key word' for future existence and violence is equally perceived as part of uniqueness. Moreover, other students said that violence in terms of the juniors' obedience to the seniors in order to get involved in fighting is associated with having the ability to satisfy their bosses if they are at work. The term *ABS (Asal Bapak Senang),* which literally means "as long as the boss is happy" was popular among people a few decades ago when the authoritarian

Suharto regime ruled the country. It seems relevant to be applied in future life. Uniqueness and having the ability to satisfy bosses reflected by the junior's obedience to seniors in school fighting is the key to mental and character building.

Another argument about the notion that fighting can be very useful to train youth mentality is posited by one of the male students in his diary. From his diary it can be seen that he problematised public discourses which considered students of SMA 1001 as badly behaved, often getting involved in mass fighting and bullying. The reality, as he argued, is congruent with other students' understanding that fighting is a way to train their mental competitiveness. They believe that the ability to fight will be one type of human capital that students need to acquire for their future life. Although it is unclear what kinds of mental competitiveness he referred to, it can be assumed that having a good mentality (standing equal with others) to live with other people from various cultural, socio-economic and racial backgrounds is one benefit of fighting. To be more specific, being able to survive in the bad conditions might be a clearer definition of the meaning of mental competitiveness. The following is one of the student's diaries I collected during the fieldwork which can be used to contradict public discourse that violence is useless and has no benefits at all.

> *'...anak-anak 1001 itu nakal-nakal karena suka tawuran atau bullying, namun menurutku penilaian mereka tersebut semuanya salah karena semua hal ini akan menjadi* **latihan mental atau semacam pressure tests buat kehidupan mereka di masa yang akan datang***.*

> *'...the students of SMA 1001 are badly behaved, they like to fight or bully, but I think their(people) views (about fighting and bullying) are all wrong* **because (fighting) can be mental training or like a pressure test for future life.** *(Simon's diary, taken from Indahnya kehidupan: Sebuah autobiography).*

Another perception that violence is able to build up a solid mentality was found in my narrative interview with Satria. He revealed that violence is intended to develop physical and mental strength, whether it is for individual or for a group, as he narrated in his story. He told me that he was often punched by seniors in order to have physical and mental strength.

*Extract 4.23*

| 1 | Satria | *....tiap hari saya dipukuli, untuk apa namanya agar kalian kuat maksud* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *mereka sebenarnya adalah agar kalian itu strong, kuat, kompak, merasa* |
| 3 | | *susah bersama dengan angkatan, kalian merasakan tekanan untuk padat* |
| 4 | | *bersama angkatan kalian* |

| 1 | | *Almost every day… my friends and I got beaten up… for what reason? To* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *make us strong, powerful and solid… feeling troubled together with the* |
| 3 | | *others in the same generation, you all feel the pressure to be solid with* |
| 4 | | *your friends in the same generation (Personal Interview, Satria)* |

How significant is being 'trained' through physical violence reflecting the notion that violence is the best way as they perceived in building characteristic and the capital for future life. Interestingly, not only did the boys say that fighting can be useful to build up character, one of the teachers admitted that there have been parents who like their children to be educated harshly with the tendency to be violent (line 4, extract 4.22)

*Extract 4.24*

| 1 | Bu | *Ada orang tua yang senang anaknya dididik keras karena senioritas, ada* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Lusi | *juga yang hak asasinya merasa terancam. Tapi insyallah, Allah akan* |
| 3 | | *bantu kami. (Interview G1)* |

| 1 | | *There have been parents who like their children to be educated harshly* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *based on seniority rules, to have their rights oppressed. But God will help* |
| 3 | | *us.* |

The intention of parents sending their children to experience violence within the school can also be found in the students' diaries. It is generally known that if the parents graduated from school A, they tend to send their children to the same school. There seems to be a mutual understanding between students and parents in relation to the practice of physical violence. The following figure is the student's diary about the reason why he studied at school 1001. The main motivation of his parents for sending him to that school was so that their children would develop a strong mentality through various violent activities. The parents believe that when their children are suffering from harassment, their children will become strong individuals, able to live in any condition in their future life. The following diary tells that the parents' role as well as their intention of sending their children the school is clear.

*Tujuan orang tuaku menyekolahkan aku disini adalah agar melatih mentalku untuk menghadapi kehidupan nanti di masa depan. Selain itu kemandirianku akan di latih di sini dan yang paling penting adalah aku harus lebih berprestasi*

*My parents' goal sending me to this school is to train my mentality for surviving for the future life. Besides, (in this school), I would be trained to live independently, and the most important is I should be able to get better achievement*
*(Taken from Wawan's diary 'Hitam dan Putih' or black and white)*

Another teacher (a teacher-parent) also argued (as can be seen in the following extract) that violence or hardship really benefited students and gave a good quality of character building. Their character building, however, could only be seen when they were already at university when they had undergone a university student orientation programme or when they actively got involved in campus activities. Her description can be associated with students' orientation programme or initiation which is often riddled with activities which involve degrees of violence and humiliation and the students who have already undergone such violence will see this orientation as a piece of cake, very simple. In addition, according to Mrs Umi, experiencing violence will benefit students and help them take up higher positions when they actively engage in university activities.

***Extract 4.25***

| 1 | Bu | *Ya karena mereka sudah dididik keras. Mereka diajarin jadi pemimpin.* |
| 2 | Umi | *Dalam ekskul kadang jadi pemimpin, jadi apa, ada di semua organisasi* |
| 3 | | *itu. Kalo di BK itu istilahnya pengembangan diri. Jadi, siswa itu bisa* |
| 3 | | *mengembangkan diri sesuai dengan potensi yang dia miliki. Nanti setelah* |
| 4 | | *tamat, mereka, pada umumnya, walaupun mereka digituin, tapi mereka* |
| 5 | | *kalo daftar ujian, mereka serius belajarnya. Nah, dapat di ITB. Di ITB* |
| 6 | | *mereka pasti jadi ketua-ketua. Bahkan kalo daftar kuliah jadi pemimpin* |
| 7 | | *banyak. Dimana -mana mereka pemimpin.)* |

| 1 | Mrs | *They have been educated harshly. They are trained to be a leader. In* |
| 2 | Umi | *Extracurricular they sometimes to be a leader, so, they are everywhere in* |
| 3 | | *the organisation. If it is in counselling, it's like self-development. So,* |
| 4 | | *students can develop their own interest. After they graduate, although they* |
| 5 | | *are (educated harshly), they generally study seriously and accepted at ITB* |
| 6 | | *(one of the elite universities). At ITB they will certaintly be leaders. They* |
| 7 | | *are leaders everywhere. (Personal Interview, Bu Umi)* |

With regard to violence and building a strong mentality, girls illustrated that students who do not experience violence are seen as having a weak mentality and being dependent.

***Extract 4.26***

| 1 | Irfan | *Saya denger dari beberapa gitu, senioritas itu sangat bagus untuk* |
|---|-------|-----|
| 2 | | *pembentukan karakter.* |
| 3 | Nia | *Iya,lebih tangguh, lebih nggak lembek. Lebih mandiri. Biar pas kuliah itu* |
| 4 | | *mantep,pak .* |
| 5 | Titin | *Semakin kita tua kan semakin banyak senioritas yang harus kita temuin.* |
| 6 | | *Jadi kita ini kayak udah kebiasa gitu lho.* |
| 7 | Sinta | *Apalagi buat pas ospek gitu kan pak. Pas kerja juga pasti ada.* |

| 1 | Irfan | *I heard that seniority is good for character building* |
|---|-------|-----|
| 2 | Nia | *Yeah, tougher, not weak. More independent. We'll be ready when we go to* |
| 3 | | *university.* |
| 4 | Titin | *The more we get older, the more we will find seniority. So we will get used* |
| 5 | | *to it.* |
| 6 | Sinta | *What's more, it is (useful) for student's orientation and when we in the* |
| 7 | | *work place. (FGD 2)* |

Similar to Mrs Umi's perception, character building according to girls is referred to as being independent and having the ability to deal with seniors when they are at university or at work. It is generally known by students that being a junior (at university or at work) is not easy; seniors often bully juniors and juniors should be able to satisfy their seniors' needs. The following is a student's diary, admitting that when he could pass the school condition (fighting, bullying, kicking etc.), he would have a strong mentality and is similar to other students' views that, regardless of their gender differences, life at university would be tough and they will need physical and mental toughness.

> *Tawuran, pemalakan, penindasan, pemukulan, pengeroyoak atau yang biasa kita bilang BULLYING*
> *Tetapi aku berfikir, mungkin saja kalau aku bisa menghadapi semua itu, maka mentalku sudah terlatih ketika nanti jenjang kuliah.*
>
> *(School) fighting,confiscating, oppressing, knocking, attacking or what we call BULLYING*
> *But I think, if I could pass it through, my mentality would be used to it when I am in university. ( A diary entitled "Masa-masa Indah, by Dika)*

From the students' point of view, there is likely a consensus that character and mental building is only within the boundary of university and at work. There seems to be a stigma among the students that university and work are places where 'violence and harassment' often occur and so they should anticipate this by familiarising themselves with it and experiencing violence. Recognising the way the students think about mental character building through violence indicates that they might have undergone 'crises of confidence' in which they are too worried about their future life, particularly the life after school.

Another perception of the girls on violence is the association between the current condition and the future life. The girls noted that when they experienced hardship, they would be ready for the future life. Experiencing hardship is beneficial to give them a better foundation for another journey in their life. The students also think that their future life will be more complex than school so they need to have different social capital, a unique character. They illustrated that studying at school 1001 would offer them a distinctive taste of how to live in the future.

***Extract 4.27***

| 1 | Rita | *Terus selama menjadi utas itu kita jadi mengetahui tentang bagaimana* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *caranya hidup keras yang sebenarnya akan kita rasakan juga pada saat* |
| 3 | | *kita dewasa nanti, kalo udah lulus nanti. Kalo tidak ada yang seperti* |
| 4 | | *waktu kita kelas satu kemaren (praktek2 senioritas yang kental dengan* |
| 5 | | *kekerasan), kita sama aja kayak sekolah lain yang cuman lulus, pinter,* |
| 6 | | *tapi nggak tau apa-apa yang harus dilakukan pada saat kita dewasa nanti.* |
| 7 | | *Kalo cuman modal pinter doang sih, banyak orang pinter. Tapi kalo siswa* |
| 8 | | *dengan mental yang hebat itu hanya ada di sekolah ini doang (FGD 4)* |

| 1 | | *When we are juniors, we know that life is so hard and we will see it when* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *we are adults, after graduating from school. If we didn't have (referring to* |
| 3 | | *any hardship experience) when we were at grade 1, we would be like other* |
| 4 | | *students out there, passing the school, smart but without anything for their* |
| 5 | | *future life. There are many smart students. But only the students from this* |
| 6 | | *school have a strong mentality.* |

Whilst violence is perceived as able to build character and mental strength, violence is also able to construct strong solidarity.  There are questions to be addressed as to what kind of solidarity the students wanted to build and to what extent their solidarity is

achieved. For boys solidarity is beyond any time limits, the solidarity which has been built in recent time or when they are suffering from any violence will last forever, until they are at university, at work - building connection, even when they are old. When I asked Ilham about the role of alumnae, he said that when the students graduated from SMA 1001 it would be easier to be recruited by an organization:

***Extract 4.28***

| 1 | Ilham | *Artinya koneksi kalian dari mana SMA 1001 ohh..itu semakin di rekrut.* |
| 2 | | *Ada yang bilang kalian dari SMA 1001 ayo masuk-masuk…di gaet lalu* |
| 3 | | *dari kuliah-kuliah di PTN juga banyak dari 1001 itu tersebar.* |

| 1 | | *. If people are asked where they graduated from and they said SMA 1001,* |
| 2 | | *then they would easily be recruited. Even in public universities the alumni* |
| 3 | | *had a good connection. Many of the 1001 students are spread out.* |
| | | *(Personal Interview, Ilham)* |

In addition, Mambo provided an example about getting job after their graduation

***Extract 4.29***

| 1 | Mambo | *Apalagi nanti udah lulus. Apalagi lulus ketemu satu kuliah, satu* |
| 2 | | *fakultas. Jadi kalopun kita nanti lulus, kita bisa minta tolong. 'Kak,* |
| 3 | | *bantu lah gua kak. Belum dapet kerja', gitu… Alumni-alumninya* |
| | | *makanya kan kuat banget disitu.* |

| 1 | | |
| 2 | | *". Moreover, when we have graduated, meeting at a university, the same* |
| 3 | | *faculty. Even if we have graduated, we can ask for help. "brother, help* |
| | | *me please, I haven't got a job", that is like that (Personal Interview,* |
| | | *Mambo)* |

Although it is a cliché, boys illustrated that solidarity is intimately linked to the practice of protecting and giving shelter to their peers. When they get involved in mass fighting, for example, the concept of solidarity is that when one of their peers gets injured, other peers will save him and take him away from the arena regardless of where it is. The situation in mass fighting is depicted like war on TV or in movies where if one of the friends gets injured, others try to rescue him.

***Extract 4.30***

| 1 | Lutfi | *Kalo menurut gua ada sisi positifnya solidaritas yang kuat di tawuran* |
| 2 | | *meskipun sisi negatifnya lebih banyak. Kayak misalnya andaikata loe jatuh* |
| 3 | | *pas tawuran, kan temen-temen loe tuh nggak mungkin kan asal ninggalin* |

| 3 | | *aja. Nah, yang kita ambil disini bukan gimana temen loe nolongin, tapi* |
| 4 | | *waktu kita udah selesai tawuran itu loh. Berarti dia itu emang bener-bener* |
| 5 | | *solid, emang bener-bener temenan ama kita. Bukan sekedar temen yang,* |
| 6 | | *istilahnya TKB ya. Temen Kalo Butuh Ini terlihat ketika teman lo jatuh elo* |
| 7 | | *harus nylametin.* |

| 1 | Lutfi | *In my opinion there is positive side of strong solidarity in school fighting,* |
| 2 | | *although the negative side is more than positive one. If for example, you* |
| 3 | | *are down (get injured) in school fighting, your friends won't leave you.* |
| 4 | | *What we take from this case is not how your friends saved you, but after* |
| 5 | | *that moment. It can be said that (we are) solid, your friends were really* |
| 6 | | *care of you. They are not just like opportunistic friends, but (truly) friends* |
| 7 | | *who saved you when you are down (FGD 3).* |

Helping others in a difficult situation is the kind of solidarity that the students wanted to form. This, based on the students' perceptions, brings implications that if they are helping each other in difficult situation, they will automatically be much more helpful in a mundane situation. Solidarity and togetherness are often measured when one is experiencing a difficult time and the others help him. The solidarity they form through fighting or experiencing physical threat together will last forever. One of the respondents said that their solidarity is more like brother than friends.

***Extract 4.31***

| 1 | Ahong | *...Ya kalo angkatan itu sih uda kayak sodara. Kita gak Cuma sekedar* |
| 2 | | *temen tapi kita menganggap sodara. Makanya pentingnya itu, kita* |
| 3 | | *menganggap teman uda gak kayak temen lagi tapi sodara.* |

| 1 | Ahong | *...We regard batch is like kinship. We are not only friends, but we're* |
| 2 | | *family. So that's why, (batch) is important, we regard peers is just like* |
| 3 | | *family. (Personal Interview, Ahong)* |

What Ahong illustrated is just like the concept of brotherhood in Islam (most of the students of the school are Muslim); when one is hurt, he is responsible for another. When one is wounded in a fight, his peers should be responsible for fighting back and getting revenge, at least at the same level of what the other did to their peer. Regarding this situation, Figure 2.2 shows photos are taken from YouTube, showing how a boy was trying to rescue his friend from turning out to be a fatal injury in mass fighting. Rescuing his friend from such a bad situation is seen as evidence that they are solid and this would make them very close friends, like brothers and this will be a positive memory when they get older.

**Figure 2.2 Friendship in School Violene**

Another concept of solidarity is closely related to school fighting itself. In school fighting, the more students there are, the more they will be feared. Gathering and getting as many students as possible involved in school fighting will benefit them in conquering enemies. This situation is illustrated by Satria when figuring out the past event, having thousands of students will generate fear for other schools' students '…*dulu siswa yang keluar dari sekolah ini ribuan, siapa yang tidak merinding melihat seperti itu' It used to be thousands of students came out from this school, who wasn't scared seeing them (Satria, personal interview).*

The use of 'propaganda' - such as students should care for their friends, peers should be able to protect each other, friends should be responsible for the others - in the pursuit of solidarity is the way to influence students getting involved in school violent as illustrated by Lutfi in extract 4.31. This concept is just like the concept of Indonesian culture "*gotong royong*" or togetherness in a positive way such as building public facilities and the concept of *saudara* or brotherhood. However, the concept solidarity in this sense is misused to fight other students within the school and other students from other schools.

Similar to boys, girls said that violence in terms of physical threat can also help them to have a feeling of solidarity. Although they did not overtly state it, they admitted that seniority practices would build a feeling of solidarity. Solidarity for the girls is related to togetherness in visible performances - when one wears the tight uniform, others

should wear the same; when peers do not apply lipstick, others should not apply it. Solidarity for the girls is about how they wear the same shoes, bags, and the style they perform (this is further discussed in the next chapter, style and the practice of seniority which can construct violent practices). Having strong solidarity in an Indonesian context is commonly associated with helping each other whether for goodness (building public facilities) or for badness (fighting, killing, or corruption). The following is a statement from the group discussion emphasising togetherness when I asked what kind of solidarity the girls wanted to form.

***Extract 4.32***

| 1 | Ana | *Melatih kekompakan juga kan. Jadi ditentuin harga tasnya, semua harus* |
| | | *sama* |
| 2 | Andin | *Jadi ga ada istilahnya yang ekonominya keatas dengan ekonomominya* |
| 3 | | *menengah. Tapi terus berusaha kompak, kita sama. Menyamaratakan* |
| 4 | | *gitu. Tujuannya sih itu biar kelihatan kita kompak. Sampai mana kita bisa* |
| 5 | | *kompak, dari hal yang kecil* |

| 1 | Ana | *Solidarity can be trained (through seniority). (such as) The bag's price is* |
| 2 | | *determined, the (students)'s bag should be similar* |
| 3 | Andin | *So, there is no gap between middle and high class students. We keep* |
| 4 | | *trying to be compact, we are equal. The goal is to make compact. To what* |
| 5 | | *extent we can be compact, from the small things. (FGD 2)* |

Togetherness based on the girls' views is togetherness in performance. From my field notes, there are clear differences between first, second and third year students with regard to their daily performances. However, togetherness shown by different levels of study indicated stratification of the level of study. The way the first year students expose their style, such as having a loose uniform and ponytail are an example of togetherness among the first year students. Having tight uniform for second year students emphasises that they get together among themselves and this differs from that of the first and third year students. This kind of solidarity can only be achieved through the practice of seniority and seniority is linked with violence.

Moreover, solidarity and togetherness are also connected to the school's biggest event, '1001 Cup'. This is the moment when the students are expected to be independent, tough, having a strong mentality and solidarity. Being independent means the students have to be able to handle the event without help from the teachers. Being tough and having a strong mentality can be understood as their efforts to raise the huge fund

through various creative activities including selling food, performing arts, circulating proposals to companies, etc. Having strong solidarity creates togetherness among the [16]committee in conducting the event. According to Mambo (a student), it is quite impossible to conduct such a school big event without having strong solidarity and a strong solidarity is formed through experiencing physical threats, hanging out together and fighting.

***Extract 4.33***

| 1 | Mambo | *Tapi dulu pernah dibilang tawuran sama senior itu cuman satu* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *paragraph dari satu novel yang ada di 1001. Ya emang yang kebentuk* |
| 3 | | *solidaritas. Kalo nggak ada anak-anak nongkrong bareng, dipukul* |
| 4 | | *bareng, mungkin nggak ada acara besar di 1001. Kan acara kayak gitu* |
| 5 | | *kompaknya harus banget, gitu. Dana yang 1 milyar, kalo nggak kompak* |
| | | *gimana?* |

| 1 | Mambo | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *It used to be said that fighting was the only paragraph of a novel in* |
| 3 | | *SMA 1001. The solidarity is form there. If there is no hanging out, being* |
| 4 | | *punched together, may be there will be no big events in SMA 1001.* |
| 5 | | *Those events require togetherness. We could not raise one billion rupiah* |
| | | *(500.000 pounds) if we were not a team.(Personal Interview, Mambo)* |

The solidarity which the students wanted to construct, however, according to teachers, is a kind of 'vague' solidarity. Pak Najib, a teacher and ex-vice headmaster, affirmed that fighting and the practice of seniority can form strong solidarity but it is more on a smaller scale (their batches/class). He argued that togetherness should not segregate students on a batch or class basis, but it should accommodate and embrace all the members of the school. Togetherness should be on a school level rather than on the class or batches name.

***Extract 4.34***

| 1 | Pak | *Misalkan membentuk kekompakan nah. Tapi kompak kan semu. Kompak* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Najib | *bukan dalam artian almamater 1001 keseluruhan, tetapi kompak hanya* |
| 3 | | *sesama angkatannya . Kelas satu kompak ama kelas satunya, kelas dua* |
| 4 | | *kompak ama kelas duanya, dan kelas tiga hanya sama kelas tiga. Jadi* |
| 5 | | *saya katakan kompak semu..* |

| 1 | Pak | *For example, it can form compactness. But it's a vague compact.* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Najib | *Compact doesn't cover almamater of SMA 1001, but they compact only* |

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[16] All second year students are the committee of the event.

There have been various concepts of solidarity that the students wanted to build, starting from the small scope of solidarity (which covers similar uniform, styles, etc.) to the wider context (conducting the school's biggest event) and beyond their current status as a student (the situation in the workplace, the induction session at university level and at work as well as about building connection in the future

Another perception of violence based on the students' views is that being able to generate a sense of enjoyment, which can lead the students to do the same action repeatedly.

## 4.6. *"School fighting is for channeling emotion. But for myself, getting involved in school fighting is really fun"*

Another distinctive finding which appeared from my interviews and focus group discussions is that violence is something sensational, able to give a sense of pleasure, something which can relieve a student's problems, whether those be academic problems or family problems[17]. The majority of boys said that violence is initially 'trial and error'; when they get pleasure in the first instance, it becomes addictive, and they will voluntarily and happily participate in further violence.

The notion of sensation in fighting can be illustrated as the pleasurable emotional arousal which influences fighters to be wilder and more aggressive in attacking their enemies. This sensation certainly will never be found in legal (school) competitions. In this 'free style fighting', the perpetrators are free to carry any weapons and use strategy to defeat the enemy without worrying about getting a penalty from the jury. Satria provided an example of the adrenalin rush he felt when he held a weapon (gear) tied into a belt. By twirling gear tied into a belt, he felt that he became a "jagoan" and would conquer his enemies to get what he illustrated as a new colony, just like the story of

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[17] According to media reports, family problems (broken home, poverty) and academic problems (e.g. feeling desperate after failing in the national exam, the heavy load of subjects they study) significantly contribute to mass fighting.

wars in ancient kingdoms. For him, fighting can generate a different sensation compared to those of other challenging activities.

*Extract 4.35*

| 1 | Satria | *Ya itulah awalnya saya ingin mengikuti tawuran karena saya coba-coba* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *dan saya ada rasa ingin yang menggebu-gebu, rasanya berapi-api, awal* |
| 3 | | *pertama kali rasanya dimana jiwa muda saya keluar. Adrenalin saya* |
| 4 | | *semakin terpacu ngejar-ngejar, teriak-teriak di jalanan sambil membawa* |
| 5 | | *gear dililit dengan sabuk untuk diputar-putar. Rasanya saya, jiwa* |
| 6 | | *petarung saya keluar untuk mengapa?" Mengusir penyerang dan* |
| 7 | | *menundukkan para musuh-musuh.layaknya kita kembali ke zaman perang* |
| 8 | | *dahulu.* |

| 1 | | *I joined student-brawls because I was curious to give it a try and my heart* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *was racing, it felt that I was full of spirit, for the first time it felt like the* |
| 3 | | *soul of my youngster came out. My adrenaline was pumped up, shouting* |
| 4 | | *on the streets while holding a spinning gear tied into a belt. It felt like my* |
| 5 | | *fighter spirit came out. To expel my opponents and conquer my enemies* |
| 6 | | *like back in the old days when we had wars in the past* |
| 7 | | *(Personal Interview, Satria)* |

The sensation can also be associated with courage, perpetrators commonly being less brave the first time, but after the second or third time of getting involved in fighting they become much braver. The degree and the quantity of getting involved in fighting can possibly generate the sense of pleasure which makes perpetrators become braver and braver.

*Extract 4.36*

| 1 | Mambo | *Pasti. Sekali nyoba yang kedua kalinya pasti jadi lebih berani, yang* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *ketiga lebih berani lagi. Jadi lebih berani.* |

| 1 | Mambo | *Sure. Once (you) try (fighting), you will be braver and braver. (Personal* |
|---|---|---|
| | | *Interview, Mambo)* |

In addition, the sensation can also be connected to the notion of fun. Boys said that the orientation of taking part in fighting is just for having fun in that they do not intend to kill others

*Exctract 4.37*

| 1 | Roni | *Tapi emang untuk tawurannya sendiri buat niat ngebunuh ya? Kalo* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *tragedy kemarin itu kan nggak sengaja ya? Sebenernya tawurannya* |
| 3 | | *sendiri itu kan nggak ada niat ngebunuh. Cuman iseng-iseng berhadiah* |

| 1 | Roni | *Is mass fighting for killing? The tragedy (killing) was not deliberate. In* |
|---|------|---|
| 2 | | *fact, mass fighting is not intentionally for killing. It is just for fun. (FGD,* |
| 3 | | *3)* |

Similar to boys, girls inferred that participating in physical violence without having been 'forced' by others can result in a sense of happiness. Mrs Ummi described… '*jadi setelah keras, nanti ada yang melembekkan gitu. Nanti ada pos tampar gitu. After they get mad, there would be someone who makes them relax. There would also a slug post but it didn't hurt. But they have to keep silent*. When the girls have their extracurricular activities outside the school they have to pass through the 'post', and they need to do a 'strange' activity such as singing a fairy tale song with a particular rhyme while standing on one foot. If one or more members cannot do it properly, their seniors will scold and in many cases slap them. At that time, they certainly feel 'angry and hurt' and want to slap back or 'get revenge', but when they realise that they are juniors who should obey and are not allowed to fight back against their seniors, they just keep it in their mind. A year or so later when they get together this experience will become a joke and an interesting topic to talk about and it can make them laugh together. This experience can also become a story to share and talk about with their peers and their children later. They represented sensations in terms of happiness with the term 'a fairy-tale', a story which can be told to their children and grandchildren.

***Extract 4.38***

| 1 | Cinta | *Mungkin ada sebagian yang merasa tertekan tapi semisal dilewati akan* |
|---|-------|---|
| 2 | | *menjadi crita yang bisa jadi cerita ke anak cucu* |

| 1 | | *Maybe there have been (students) that feel oppressed, but if they have a* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *good time (happily), it will be a story for their children. (Cinta, FGD 1)* |

Whilst the sensation is also related to the feeling of happiness, the sensation enacted from the result of fighting could be drawn from the two relational feelings. Firstly, when the students can express their youth adrenalin (in mass fighting) it can generate the sense of sensational just like caffeine as depicted by Satria (heart beating, nervousness, relief), they have never experienced before. Secondly, it relates to the 'transition processes from being afraid of getting injured to the 'relief' from being

stressed when they are able to conquer their enemy. The sensation they get during the 'transition process' seems able to depict the sensational that was always referred to when they talked about mass fighting.

Fighting is also regarded as addictive, just like coffee or smoking. Boys argued that there has been a sensation or a sense of happiness when getting involved in fighting. Satria, metaphorically illustrated that fighting is like a chronic disease, a cancer which is difficult to cure, but at the same time he also explained that fighting is like caffeine, which makes him addicted.

*Extract 4.39*

| 1 | Satria | *Makanya saya ga mau lagi membangkitkan, saya harus kubur dalam-* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *dalam untuk selama-lamanya itu. Kalau ga, bangkit lagi penyakit saya,* |
| 3 | | *kambuh lagi. Dia itu seperti kanker pak. Kalau ga bener diamputasi rasa* |
| 4 | | *itu dan kalau ga belum terasa sakit, terasa sakit seperti kanker itu a akan* |
| 5 | | *berhenti, sama kaya orang merokok, kalau belum dapat sakitnya itu,* |
| 6 | | *ketagihan terus-terusan. Ada efek samping kafein.* |

| 1 | Satria | *I have a trauma although I still have the passion to fight but I tried to bury* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *it deep. To bury the passion of earthly things. That was why I did not want* |
| 3 | | *to join. I wanted to bury it deep forever… if not that feeling would revive* |
| 4 | | *again and became worse. The passion is like cancer, Sir. If that feeling is* |
| 5 | | *not amputated and the pain is not yet felt, it's hard for us to stop. It's like* |
| 6 | | *smoking, Sir. If the disease is yet to come, we get addicted over and over* |
| 7 | | *again. There is a sort of addictive substance like caffeine. (Personal* |
| | | *Interview, Satria)* |

Being addicted, in the context of fighting, is a result of getting enjoyment, relaxation and a challenging feeling; this feeling specifically occurs when they can defeat their enemies. It is like a hero who conquers his enemy to gain the new colony. This may be similar to the scene in the action movies when a hero can destroy his enemies; he is likely to have more power to destroy other enemies. It can also be associated with playing games - when the player successfully passes through stage one he has a challenge to pass through stage two. There is always a feeling or 'challenge' of doing it repeatedly

*Extract 4.340*

| 1 | Satria | *Kayaknya seperti….ohh eh (nada tinggi)..apa ya…seorang pendekar yang* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *berusaha menaklukkan suatu wilayah hehehe…untuk mendapatkan* |

| 3 | | *daerah jajahan, untuk mendapatkan daerah kekuasaan dengan* |
|---|---|---|
| 4 | | *meneriakkan nama gerbang sekolah kita. Nama sekolah kita gitu. Untuk* |
| 5 | | *nyari eksis sebenarnya.* |

| 1 | Satria | *It felt like… oh eh (high pitch) … it is like… a hero who tried to conquer a* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *territory hehehe… to have an area to defeat, to get some territorial* |
| 3 | | *authority by yelling our school gate's name. Our school name. It was* |
| 4 | | *actually to look for acknowledgment of existence". (Personal Interview,* |
| | | *Satria)* |

The girls admitted that fighting can potentially make someone who takes part in fighting feel pleasant, but the pleasure according to the girls is short-term pleasure. This means the effects of mass fighting are not equal to the joy they get. Death, permanent injury and exclusion from the school are more serious and fatal effects than feeling 'relieved' and getting 'joy' when they get involved in mass fighting.

***Extract 4.41***

| 1 | Dian | *dan gimana ya? Sebetulnya yang tawuran kan oknum. Nggak semua siswa* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *itu tawuran.* |
| 3 | Rina | *terus kita juga harus mikirin masa depan. Tawuran itu hanya untuk* |
| 4 | | *kesenangan sementara.* |
| 5 | Wati | *iya.. Teriak-teriak gitu katanya seneng* |

| 1 | Dian | *In fact, the perpretators are only particular students. Not all students take* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *part in fighting.* |
| 3 | Rina | *We have to think about our future. Fighting is short-term pleasure.* |
| 4 | Wati | *Yeah…it's said that shouting (in fighting) is happy. (FGD 3)* |

The different perspectives of boys and girls are quite normal since, according to students, there is significant difference in nature. For boys, small things (staring at each other) can generate physical conflict, whilst for the girls it is not such a big deal.

In addition, the sensation that the students get when taking part in mass fighting can be linked to the way they shout, attack and run with the weapons in their hands or yell when they get victory and or when they can freely shout and yell their gangs' and school's names in front of the public. The majority of the boys said that it is a way to relieve their emotions. Emotions, stress and any other physical disorder can be expressed through mass fighting.

***Extract 4.42***

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Joko | *Sebenernya tawuran sendiri kalo menurut saya lebih ke masalah pribadi* |
| 2 | | *seseorang. Kalo berdasarkan survey teman saya sendiri yang ikut* |
| 3 | | *tawuran itu ada yang karena factor identitas, **ada yang tawuran itu seru.*** |
| 4 | | ***Tawuran buat nyalurin emosi.** Ada juga yang karena keluarga broken* |
| 5 | | *home dia jadi nyari perhatian dari orang lain. **Kalau saya sendiri sih ikut*** |
| 6 | | ***tawuran karena emang seru*** |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Joko | *In fact school fighting itself, I think, is about individuals' problem. Based* |
| 2 | | *on my friend's survey who got involved in school fighting, school fighting* |
| 3 | | *is about identity, and also fighting is fun. **School fighting is for*** |
| 4 | | ***channelling emotion,** school fighting is for getting attention for the* |
| 6 | | *broken home' family. **But I myself, getting involved in school fighting is*** |
| 7 | | ***really fun.** (FGD 3)* |

As violence is sensational and has 'benefits' by generating pleasure and happiness, it will become a great moment to remember in the future when the students get together. It seems that there is nothing more interesting to talk about than remembering past events, their togetherness in the past. Besides, talking about their past when people engage in communication could be an indication that they have an intimate and close friendship. Closeness and intimacy is often marked by the topic the speakers are talking about. As it is illustrated by Ricky in his diary entitled 'Perjalanan Masa Dua".

> *Ya masa utas sudah terlewat dengan banyak kejadian yang benar-benar bisa merinding jika diceritakan kembali. Sebenarnya banyak kejadian yang saya tidak tulis di autobiografi ini, karena itu adalah rahasia angkatan kami yang akan kami simpan untuk 20 tahun mendatang.*

> *Yeah, it was over being utas (now he is 2nd year). It was many frightening moments made our 'goose bump' (scary) if retold. Actually there were moments I cauldn't write here in this biography because it was our batch secret we would keep until 20 years (diary etitled "Perjalanan Masa Dua").*

Fighting can be recognised as one of the best moments and it could also be 'a special moment' in the past to remember. Although they are dislocated, studying at universities in the country or possibly many of them are pursuing their degree overseas and others have already got jobs in other provinces within the country, they are still able to share their feeling of togetherness. This, according to them, is a positive memory. Fighting makes them smile when remember it.

**Figure 2.3 A Memory of School Violence**

Students see that violence, in some respects, is beneficial for their future life, as it is a positive story to talk about when they get together for a reunion. However, in other aspects, they are clearly aware that violence can be disastrous and threaten their future lives. Despite the strong influence of the school structure, all in all, from the students' perspective, the positive aspects of school violence are still obvious.

## 4.6. Summary

The findings demonstrate that the students' perspectives on violence are quite diverse but they tend to agree that violence is perceived as the way to build up values such as manliness, identity, character building, solidarity and social capital for their life. However, they were aware that their understanding and perceptions of violence is deeply influenced by public discourses circulated within the school and social practices operated by seniors, whilst, at the same time, they also admitted that they are agents in (re)shaping and (re)constructing the institutional hierarchical system.

In addition, the findings suggest the students regardless of gender   perceived that positive values and social capital are crucial for the future life as they are optimistic if they possess social values and capital such as having physical and mental prowess and connections, they would probably be more ready for the turbulence of future life.

Besides, the students regard that uniqueness which is obtained from the active involvement in such as school violence is another key aspect for the future life whether when they are the university or when they are being member of society. This indicates that the students have a capacity to create and imagine what their future life will likely be and what skills are needed in the future. In other words, the students have their own definition of their present and future world, arguing that they need to possess certain skills to live their life and acquiring those skills should be a goal of their senior high school years, achieved through various challenging activities and events including school violence.

The findings in this chapter then will act as a foundation to get an understanding of the further themes examined in the next two chapters; social practices and the school milieu.

# Chapter 5

# Learning from School—Territory, Styles and Interactions

*Eh..terus disini juga ada yang namanya pembagian lapangan, utas-kelas satu di TBC (tanah batu cadas), lalu yang dekat wall climbing itu lapangan kelas 2, lapangan sebelahnya adalah lapangan agit atau kelas tiga-nya. Tangga-nyapun juga begitu, dibagi-bagi. Kelas 1,2,3. Kantin-nyapun juga begitu. Kantin kelas 1,2,3. Koridorpun juga begitu, koridor 1,2,3. Semakin kita naik level semakin berkuasa satu sekolah itu. Kalau dilihat dari secara folumenya dari kantin kelas 1, paling kecil, kelas 2 lumayan enak, kelas 3 super enak-kelas VIP untuk rame-rame*

*Eh… then there was field divisions here. 'Utas' (the first graders) in TBC (Tanah Batu Cadas) or in the sedimentary rock field, then the one near the climbing wall was for the second graders, the field next to it was for 'agit' (the third graders). This system also applied to the stairs for the first, second and third graders. The canteens were also differentiated as well, as were the corridors. As we move into higher grades the more we control the school. If we see it from the volume, the first graders have the least, the second graders have quite a good proportion and the third graders have super-suite service like VIP service for all. (Interview with Satria)*

## 5.1. Background

The previous chapter explored students' perspectives on violence and further outlined the key ideas of their positive views of violence. Their positive perceptions of violence, as discussed in the previous chapter, are closely linked to the building of particular characteristics and constructing youth identity, which are linked to the concept of masculinity. Examining students' views on violence cannot be isolated from their experiences during their time dealing with various events within the school. Research has shown that perceptions are influenced by the experiences of individuals; in this vein, the space and time in which students are engaged with other students significantly shapes their experiences and understanding of particular values and social practices. Felson notes,

> *People respond to the symbolic environment on the basis of their 'definitions of the situation'; people behave on the basis of their perception of what the relevant audience evaluates positively (and not negatively); and interactional outcomes are contingent on situational factors* (Felson 1978: 182–183).

Moreover, Cotterell (1996) argues that the role of peer groups in constructing individuals' belief, attitudes and behaviours is quite clear as the members of the group spend much of their time together. Since students have positive points of view regarding violence, there should be a link and connection, as is argued throughout this chapter, with the social practices[18] within the school environment. To this point, the researcher's own argument will be extended by paying attention to students' behaviours and social practices, school territory, and students' style and communication patterns. Their social practices will be analysed not only based on visible performances, but also with consideration to hidden agenda through the story students tell, the discussions they have about particular practices, as well as individual artefacts, including students' diaries, field notes and social media, such as BlackBerry Messenger and YouTube.

This chapter is divided into four parts: the first part introduces the nature of students' problems and further outlines the situational context by describing school hours and students' activities during this time. The second part sketches out the division of the school facilities and the underlying motives or hidden agenda of the practice, explaining the aspects of the practices by considering its philosophical and practical value; the next part examines students' style and other social practices, focusing on students' uniform and communication patterns, which can be argued as not simply a distinction of school level and commonalities of particular communication amongst students but also as a portrait of social, cultural and political hegemony of some students over others, where all social practices operated by the students, therefore, can act as a medium to inculcate particular norms and values that may be connected to the construction of the practice of school violence; to conclude, the argument will be posed that the social practices operated by students reflect the social, cultural and historical values of the school's traditions.

### 5.1.1. The Nature of School Problems and its Link to School Practices

Upon exploring the rooms in the school, it was interesting to note the graphs on the wall in the counselling office. As has been assumed previously, if looking for insight into the

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[18] According to Tuomela (2002), social practices should be repeated collective social actions and there should be social norms which regulate the actions. In this study, social practices refer to any collective social actions regulated by the students' community (students and alumni) which include territorial division, styles, and communication patterns.

students' problems, the suitable place to visit is the counselling office. When stepping into the room, that there were two large boards, sized 1.5 x 1 metre, hanging on the wall behind the guest chairs. The graphs display data of the students; gender, social economic background and national examination scores, as well as data pertaining to students' problems. In fact, it was quite surprising to find that the counselling office displayed so much complete information about both current and past students, with this information not communicated by the Vice Head of the school, who is responsible for the students. It should be noted that there are three Vice Headmasters at the school; a Vice Head School who is responsible for the curriculum, a Vice Head School who is responsible for school facilities, and a Vice Head School who is responsible for students' activities and students' problems. Amongst the graphs hanging on the wall, one graph was more attractive than the others, which detailed data of students' problems, and which recently had been published. According to the counselling teachers, the data of students' problems 2012–2013 had been documented just that year.

From the data displayed at the counselling office, there was a breakdown of students' problems, explaining the percentage of students' problems, as can be seen from the following graph.
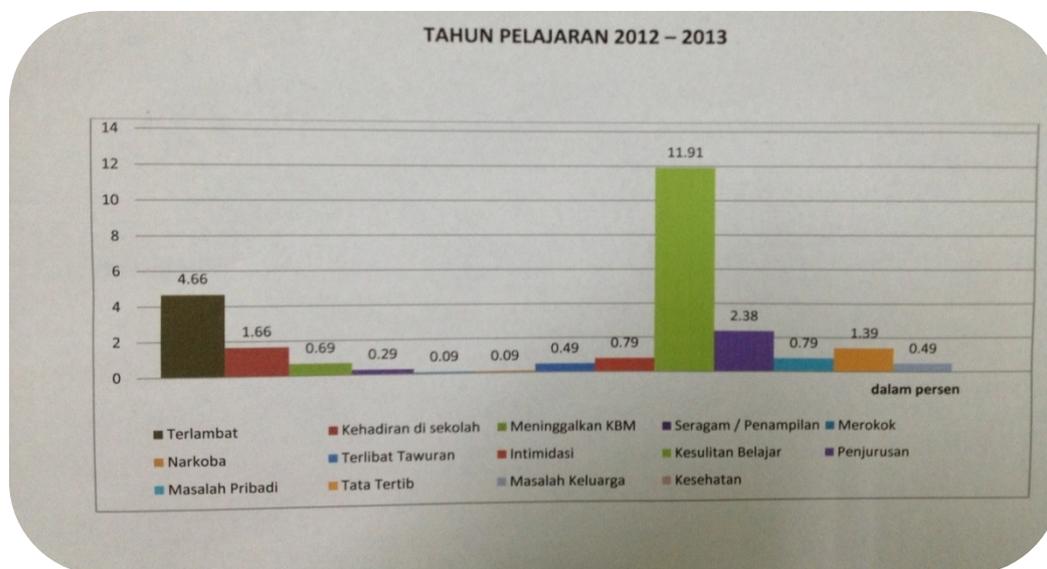


**Figure 0.1 The Number of Students' problems Recorded by the Counselling Office in Percentages in 2012–2013**

Although the above figure does not display the precise percentages of the data in relation to students' problems, it does at least exemplify that the striking school problem

was centred on *kesulitan belajar* or difficulties in studying, followed by *datang terlambat* or arriving late. The third biggest problem demonstrated by students is about *seragam/penampilan* or uniform/performance. Although difficulty in studying is the highest rate problem of the school, the counselling staff could not specify what type of difficulties the students have or the cause of the problem. Efforts were made to ask other staff with more knowledge about the students' problems at a more relax occasion, such as break time; however, they often explained by providing more normative answers, such as the main duty of counselling staff is providing guidance and counselling in academic matters rather than handling troubled students. The staff further asserted that the public assumption in relation to the counselling office as being the centre for information of troubled students is incorrect: it used to adopt a traditional paradigm. Now, the counselling office, according to the staff, is the place where the role of counsellors is centred on helping students to reflect and seek a solution to their problems. With regards the students' problems, the staff then stated that counsellors should be able to keep all students' problems confidential (Field note, May 20, 2013, at 13:00). Realising that it was becoming more difficult to obtain clearer answers to the issue at hand, students were interviewed, with one particular interview with one of the students (Satria) illuminating my understanding that the difficulties students encounter when studying can be linked to the social practices operated by senior students/alumnae.

***Extract 5.1***

| 1 | Satria | *Cuma itu bentuk, banyak sih waktu kelas 1 gonjang-ganjing, banyak* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *goncangan. Saya diuji mental saya dari berbagai tekanan, tekanan yang* |
| 3 | | *saya hadapi, tekanan oleh senior saya, tekanan terlebih dahulu dari guru* |
| 4 | | *saya yang mana selalu nama saya yang selalu buruk. Lalu tekanan* |
| 5 | | *karena jauhnya jarak rumah, karena tekanan perjalanan, saya harus* |
| 6 | | *was-was dari anak sekolah lain, tekanan belum lagi saya nongkrong,* |
| 7 | | *saya harus waspada jika ada musuh-musuh. Terlebih lagi tekanan dalam* |
| 8 | | *keluarga itu, dimana kondisi rumah saya kalau dibanding dengan…saya* |
| 9 | | *harusnya prihatin karena kondisi dari latarbelakang kondisi ekonomi* |
| 10 | | *saya bukan dari orang yang berkepunyaan lebih banget* |
| 11 | | |
| | Satria | *However, there were lots of challenges coming when the first graders, I* |
| 1 | | *was in very difficult situation. I was mentally tested by the pressure that I* |
| 2 | | *had to face. Pressure from my seniors. The pressure came first from the* |
| 3 | | *teachers, who I had a bad name with. Then the pressure because of the* |
| 4 | | *long distance from home, because of the pressure along the road - I was* |
| 5 | | *worried students from other schools would see me. Also if I go hanging* |

| 6 | | *out with friends, I have to be cautious if there are enemies around.* |
|---|---|---|
| 7 | | *Moreover, the pressure from my family, the condition of my family if* |
| 8 | | *compared with… I should have been wary as the economic condition of* |
| 9 | | *my family was not wealthy (Personal Interview, Satria)* |
| 10 | | |

His academic failure during his first year was, he claims, due to being unable to manage his time properly as a result of the various social practices operating within the school; these often put him in conflict with parents, himself, teachers, peers and his enemies from other schools. Satria described that, when doing his ritual of *nongkrong* or hanging out with his friends, there were threats from other school students, targeting him as a victim. As the students were the target of other school students, they were continuously afraid wherever they would go, including when going home, as illustrated by Satria in the above extract. Moreover, they also were afraid also due to the uniform they would wear, which could be easily spotted by other school students. The recognition of the uniform by other school students is also described by Bu Lusi.

***Extract 5.2***

| 1 | Bu | *Mereka merasa bangga sekali, dan merasa 1001 ekslusif sehingga dapat* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Lusi | *dengan mudah dikenali dimana-mana. Nah, kita pengen anak-anak* |
| 3 | | *merasa aman berada dimana-mana, jadi saya samakan dengan umum* |
| | | *warna rok nya.* |
| 1 | Bu | |
| 2 | Lusi | *They feel proud and think that 1001 is exclusive that easily been* |
| 3 | | *recognised everywhere. We wanted the students feeling secure* |
| 4 | | *everywhere, so I order them to wear the similar uniform (with other* |
| | | *schools). (Personal interview, Bu Lusi)* |

Bu Lusi admitted that students recognise the uniform, particularly from the colour of skirt and trousers. She also explicitly stated that the uniform can cause students to feel insecure and exposes them to physical threats from other students. Realising that the uniform invites a threat from others to do violence, the school applied the rules that students should wear the same colour and model as other school students: white shirt and white skirts/trousers on particular days, i.e. Mondays to Wednesday. The following figure is an example of the recommended uniform.

**Figure 0.2 The New Model School Uniform**

Although the school has issued the regulation about recommended uniforms, many students still insist on wearing the old uniform. I witnessed many students being punished, standing for around thirty minutes under the sunshine after the flag ceremony; the students insisted on wearing the 'cultural' uniform'—blue skirt/trousers and white shirts. The interview with Bu Lusi provided an answer to why this was occurring: due to feeling pride and being different to other schools (further discussed in Section 6.3). Recognising the students for being difficult to manage, in terms of not changing into the recommended uniform, Bu Lusi alluded that the school is 'abnormal'.

*Extract 5.3*

| 1 | Bu | *saya bilang sama anak-anak bahwa sekolah kita itu abnormal. Beda* |
|---|------|---|
| 2 | Lusi | *dengan sekolah lain. Pakaian sekolah lain tertib, dari atas sampek* |
| 3 | | *bawah. Yang tidak tertib hanya 1001. Mereka merasa beda. ya, dari* |
| 4 | | *model rok. Sengaja warna saya samakan dengan sekolah lain, dulu agak* |
| | | *eksklusif. Warna 1001 beda.* |

| 1 | |
|---|---|
| 2 | *I told students that our school is abnormal, different from other schools.* |
| 3 | *other school's uniform is orderly from the top to the bottom. The only* |
| 4 | *disorder uniform is 100's. They thought (they) different, like their skirt'* |
| 5 | *model. I (now) deliberately make the uniform similar to those of other* |
| | *schools. it (the uniform) used to be exclusive, it's colour different.* |
| | *(Personal Interview, Bu Lusi,)* |

The term 'abnormal' also is seen to refer to the obstinate students that keep maintaining the tradition of the school uniform, which used to be different from other schools. All students, regardless of their class year, wear the old uniform when becoming seniors. In other words, only seniors wear the old uniform. Nonetheless, what Bu Lusi meant is that there would not be any difference between the juniors and seniors as, at the later stage, the juniors would practice what the seniors do, i.e. wearing the old uniform. Essentially, it all came down to timing: when they become seniors, they would imitate what the seniors had taught them.

*Extract 5.4*

| 1 | Bu | *Nah begitu kelas 11 mereka cari rok yang wrna nya jadul dulu. Jadi* |
|---|------|---|
| 2 | Lusi | *keekslusifannya mereka yang gak bener. Yang gak tertib. Oke lah kita gak* |
| 3 | | *peduli masalah warna. Pokoknya model. Eh, mereka bkin model sendiri.* |
| 4 | | *Yang seharusnya semata kaki, dia bikin sebetis., yang ukurannya 7/8. Nah* |
| 5 | | *perkara baju, dikecilin. Dipotongin gitu. Jadi mereka ingin merasa beda,* |
| 6 | | *terutama mereka waktu jadi senior (Bu Lusi).* |
| 7 | | |

| | | *When they are at class 11, they starting to back to the old uniform. So,* |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | | *their exclusiveness is not getting right. They are not organised. It is OK* |
| 2 | | *with the colour, but not the model. Eh, they make their own model. It* |
| 3 | | *(skirt) should be long until the ankle, but it is on the calf, its length only* |
| 4 | | *7/8. This is the same with the shirt, it is shorten, cut. They want to be* |
| 5 | | *different, especially when they become seniors. (Personal Interviee, Bu* |
| 6 | | *Lusi)* |

The greatest concern for Bu Lusi in regards school uniform is the colour, which differs from other schools. When Bu Lusi said that she was tolerating the colour, she became irritated with the model of uniform the students wear, which violates school regulations;

there seems to be a gap between school expectations and students' orientation. When the school requires students to wear a similar colour and style, comparable to that of other school students, in an effort to minimise the negative impacts, some students see it as a challenge, where they feel like being a symbol of exclusiveness. Nonetheless, although the students see the uniform as enabling them to have prestige, they also were aware that, by wearing a different colour and style, they would feel insecure everywhere (see Extract 5.2).

Style and colour of the uniform, therefore, could obviously cause a problem for the students. When they obey the school regulations, they would probably face consequences from their peers and their groups (as illustrated in the previous paragraph, where students are seen to prefer to be punished rather than to change the style and colour of their uniform), but when they follow social practices, they potentially would face problems either with school regulations or through experiencing threats from other school students. In this sense, there seems to be a conflictual situation for the school and for the students. On the one hand, wearing a cultural uniform becomes a ritual of senior students, from which it is difficult to be eliminated (the students prefer to be punished); on the other hand, the school is concerned about the security of students. Therefore, difficulties in studying could be closely connected with the unsecure situations surrounding learning and studying within the educational setting, where this situation can be linked with the third most significant problem—'wearing uniform'.

The two cases discussed above—as posited by Satria, who encountered a difficult time due to getting involved in school practices, and that of Bu Lusi about school uniform— communicate that the social practices plausibly enact personal and communal problems within and across the school. Other social practices, to be examined in this chapter, include the strict hierarchical system (division of class year and the segregation of school facilities and styles, as well as communication patterns) also perceived by students as seeds of school violence.

Prior to discussing social practices, it is worth exploring the role of place and the school hours with which students commonly engage for particular activities. Geographical spaces and school hours provide insights about the places at which students spend their time, and other social practices in the school areas. In the following section, the time

students spent in and out of school will be discussed in an effort to portray their rituals and daily practices.

### 5.1.2. School Hours and Students' Daily Routine

The amount of time students spend at school is normally around 8 hours a day, spanning 06:30am to 15:00, Monday to Friday. With the exception of Mondays, there is a flag ceremony that lasts for around one and a half hours. There are two breaks: the first break is 09:10–09:30, and the second break is at lunchtime, spanning 12:00–12:45. The second break is longer than the first break due to additional prayer time added. There are usually 4–5 subjects each day; some subjects may have three lesson hours whilst others might have only two, or sometimes one consecutive hour and one lesson hour equal to 45 minutes. Looking at school times, practically speaking, students do not have a lot of time during their first break, but they do in the second break. Generally, students use the first break to have breakfast, meaning the canteen is more crowded than in the second break; during the second break, which is longer than the first, the students are free to choose to do activities, pray, have lunch and gather with other students; specifically in school extracurricular activities. The school day finishes at 15:15; some students actively engage in extracurricular activities afterwards, whereas others prefer to go home and do additional courses outside of the school. The school gate is normally closed at 18:00, meaning all extracurricular activities within the school should finish before this time. These are the hours students spend at the school.

As an illustration pertaining to the above paragraph, it can be said that the students mostly spend their time in the classrooms in lessons and only at limited times during the break. When connected to social practices, it can be implied that there is limited opportunity for particular students to practice during school hours; besides, as they are mostly within school areas, they are closely monitored by teachers, security staff and/or school administration staff. School practices that do not fit with school regulations, therefore, can be sorted quickly; however, upon close observations, with focus directed towards particular physical exercises during the school hours, it could be seen that the students did so with confidence and without worrying that staff would stop their practicing.

One day, I happened to find students practicing physical exercise, despite these extracurricular activities normally being conducted after school hours. Three girls could be seen commanding around fifteen students—boys and girls—to do sit-ups, push-ups and other physical activities. The reason behind why these students were doing this at break time was answered by the students as being a form of punishment for those members who had broken the consensus of their group membership, i.e. by arriving late, not wearing their correct uniform and being absent from activities. The punishment was conducted based on the accumulation of misdemeanours or in line with a points-based system, as described by the girls (seniors):

> *Iya pak jadi sistemnya disni (extracurricular) seperti sistem di sekolah.Bapak kan tahu sendiri kalau di sekolah ini ada sistem poin. Kalau poin kita habis, akibatnya kita akan dikeluarkan dari sekolah. Kalau terlambat datang poin kita dikurangi 2.*

> *Yes Sir, the system of the punishment in this extracurricular is just like the point system of the school. If our points finish, we would be excluded from the school. If coming late, for example, it will reduce two (2) points*. (Field note, October 7, 2013, at 12:00).

They illustrated that arriving late,  for example, would incur 2 points; not wearing the right uniform would incur 5 points, etc. This punishment system echoes the school's regulations (see Appendix 3), where the school system points to those students breaking regulations. As can be seen in the following figure (Figure 5.3), girls and boys get the same forms of punishment, namely push-ups and sit-ups, more than ninety times during punishment.

**Figure 0.3 The Punishment of One of Extracurricular Activities Conducted in School Hours**

This type of punishment can be understood as seniors having potential power to order the juniors to do everything within the school, such as conducting extracurricular activities during school hours. It is also possible that this kind of practice is a tactic for seniors to assert power and influence over juniors.

Interestingly, although the practices are conducted during school hours, there seems to be negligence from the teachers; this could be explained by considering that the teachers often find such practices every day and so do not know how to respond or are uncertain that the students are doing wrong and violating school regulations. It could also be that the teachers do not have power to stop it, due to massive numbers of students who get involved in every social practice.

> *Ternyata SMA ini penuh dengan senioritas dan anarkisme, sampai-sampai para guru tidak dapat berbuat apa-apa.*
>
> *I eventually found that this school is riddle with seniority and anarchism that teachers can't do anything (Student's diary entitled Aku, by Santoso)*

However, the important point to be noted from this practice is that there have been various school practices that are not always noticed by teachers and staff in the school environment, particularly in areas of school where there are few people, such as bathrooms, certain corridors and stairs, for example. These social practices are commonly centred on punishment, indoctrination, and other types of hidden violence. Other social practices covering the segregation of school facilities, styles and class-year division, and communication patterns, which are used ways of inculcating and perpetuating school traditions, will be examined in the following section.

## 5.2. Social Practices within the School Environment

In the first month of the current fieldwork, the students partaking in any other activities besides their school hours and extracurricular activities was not recognised; initially, the researcher only observed what students were doing in the school yard, canteen, mosque, sports fields, classrooms, stairs and extracurricular rooms; however, when noticing that many boys were still around school in the evening, until around 20:00, the researcher became curious to establish what they were doing. Moreover, other social practices in which the students were practicing, besides hanging out after school hours, were witnessed. From the researcher's personal conversations with the students, security staff and teachers said that there have been other social practices besides what have been observed within and out of the school setting.

> *Pak Irfan will see that there have been phenomena here about hierarchical system and military model adopted by the students. As I observed, for example, the students should wear a particular shoes model with its price not more than 30.000 IRD…about the uniform, it has particular styles, including the way the students go to school…the division of canteen, staircase, sport fields… Then there is a 'keep silent' movement, the students are not allowed to tell of what they are experiencing during the school hours to everyone and many social practices in this school including the practice of hanging out…* (Field note, conversation with Ms Hanum, May 2, 2013, at 10:00).

Ms Hanum discussed various social practices within the school, which, according to her, conform to a military-like system: although various social practices were adopted by the students' community, focus was centred on just three social practices as the most salient and most observable, including the segregation of school facilities, designing places for hanging out, and styles and communication. The following chapter discusses

the significance of territorial segregation amongst the class years and the underlying motives of such practices.

### 5.2.1. Segregation of School Facilities

The school has spacious areas and facilities: it has two basketball fields, one baseball field, a climbing wall, a canteen, a mosque, and other facilities that have been designed in mind of accommodating students' interests. However, first-year students have been assigned particular facilities by seniors since they are only in the first year: before they started to begin their first day lessons, they were told by the seniors that they need to do these and not do them based on students' regulations, including the use of school facilities. Some new students already understood this, but others were unaware about the segregation of facilities.

> *Minggu pertama di 1001, aku sudah diberitahu apa-apa yang tidak boleh dilakukan oleh utas. Ada pembagian kantin, dimana utas mendapat jatah kantin yang paling kecil, pembagian tangga, sampe larangan untuk 'tampil gaul' di sekolah. Khusus bagi cewek, rambutnya harus diikat dan poninya harus dijepit. Inilah resiko yang harus diterima utas*
>
> *The first week at 1001, I had been told (by seniors) of what were not allowed to do. There were division of the canteen where 'utas' were allocated the smallest one, the division of staircases, until the prohibition to wear 'stylists' in the school. For the girls, their hair should be tighten in pony tail. This is the risks we had to be taken.* (Student's diary entitled 'Autobiografi: The Journey of Life' by Aditya).

According to the students, the segregation of school facilities has been practiced for many years since the school merged. The segregation of school facilities by students based on the level or class year are given the names *utas, aud,* and *agit.* Although the school does not state in the regulations that particular facilities are allocated to particular classes, the practice of differentiated facilities by the students within School 1001 is apparent. The division of school facilities, such as the canteen, yards, staircase and sport facilities, in line with the classes, are clearly 'agreed' by the students—each has their own responsibility not to use other facilities and should protect their authority from the 'infiltration' of other classes. The following table summarises the features of students and their different territories.

**Table 0.1 The Features to be Used by Students and Their Different Territories**

|  | *Utas* | *Aud* | *Agit* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Canteen | One food stall and a drink stall | Two food stalls, two drink stalls | Two food stalls and two drink stalls |
| Sports field | Land and coral?? Based field | The north basketball field | The south basketball field |
| Places for hanging out | Mendawai | Sport Centre | In front of the school |

**Canteen**

The canteen is divided into three consecutive areas: the south end is allotted to *utas*, the middle is for *aud*, and the north end of the canteen is *agit* territory. The differences between the assigned places between them are based on the facilities they provide; food, drink, benches and tables. *Utas* only have two food sellers and they need to stand if they want to eat and drink there as there are only two small wooden benches in front of the food stall, meaning they usually prefer to bring their own food and drink into their classroom. Only a few of them, particularly girls, sit on their designated benches. The food and drink for *utas* are limited to bread and ice. In contrast, *aud*'s area is quite spacious: they have the middle of the canteen with two big tables and wooden benches, and a variety of food and drink, including juice, is available on the middle stalls. Most *aud* eat and drink in their area, and many of them make their area 'crowded', chatting and gathering without necessarily buying food and drink. Meanwhile, the nicest place in the canteen is for *agit*, who can buy food and drink wherever they want—the stall for *utas*, the middle stalls designed for *aud* and their own stalls. The following is the canteen map, which has been drawn by one of the students
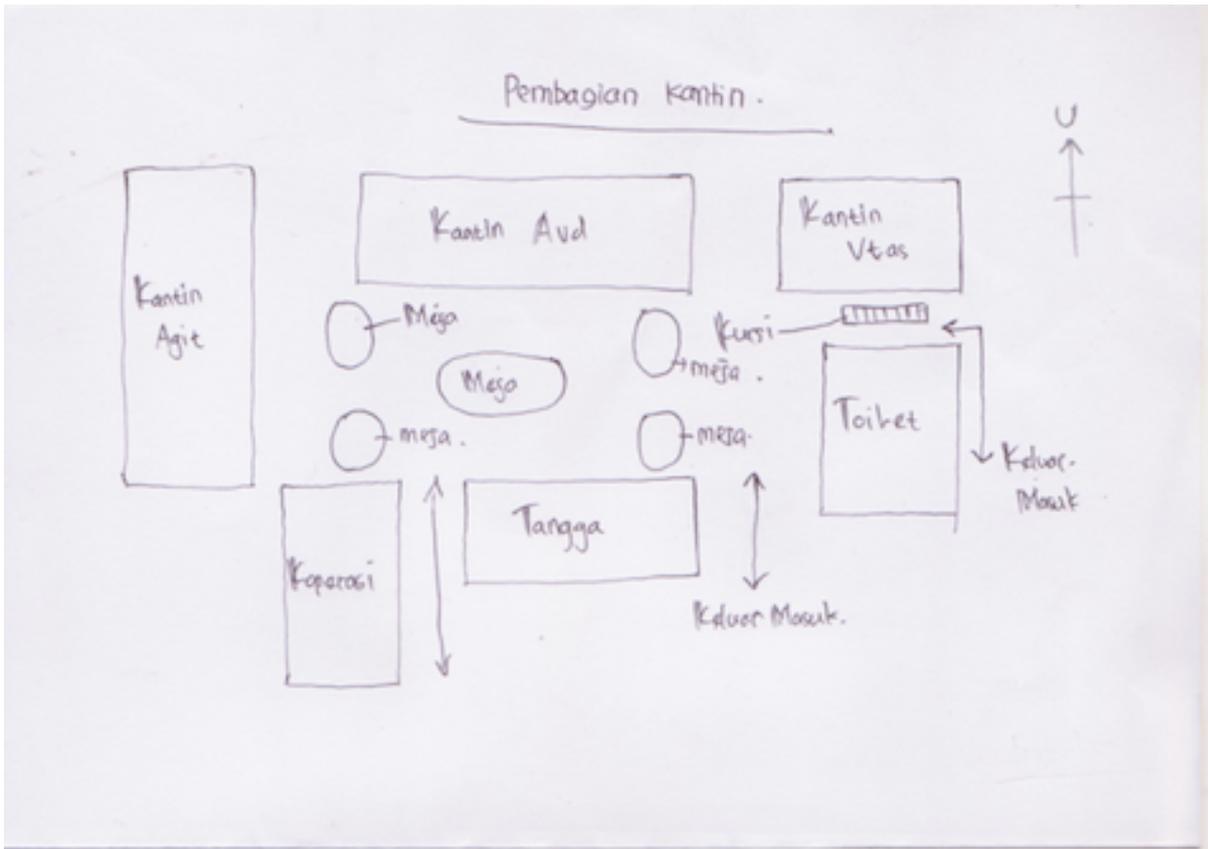
**Figure 0.4 The Canteen Map**

Besides being the favourite place for having meals and the most sociable place amongst the students, the canteen was and is also known as the 'hot spot'—where the violence and fighting commonly occurs.

When Bu Inah (*agit* canteen seller) was asked about the fighting in the canteen, she did not answer the question directly, but rather opened up with talks about the students who were naughty but deeply respected amongst all school members, including canteen sellers. She said that some of the naughty students are now artists in the country. She mentioned several famous artists, singers and soap opera actresses, who had shown their respect to canteen sellers. Her discussion soon switched to the condition of the canteen when questioned on the segregation of canteen facilities: she stated, with deep curiosity, all about the unclear reasons behind the students being assigned particular food stalls based on the class year, with the seniors and alumni responsible for this assignment. She then communicated about the fighting that is known to occur in the canteen. She illustrated that it was common for the canteen to be chaotic as there were so much

fighting occurring between *utas* and *agit*, and *aud.* She stated that they commonly use tables and benches, and many of them use objects, such as plates, glasses and even bottles, when fighting.

> *Saya itu heran sama anak-anak, kursi dan meja reyot gitu aja di buat rebutan. Ini nih pak, dulu meja dan kursinya tidak kaya begini, semua rusak di buat ajang perkelahian antara siswa kelas 1 dan 3 melawan kelas 2. Gelas, piring berterbangan saling lempar. Ada-ada saja alasan untuk berkelahi di kantin ini.*

> *I wonder with the students, why the rickety chairs and tables like that to be disputing. Just like this, Sir. These chairs and tables were not like these, all were broken. They are thrown, being the objects to throw in fighting between 1st year students and 3rd year students against 2nd year students. Glasses and plates are thrown away to fight. There have been many motives to fight here in the canteen* (Field note, September 6, 2013, at 14:00).

She depicted the situation and condition as being comparable to horror; it was common to hear the shout of *tubir* a reversed word from the word *ribut* or fight, followed by the sudden throwing of chairs, glasses and plates, and the rush of students away and towards the fight. She also compared the current condition with that of previous years, where the current condition is not the horror of the past. The canteen seller also said she wondered why the students would have disputes over priceless objects (tables, benches and its territory); however, what impressed her was the students' responsibility to pay any and all losses to canteen sellers as the result of their violent behaviour.

Moreover, she also wondered about the fighting in the canteen that involved girls. The girls' fighting, in fact, has been a concern, and is shocking even to many teachers and canteen sellers, as they perceive that the stereotype of fighting is for boys and not for girls.

> *Saya kadang beingung sendiri melihat tingkah laku cewek-cewek itu. Padahal mereka itu cantik-cantik tapi kok berkelahi. Kadang tiba-tiba langsung jambak-jambakan rambut. Dulu sering cewek jambak-jambakan rambut dan berkelahi disini, lempar-lemparan gelas (Field note at the canteen*

> *I was so confused myself seeing the girls' behaviour. They are beautiful, but why they fight. Sometimes (without any reasons) they pull hair each other. It used to be that the girls often fight by pulling the hair each other and throwing the glasses* (Field note, September 6, 2013, at 15:00).

Although the causes of the fighting in the canteen are clearly recognised by the teachers and staff, they seemed unable to solve the problem. In fact, school personnel have come

to expect fighting in the canteen by assigning two teachers to stand at the canteen each day at break times; their main tasks include watching and observing students' behaviours and movements in case the students want to engage in fighting with other students. By considering students' movements, the teachers can at least anticipate the fighting or, if the teachers do not anticipate the fighting, the teachers will have evidence to report to the headmaster and students' parents. According to the teachers' stories, having evidence about the involvement of students in school violence is important for teachers in relation to assigning punishment to the correct student. However, this fighting prevention programme raised protests from the teachers themselves: they argued that they could not have break time if they were required to stand at the canteen observing students. Since then, no teachers were charged with observing the students in the canteen, meaning the fighting then was likely to occur often.

In addition, the canteen is also recognised as a scary place for *utas* in that *utas* are often victims in the canteen as *agit* usually order them to buy food and drink at the *aud's* canteen, which is intended to provoke fights; in other words, crossing the borders to another area is a kind of invitation to fight as they are indoctrinated by their seniors to defend their own territory. The following diary shows that *utas* are very susceptible to victimisation when they are at the canteen:

> *Setelah agit selesai UAN dan tidak masuk sekolah kami disuruh memenuhi kantin dan aku sempat ribut sama aud. Aku tiba tiba di siram dan dicakar oleh aud dan pada saat naik kelas mereka di skores.*

> *After agit completed their National Exams and they did not go to school, they ordered us to go and occupy spaces in the canteen. When I was in agit's canteen, they poured water on me and I was scratched (by aud). When they are class three, they get a point (punishment)* (Student's diary entitled '5876 Hari or 5876 Days' by Belinda).

In addition, Satria poignantly described how he was worried about having meals in the canteen when he was *utas*.

***Extract 5.5***

| 1 | *Satria* | *Jadi kelas 1 banyak untuk apa lebih banyak makannya diatas. Waktu* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *kelas 1 saya dulu sih, aga resah kalau makan dibawah. 'Kena' sama* |
| | | *kelas 3.* |
| 1 | *Satria* | |
| 2 | | *So the first graders often ate upstairs (classrooms). When I was a first* |

*grader, I was quite anxious if I ate downstairs. I would be a target of the third graders. (Personal Interview, Satria)*

My other participants suggest there are some other reasons as to why *utas* prefer not to eat and drink in the canteen: firstly, the area is not spacious and it is not a convenient place to enjoy food, and it is recognised as the poorest place compared to other assigned canteens for *aud* and *agit*; secondly, it is about security, where *utas* often are called and ridiculed by *agit*, such as by calling their names loudly, asking them to buy food at the *aud* canteen, in which there is a hint that they want a confrontation; therefore, there is a metaphorical notion illustrated by *utas* that going to the canteen is like going to the 'mouth of the tiger',[19] where they are easily positioned as 'victims' of *agit*.

***Extract 5.6***

| 1 | Irfan | *Dulu gimana, pada saat digitukan senior dengan kasar gitu?* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Prita | *Sebel. Mikir, ni orang apaan sih?* |
| 3 | Sari | *Marah-marah mulu kerjaannya.* |
| 4 | Rina | *Iya bener* |
| 5 | Sari | *Iya, disuruh-suruh gitu kan.* |
| 6 | Indah | *Kalo jalan harus nunduk, nunduknya harus gini pak. Harus sampe* |
| 7 | Sari | *nempel .* |
| 8 | Prita | *Jadi males ke kantin. Pengennya di kelas doang.* |
| 9 | Sari | *Gak pengen keluar-keluar takut kepanggil. Diteriakin kenceng banget. Iya, di panggil panggil* |
| 1 | Irfan | *How do you feel when the seniors treat you rudely?* |
| 2 | Prita | *Resentful, and I think, what do they actually want to do?* |
| 3 | Sari | *They're always getting angry* |
| 4 | Rina | *That's right* |
| 5 | Sari | *Yeah (we) are ordered to do (many things)* |
| 6 | Indah | *If we walk we should be facing down, it should be like this (practicing),* |
| 7 | Sari | *should touch (the chest)* |
| 8 | Prita | *Make us reluctant to go to the canteen, just want to stay in the classroom* |
| 9 | | *(we) don't want to go (to the canteen), afraid of being called (by agit),* |
| 10 | Sari | *(they) shout very loud* |
| 11 | | *Yeah, (we) are called. (FGD 4)* |

The canteen, therefore, is not only a place where students have their meals, interact, make friends and socialise, but also is a violent place where fighting can be easily enacted.

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[19] This term literally translated from *mulut harimau* meaning the dangerous area

Despite the fact that the canteen is one of the favourite places for fighting between students, the canteen also functions as an arena for practicing the discrimination of the social class, which often puts *utas* as their *babu* or housemaid, describing *utas* as identical with the lower class status, who should obey the seniors orders with the least facilities, whilst the third-year has the privilege of controlling all school properties and enjoying access to more facilities than others. In this regard, the discrimination of social status is about juniors against seniors, between *utas*, *aud* and *agit*. The degree to which facilities are assigned to particular class years clearly indicates that social status is a key part of students' community within SMA 1001. The lower classes get poor facilities but, as they become senior, they can choose from more 'deluxe' facilities.

The discrimination of the school facilities can be connected to the appreciation of the process of social learning during the period of study at high school. As per students' understanding, when someone is suffering from 'poor conditions' (as illustrated by the fewest facilities *utas* have) at the beginning but then is assigned 'prosperity' (all the facilities within the school), they ultimately will value each process and the earned prosperity; conversely, if someone is already privileged and never gets to experience poor conditions, they usually will be unable to appreciate the value of the facilitates earned.

***Extract 5.7***

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Beti | *Emang bener kan sebenarnya 1001 itu sebuah buku* |
| 2 | Cinta | *Tapi kalau misalnya dijalani,pada saat diatas itu ngrasain kelau* |
| 3 | | *perjuangan ke atas itu susah banget, makan ya harus menghargai kalau* |
| 4 | | *gue itu di atas. Bukan diatas itu sia-sia doang* |
| 5 | Cinta | *Bener-bener roda kehidupan deh* |
| 6 | Beti | *Ada yang dibawah ada yang di atas* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Beti | *That's true that 1001 is a kind of book* |
| 2 | Cinta | *But if we go through the process, when we are on top, we just realize that* |
| 3 | | *it needs hard efforts. So that we would appreciate when we are on top. It* |
| 4 | | *is not a vain attempt* |
| 5 | Cinta | *That's life - a roller coaster* |
| 6 | Beti | *Some are on top, some are on the bottom (FGD 1)* |

The appreciation process of social learning, as depicted through the graded facilities, can be linked to the philosophical and practical values of school practices.

Philosophically, as has been concluded from the observations, interviews and focus group discussions, life is normally stratified—the beginning, middle and top. As for the beginner, they need to be 'sincere' in what condition is assigned to them; they also should learn more from seniors by showing their obedience, respecting their elders, not competing with seniors, and living the simple life. Since the middle (*aud*) have already passed the beginner level and experienced the 'sorrow' and simple life, they have the privilege of progressing up another step for a better life; they are entitled, for example, to enjoy a more spacious place in the canteen. Meanwhile, the top positions (*agit*) have become the bosses and are allowed to behave however they want. The stratification of social level, according to them, is all about 'appreciation' in that the process of getting to the top requires 'sacrificing' their happiness by struggling to fulfil their seniors' needs. When they are at the top, they can appreciate their achievement.

With regards the canteen, whilst the division of particular places has its own philosophical value, it also has a practical consideration in relation to 'equality' amongst outsiders that is aimed at minimising competition amongst food sellers. The canteen, for example, has many food sellers, and the students want to ensure that each food seller can have his food bought. When a particular food stall has its own fixed buyers, the seller should not necessarily be worried about his sales. By doing this, according to the students, as quoted below, they equalise the distribution of buyers.

***Extract 5.8***

| 1 | Irfan | *Bagaimana menyikapi perbedaan kantin, tangga?* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Ninin | *kalo masalah kantin itu kan soalnya kantin kita luas, yang jual juga* |
| 3 | | *banyak. Jadi tujuannya dibagi-bagi itu biar pada belinya juga menyebar,* |
| 4 | | *jadi kayak yang jualan itu ada yang beli semua gitu lho. Tapi itu positif-* |
| 5 | | *positif aja pembagian kantin itu.* |
| 6 | Rosa | *Tidak merugikan juga sih* |

| 1 | Irfan | *How do you see the division of canteen, ladders?* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *If it is about canteen, it is very large, so many food sellers. So, the goal to* |
| 3 | Ninin | *divide it is about equality, it is like the sellers have their own buyers. (we)* |
| 4 | | *see the canteen division as positive.* |
| 5 | Rosa | *It (the division) doesn't do any harm* (FGD 3) |

Although students practice inequality amongst themselves, on the contrary, they possess the sense of social justice in that they need to educate juniors. Aside from the tendency

of being appreciated by juniors, seniors have educated other values—namely in terms of social justice.

**Designing Places for Hanging Out**

The places of hanging out for students are located around the school; the left of the school, the right side of the school, and in front of the school. The range of places for hanging out equates to around 100 meters, and is about the authority of the school, as recognised, marked by *posko anti tawuran* or an anti-violence small building built between the two schools.



**Figure 0.5 An Anti-Violence House**

The aim of building a *posko* (anti-violence) structure is centred on anticipating and preventing school violence. The *posko* is signed by four authorised people of West Jakarta administrative area and seems to be the declaration of school staff, police officers and two heads of local government that they are committed to eliminating school violence within their territory. The building, which is served as the symbolic building of anti-violence, can be understood as a separation between two schools that are continuously involved in school violence. However, it is also implicitly perceived by students that the school has its own territory where the boundary of the territory is the *posko* anti-violence. Although the police and schools' members might not mean to

do so, the students often used it as the border of their territory, meaning that, if they cross the border (surrender) in school violence, they have lost the fight; therefore, the places of students' hanging out in SMA 1001 itself never cross the territorial boundary. The places for hanging out are divided into three areas within the school territory.

> *Kegiatan MOS pun dimulai. Kita diperkenalkan tentang tradisi yang ada di 1001 sejak jaman dahulu kala. Tradisi di 1001 adalah kesenioritasan dan ada juga pembagian tangga untuk utas, aud, agit. Pembagian tempat tongkrongan seperti utas di Mawar, aud di GOR dan agit di Merapi*

> *The School Orientation Programme has been begun. We were introduced about the school traditions in SMA 1001. Those traditions are about seniority and the segregation of stair for utas, aud, and agit. The assigning places for hanging out like utas in Mawar, aud in Sports Halls and agit in Merapi* (Student's diary entitled 'Kehidupanku Yang Indah' by Reinaldo).

Just as the canteen has been divided into three consecutive areas, the students also have been assigned a place as their territory for hanging out each day. Most students spend time there outside of school hours, even at the weekend. Unlike the division management of the canteen, which puts *aud* in the middle, *agit* is assigned the middle for hanging out. The following figure illustrates how places are assigned for each class year according to students' stories and the researcher's own observations during the fieldwork. *Utas* is assigned a place called Mawar—the name of street on the right side of the school, approximately 100 metres north. There are no benches or buildings; just a non-permanent cigarette box, like a ticket box, where the seller and his goods wait. There is a portal across the road, indicating 'no entry' to the housing complex from the street. As there is no bench, students normally sit on the edge of the drainage, sometimes sitting together on the asphalt road.
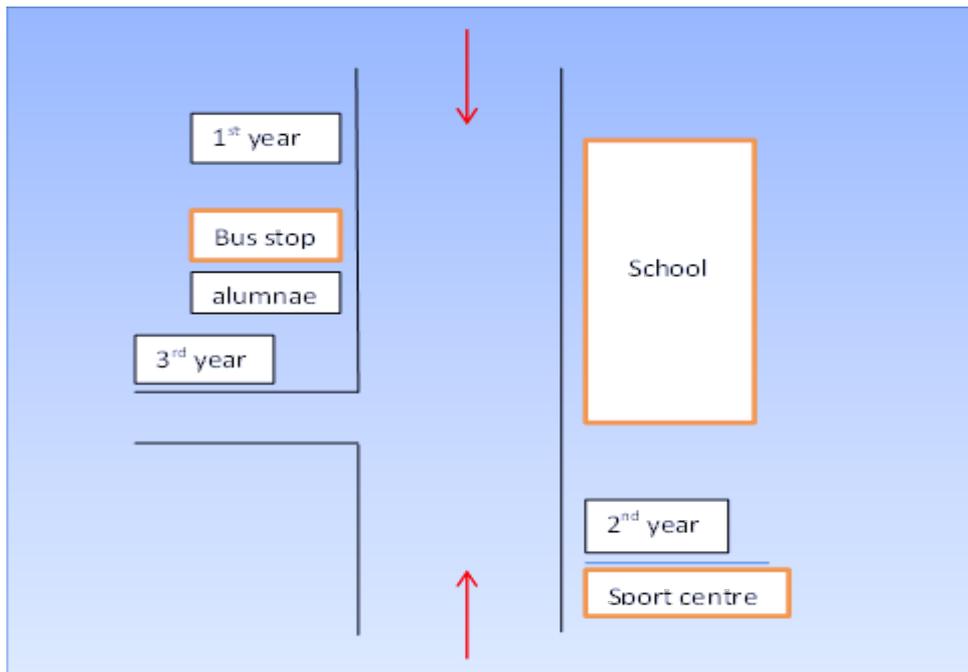
**Figure 0.6 The Map of Places for Hanging Out**

The place for *aud* is to the south of the school, approximately 100 meters south, occupying the sports centre and its area. They get together on the terrace of the hall so that they can sit, lie down, and even sleep there as the place is relatively clean. Meanwhile, the seniors or *agit* are in front of the school, but a bit left of the school gate. They have a place called 'Merapi'—the name of the street in front of the school. In front of a photocopy agent building is their place for hanging out, chatting and sometimes playing cards. This is the scariest place for *utas* or *aud* as the seniors often ask and order them to do 'odd' things, and might even bully them. *Utas* and *aud* stay away and prefer taking another route if they want to cross the street. Another place, *halte* or the bus stop exactly in front of the school gate, is the place where the alumnae usually gather each day; they usually talk there until midnight. On Saturday evenings, as the security staff informed, they have parties where there is often alcohol. Although the alumnae left school many years ago, they still return and gather at this particular place, which is why security staff often call the land of SMA 1001 the Land of Magic, as it is a kind of magnet that attracts them back. My own personal conversation with the alumni, they said that the place is very meaningful in their life, and a lot of historical moments of their togetherness happened there.

*Ya gimana ya Mas, kami itu disini menghabiskan waktu tiga tahun bersama. Susah senang ditanggung bersama. Jadi wajar kalau kami selalu terkenang dan ingin balik lagi kesini mengenang kebersamaan kami dulu. Kebersamaan tentang tawuran, kebersamaan di kerjain sama senior-senior, kebersamaan mengerjai junior. Seru deh pokoknya*

*Yeah, you know Mas, we spent three years here together. We were together in happiness and sadness, so that, we always remember and want to back here again, reminiscence of our past experiences together. Togetherness in school fighting, togetherness when we were ridiculed by our seniors, togetherness to ridicule out juniors. It was exciting* (Field note, September 24, 2013).

The two important questions to be addressed in relation to the hanging out and the students' sense of belonging to particular places around the school, as illustrated in the previous paragraph, relates to why the students hang out at a designated place and what they do with their time there. As the students and teachers often asserted, the use of public spaces for hanging-out has an important meaning in social, historical and philosophical/strategic considerations, all of which are pertinent to school violence. Satria succinctly described the role of each class year in accordance with the places for hanging out.

***Extract 5.9***

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Satria | *Jadi kalau kelas 1 itu di portal Mawar, kelas 2 di GOR, kelas 3 ada di* |
| 2 | | *tengah. Itu adalah suatu sistem di 1001. Kenapa kelas 1 di taruh disana* |
| 3 | | *tongkrongannya untuk menghalau musuh dari sana. Kelas 2 ribut* |
| 4 | | *dengan SMA 1005 langganannya. Kelas 3 posisinya pemantau* |
| 5 | | *sebenarnya, pemantau dimana ini yang sudah mau runtuh, penjaga* |
| 6 | | *pertahanan. penjaga segitiga.. saat kelas 1 nya mundur kelas 3nya pasti* |
| 7 | | *akan langsung mem back-up. Mereka dulu biasanya tongkrongannya ada* |
| 8 | | *di Halte/di Merapi. Kalau semisal dari kelas 2nya mundur otomatis kelas* |
| 9 | | *3nya memback-up/ artinya kepalanya, pemimpin di SMA 1001. Kelas 3* |
| 10 | | *sebagai pemimpin. Ada yang bilang mempunyai tanggung jawab penjaga* |
| | | *1001. Saya dengar-dengar gitu.* |
| 1 | | |
| 2 | | *The first graders were all in the Portal Mawar, the second graders in the* |
| 3 | | *Sport Centre, while the third graders were in the middle. That was the* |
| 4 | | *system in SMA 1001. The first graders were put there to block the attack* |
| 5 | | *from that direction. The second graders had a fight with SMA 1005, their* |
| 6 | | *frequent opponent. The third graders functioned as the real supervisor.* |
| 7 | | *They supervised which part needed more support. They were defenders.* |
| 8 | | *The triangle defenders... when the first graders were pulled back the* |
| 9 | | *third graders were always ready to give back-up. They were usually in* |
| 10 | | *the bus stops/ in Merapi. If the second graders pulled back the third* |
| 11 | | *graders would provide some back-up. The third graders were the leaders* |

| 12 | | *in SMA 1001 areas. The third graders were the leaders. Some said that* |
|----|--|-----------------------------------------------------------------------------|
|    | | *they had the responsibility to maintain 1001. I heard so… really* |
|    | | *(Personal Interview, Satria).* |

The separation of places for hanging out, as Satria narrated, is a kind of mapping of the geographical areas regarding which schools are their enemy. When their place is on the north, their potential enemy is the schools located at the north. When the juniors gather at the south, however, such as at the sports halls, their potential enemies are the schools located on the south. He stated that this is a kind of historical strategy of the schools in school violence. In addition, the separation of different places for hanging out also is related to philosophy and a strategy in school fighting.

***Extract 5.10***

| 1 | Pak | *Kelas dua di GOR tempat kumpulnya, kelas tiga di depan sini. Itu secara* |
|---|-----|---------------------------------------------------------------------------|
| 2 | Najib | *filosofis, mereka membentuk pagar betis gitu lho. Supaya musuh nggak* |
| 3 | | *jebol ke gerbang. Musuh tembusnya dari sana kelas satu yang* |
| 4 | | *menghadang. Dari arah GOR, kelas dua yang menghadang, kalo dari* |
| 5 | | *sini kelas tiga yang menghadang. Jadi nggak bakal tembus. Itu* |
| 6 | | *filosofisnya. Bukan sekedar loe nongkrong disitu. Bukan sekedar itu.* |

| 1 | *2nd year students are at Sports Halls, 3rd year students in front of the* |
|---|--|
| 2 | *school. Its' philosophy is about making border, so that enemies can not* |
| 3 | *reach the school gate. When the enemy coming from there (North), 1st* |
| 4 | *year students will tackle them. (the enemy) From the sports halls, 2nd* |
| 5 | *year students will fight it, if from here (in front of school), 3rd year* |
| 6 | *students will fight it. That's the philosoph, "that isn't you just hanging out* |
|   | *there". (Personal Interview, Pak Najib)* |

By designing such a strategy, according to Pak Najib, each class year and alumni have their own roles and responsibility. When the attacks are from the south, the second-year students are facing; when the attack is from the north, the first-year students will tackle. Meanwhile, the role of third-year students is to provoke them to fight by mocking, yielding and shouting at them to fight, but when they retreat, it will become the third-year students' responsibility to back them up; helping their juniors to fight. However, when the third-year students are unable to fight back and cast their enemy away from the school territory, they will become a 'scapegoat' and an object of bullying, mocking, scolding of the alumnae, who usually watch and are around the bus stop in front of the school. The following figure is a screen captured from YouTube about the involvement

of alumnae in school violence. I hear how alumnae (e.g. one who wears red t-shirt) are pushing and scolding the students by saying 'you are *banci* or she-male, go home (don't study in this school), how could you lost fighting with that school'[20].



**Figure 0.7 The Image of School Fighting**

Instead of being a place for having social activities, hanging out at assigned places also can function as rudimentary training and a prerequisite of *utas* before becoming a full member of SMA 1001. This sort of tradition is inherited from their (metaphorically) "ancestors" in the school, and shows that *utas* need to learn about the traditions of the school, including the tradition of hanging out at particular places around the school (also see Extract. 5.10). Initially, they do not quite understand why they are asked to hang out there—eventually, however, they come to realise that it is not only about sitting, chatting and doing nothing: there are values to be learned from this.

> *Kami tidak hanya disuruh duduk-duduk tapi kami juga akhirnya tahu bahwa ada pelajaran penting yang kami ambil dari kebersamaan nongkrong di Mawar. Kami lebih memahami apakah artinya sebuah teman. Yang selama ini teman itu hanya memanfatkan tapi bagi kami teman itu adalah segalanya*
>
> *We were not only ordered to hang out but we eventually knew about the lesson learned from our togetherness hanging out in Mawar. We more appreciated what is meant to be a friend. A friend we had known were only for benefits, but friend for us is everything* (Diary entitled 'Jalan Berliku by Singgih).

It also has been highlighted by the students that the togetherness begins at these places (Mawar for *utas,* Sports center for *aud* and Merapi for *agit*).

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[20] This video can be accessed through this address https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=GhwOl_N7NoQ

*Semua berawal dari Mendawai. Kami semua dipertemukan dan dipersatukan disana. Susah senang sedih seru semua kami bikin disini. Sakit memang jika kita sedang di "didik" oleh agit kami, namun itu adalah salah satu momen yang akan jadi topic pembicaraan kami sampai kami reunion di masa yang akan datang.*

*All things come from Mawar (the name of the Street). We are gathered and united there. Sadness, happiness, sorrow and excitement are all created in this place. It's really painful when we are 'educated' by our seniors, but it will be a topic we are talking about in the future* (Diary entitled 'Antara Aku dan Duniaku' by Fredy).

Authorising a place for hanging out also can be seen as a process of social learning; the responsibility of the students for controlling geographical spaces in the school. Much like assigning areas of the canteen to different groups, when the juniors are given a place (Mawar Street) for hanging out, they actually learn to defend their own territory, in a wider scope than *aud* (their opponent within the school), from the attack of other schools. When they go up to second year, they will have a new place for hanging out (the sports centre), and will need to defend their territory from attacks coming from the south, whilst when becoming seniors, who have responsibility for all school territories, they are accustomed to having their own responsibility to defend the school areas covering the north and south areas, as well as having responsibility in managing their juniors (*utas* and *aud*) in fighting. In other words, choosing places for hanging out is not only a strategy for defending the school also gives students a lesson in their degree of responsibility; this is a principle of social learning within the school where students start from the bottom and are assigned only minor things (the division of the canteen, stairs and places for hanging out) to begin with.

On a more practical level, when *utas* should protect their area (canteen) from the infiltration of *aud*, they actually have learnt responsibility from smaller aggressors. When *aud* often fight in disputing the place, this also is a kind of training to be 'mature', such as when their enemy are on a much bigger scale (*utas* and *agit*). This applies to *agit*, where they need to be responsible for protecting the wider scale—not only the canteen and staircase, and the places for hanging out, but the entire school area. The changing places for hanging out (*utas* in Mawar, *aud* in the sports centre and *agit* in between, close to the front of the gate of the school) are intended as a way of familiarising their territory. There seems to be a 'catch word': who wins the fighting is

the one who knows the battle areas. This seems to be the ideology behind changing the scenes for hanging out.

When confronting four students with this topic, when they were sitting at the canteen during school hours, they answered that one of the aims of the facilities division is to introduce juniors to a sense of responsibility to themselves, their school and their juniors in the future.

> *When I came to the canteen, there were four boys (agit) sitting at their territory. They just sat there, not ordering food or drink. About twenty minutes, I approached and asked them why they are at the canteen at the school hours. They answered that the teacher did not come. After making small talking with them I asked about the segregation of school facilities and its meaning. They illustrated that the life should be started from the bottom…one of the students commented that the segregation of school facilities is the way to educate 'utas' for having responsibility (to educate their juniors) when they become 'agit'* (Field note, Tuesday October 7, at 14:00).

The creative use of different positioning around the school areas also can illustrate the different status of students. As aforementioned, the different social classes come in various forms, such as the division of the canteen, school facilities, the places for hanging out and the styles the students wear. With regards the places for hanging out, the closest place to school can be assumed as having a higher level of authority; the *utas* position is far to the north from the school and the *aud* position themselves a bit farther to the south, whilst *agit*, as 'heads of the school' and responsible for defending it, should be close to the school gate. The school gate is a crucial symbol in school violence, particularly in fighting between schools: if the opponent can break through it, they will win the fight. The closest group to the school gate therefore can be inferred as having a bigger responsibility for defence throughout the school areas.

To sum up, the segregation of the places has three aims: firstly, there is the social aspect, since students are required to have 'compactness' and togetherness or unity in diversity on a small scale; secondly, it is about the introduction to the concept of responsibility, which is perceived by students as training for their life; and lastly, it resonates with the strategy to defend their territory and win fights.

## 5.3.  Performing Differences: Styles and Communication Patterns

Another clear division between class years is the style of clothing students wear in school. Although students wear the same colour of uniform, the style and model of uniform can exhibit who they are and to what year they belong. This style is commonly more salient in the girls' performance rather than in the boys'. The following section illustrates the girls' style rather than the boys'.

**Table 0.2 The Distinctive Feature of the Styles both for Boys and for the Girls**

|  | *Utas* | *Aud* | *Agit* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Styles of clothes | For the girls: loose shirts, loose skirt, no lipstick, no perfume, two tailed hairstyle, socks should not be higher than the ankle, canvas shoes, cheap backpack. For the boys: tight trousers that should be higher than ankle, canvas shoes and cheap backpack | For the girls: tight shirt, cologne, more varied shoes and bag. | For the girls: very tight shirt, lipstick, loose hair, accessories (hair band, scarf), more varied shoes and bags. |

Styles and symbols reflected through the way the students wear their uniform and in the use of their gestures and movements, mimicking their mundane communication and interaction, can be used to interpret and understand the underlying motives of these social practices. Unlike other social categories, like Jocks and Burnouts (Eckert, 1989) and mainstream and non-mainstream students (Bucholtz, 2010), which give students a space in embracing particular affiliation, the students of SMA 1001 have been indexed and assigned specific styles and behaviours, as illustrated in the following extract

*Extract 5.11*

| 1 | Irfan | *Nah, ada salah satu yang saya lihat itu ada fenomena senioritas. Bahwa* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *kalau kelas satu itu harus nunduk, cara berkomunikasinya lain. Nah itu kok* |
| 3 | Mambo | *bisa begini itu kayak apa ya?* |
| 4 | | *Nah kalo itu saya gak tahu, mungkin mesti tanya sama pembentukan awal* |
| 5 | | *dari 1001 nya dulu gimana. Kalo kita sih cuma ngikuti* |

| 1 | Irfan | *One of the phenomena I see is seniority that 1ˢᵗ year students should be* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *facing down, the way they communicate is different. How it could be?* |
| 3 | Mambo | *I don't know about that, (we) should ask the history of the initiation of SMA* |
| 4 | | *100. We just follow (what the seniors have practiced) (Personal interview,* |
| 5 | | *Mambo).* |

The styles and behaviour displayed by the students within the school then can be argued to indicate the polarisation of class year, students' social categories and 'socio-economic status'.

The following part provides a detailed portrait of the styles students wear on a daily basis, which indicates students' polarisation

### *Utas* style

There is a notable difference between the class years' appearance, particularly between *utas* and two other categories, *aud* and *agit. Utas* wear a simple and even poor style compared to their counterparts. Their style can be described in the following student's diary.

> *Pada awal masuk aku sudah bergaya UTAS, rambut di kuncir, sepatu PX putih, tas ransel yg biasa saja, size baju besar, dan rok yang panjang kaos kakinya juga semata kaki. Awal masuk para pengurus eskul pun datang ke kelas kelas. From the early school day, I have acted like UTAS, hair tighted, white PX shoes, regular backpack, loose shirts and the long skirts with socks covering the ankle. From the early days, the extracurricular members come to each class* (Student's diary entitled '5876 Hari' by Belinda).

As can be established from the above student's diary, the student illustrates that *utas* wear a very basic style in that they follow the school's recommendations with various modifications, but are not radically opposed to the design of school uniforms. According to the students, the *Utas* style often is seen as a reflection of being 'clownish', and is liked to a 'homeless' person. They use the terms 'clownish' and

'homeless' due to the absence of accessories and make-up that most students—particularly in a metropolitan city—wear each day.

***Extract 5.12***

| 1 | Beti | *'Makanya sih juniornya lebih didandanin persis kaya badut. Ga boleh pakai* |
| 2 | | *lipstick. Kaya gembel.* |

| 1 | Beti | *So the juniors are dressed like clowns. They are not allowed to apply lipstick.* |
| 2 | | *They look homeless'* (FGD 1). |

Interestingly, although many of the students come from middle-class families and several of them are actors on TV soap operas (last year, the researcher personally witnessed six national television stations come and make a live report about the graduation of several actors within the school, Field Note May 20, 2014), there is no exception for this practice; they should look 'clownish' and 'homeless'. The seniors want to teach them to lead a simple life. To begin with this concept, the juniors should start with the 'new life', which involves them setting aside any symbols of their higher socio-economic status by wearing simple clothes.

With regards juniors who have this 'poor appearance', there is likely a reason for the seniors educating the juniors in a simple life: minimising rivalry amongst class years. This is demonstrated in the following extract.

***Extract 5.13***

| 1 | Nita | *Jadi ga boleh pakai parfum, ga boleh wangi. 'eh elu pakai parfum ya,* |
| 2 | | *wangi" ngga, pakai cologne kok.* |
| 3 | Irfan | *Sampai disuruh beli sesuatu yang harganya di patok tertentu kan?* |
| 4 | Cinta | *Itu sih tergantung* |
| 5 | Beti | *Apa sih?* |
| 6 | | *Yang sepatu harganya?* |
| 7 | Irfan | *Itu buat seniornya?* |
| 8 | Cinta | *Bukan, untuk juniornya. Tas ga boleh bermerek* |
| 9 | Irfan | *Ohh* |
| 10 | Nita | *Itu hidup sederhana* |

| 1 | Nita | *So they are not allowed to use perfume, they are not allowed to smell of a* |
| 2 | | *fragrance. "Hey, did you spray perfume?" "No, no, I only sprayed cologne"* |
| 3 | | *(her experience)* |
| 4 | Irfan | *They have to buy things for particular prices, don't they?* |
| 5 | Cinta | *It depends* |
| 6 | Beti | *What is it?* |
| 7 | | *Shoes (which) cost?* |

| 8 | Irfan | *For seniors?* |
|---|---|---|
| 9 | Cinta | *No, not for seniors. An unbranded bag for juniors* |
| 10 | Irfan | *Ohh (wonder)* |
| 11 | Nita | *It is for a simple life (FGD 1)* |

Teaching juniors to live simply, in fact, according to the juniors, is merely a hidden agenda of the seniors as they are worried about competing with juniors regarding their appearance and beauty. *Agit*, as the seniors in the school hierarchy, should be respected and therefore should differ from the other students (*utas* and *aud*), where their appearance is a primary way of them standing out from juniors. By ordering juniors to dress simply whilst seniors wear accessories and dress more stylishly, they can take their position at the top without any significant effort to beautify themselves.

***Extract 5.14***

| 1 | Beti | *Ini juga awalnya dari senior-senior itu lagi ngajarin ke junior-* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Cinta | *juniornya. Udahlah kalian itu masih SMA lah. Ibaratnya masih kelas* |
| 3 | | *satu kan. Masih baru. Ga usahlah kaya gaya-gaya-an ngecilin baju* |
| 4 | | *Kalau aku sih ngeliat sendiri. Menurutku takutnya seniornya kalah* |
| 5 | All | *cantik* |
| 6 | Cinta | *Hahaha* |
| 7 | Cinta & | *Itu kayaknya* |
| 8 | Nita | *Perasaan emang bener. Kalah cantik emang bener* |
| 9 | Beti | |
| 10 | | *Makanya sih juniornya lebih didandanin persis kaya badut. Ga boleh* |
| 11 | Roni | *pakai lipstick* |
| 12 | Nita | *Kaya gembel.* |
| | | *Jadi kaya dilihatnya wah seniornya cantik-cantik* |
| 1 | Beti | |
| 2 | | *This (practice) come initially from seniors. The seniors teach juniors,* |
| 3 | | *(by saying) you are still not senior high school students, you are still* |
| 4 | Cinta | *first year students, you are still new. There is no point in tightening* |
| 5 | | *your shirt* |
| 6 | All | *From what I've seen, I think seniors are afraid of being less beautiful* |
| 7 | Cinta | *than juniors.* |
| 8 | Cinta & | *Haahaha (laugh together)* |
| 9 | Nita | *I think so* |
| 10 | Beti | *I feel the same, less beautiful is true* |
| 11 | Roni | |
| 12 | Nita | *So the juniors are dressed like clowns. They are not allowed to wear* |
| | | *lipstick* |
| | | *They look homeless* |
| | | *It is like that the seniors are seen beautiful. (FGD 1)* |

Based on students' understanding, however, this simple style also may be associated with the lower position in a society, which is illustrated by the unequal position between boss and housemaid. The obedience to seniors and the appearance of *utas*, just like a housemaid, is a portrait of unequal position. Ilham associated the 'yes' person (*utas)* with the housemaid, who always obeys their boss

***Extract 5.15***

| 1 | Ilham | *Kalo disini, mau aja disuruh-suruh. Nurut kakak angkatnya. Disuruh* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *nongkron, nongkrong, disuruh bayar, bayaar. Sebenernya Cuma jadi* |
| 3 | | *babu doang. Itu negatifnya disini. tapi kalo saya wktu SMP dulu yang* |
| 4 | | *namanya senior itu kalo mau dihormatin ya sikapnya bagus, kita respect* |
| 5 | | *sama dia, dari prilakunya yang baik, jadi teladan gitu kan. Cuma disini* |
| 6 | | *emang menyimpang sih.* |

| 1 | | *Here, (utas) should obey the seniors. When they are asked for hanging* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *out, (they) just say OK, ask them to pay, they pay. They are actually being* |
| 3 | | *a 'babu' or housemaid. This is the negative side here. When I was in* |
| 4 | | *Junior High School, if seniors wanted to be respected, they should show* |
| 5 | | *good behaviour, be a good example. But here, it is different. (Personal Interview, Ilham)* |

***Aud* Style**

Whilst *utas* are portrayed as homeless and housemaids, *aud* label themselves as being of 'free style'. There are no specific features attached to them; they are in the middle between *utas* and *agit*. Having been left by their seniors, they feel confused about how they should dress after acting like 'homeless' people and performing *babu* when they were in the first year. They are seemingly trapped in the middle position where they do not have seniors who always order them to do things or who always criticise their appearance, such as not having perfect ponytails, not wearing hairbands, etc. Seniors have dictated that they behave in accordance with the school norms, and when there is nobody to dictate to them, they would feel confused.

***Extract 5.16***

| 1 | Wiwi | *Kayak waktu akau utas, waktu aku kelas dua, itu tuh kayak aduh gue ngapain* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | t | *kalo nggak ada kelas tiga. Gua tuh jadi takut ngapain. Kayak ada yang harus* |
| 3 | | *dikerjain. Kayak bener-bener ada yang ngatur dan ngajarin buat sopan ke* |
| 4 | | *senior walaupun dengan cara yang salah sih.* |

| 1 | | *It was like when I was utas, when I was in 2$^{nd}$ year, I didn't know what I did* |
|---|------|---|
| 2 | *Wiwi* | *when there wasn't agit. I was like afraid of doing something. But when there* |
| 3 | *t* | *was agit, it was like I had many things to do. It was like that something was in* |
| 4 | | *order, they taught (us) the way to respect them although it was wrong* (FGD 3). |

In another focus group discussion, one of the students stated that, under the guidance of *agit*, the juniors know what they do—*agit* is like their exemplar.

***Extract 5.17***

| 1 | Anna | *Pasti di dunia manapun itu butuh yang namanya senior kok. karena tanpa* |
|---|------|---|
| 2 | | *senior kita nggak tau apa-apa. Kita nggak punya panutan juga jadinya. Gitu* |
| 3 | | *aja lah.* |

| 1 | Anna | *Every part of the world needs seniors - if there is no senior, we know nothing.* |
|---|------|---|
| 2 | | *We don't have an example. That's it.* (FGD 2) |

Being left by *seniors* can lead *aud* to be in an uncertain situation. Following *agit* will be viewed as imitating them and could decrease their dignity as *agit* are now their opponents and they should oppose them. Moreover, they also are used to being ordered to do many things by their seniors; when they leave, *aud* are likely lacking in creativity and suffer from ambivalence about their status. Therefore, there is no agreement between *aud* in relation to the style they wear. Some of them prefer to change their status from being *babu* to being more stylish and modest, whereas some of them feel confused and choose not to dress differently.

### *Agit* Style

As *agit* holds a top position in the hierarchy within the institutional structure of SMA 1001, and so the style they wear should reflect this position. They are more stylish and modest; wearing tight uniform, make-up, lipstick and perfumes is used to represent that they are the boss. To complement their appearance, *agit* usually wear a scarf around their shoulders, and many of them wear silk scarves to indicate that they are the elite. Therefore, they struggle to satisfy their appearance by wearing high-quality materials, clothes and accessories, such as leather shoes, to differentiate themselves from *utas*,

who wear canvas shoes. In this sense, the quality of fabric, along with the styles students wear, is used as a parameter to distinguish the social classes within the school. Although not all *agit* wear and perform stylish and modest uniform, as illustrated by wearing a scarf and other high-quality materials, mostly they represent stylish and modest.

Whilst the girls have clearly categorised themselves into particular types of student, the different styles for junior and senior boys tend to be less visible. Although there is not a clear difference between juniors and seniors, there is a small observable style that can be used to distinguish class years, as established from small talk with one of the international class teachers:

> *Based on her observation during her teaching there for around four years, Bu Hanum concluded that trousers are the most observable thing to differentiate between juniors and seniors. If juniors are clearly seen from their tight trousers above the ankle and the canvas shoes, seniors are in the contrary, they wear longer trousers and more varied shoes material and style* (Field Note, May 2, 2013 at 10:00).

The difference is about the length of the trousers; juniors should wear trousers 3cm above the ankle; this style shows that they are at the transition stage from junior to senior high school, whilst junior high school students wear shorts rather than trousers. Since their trousers are above the ankle, they are not yet fully senior high school students.

The style and colour of the uniform, therefore, is not only about the symbol of levelling and the degree of students within the schools, but also is perceived as an instrument to socialise and inculcate particular cultural values and norms. The uniform, in addition, also is perceived by the students as a meaningful instrument to represent group and school identity.

### 5.3.1. Communication Styles

Another style that is quite apparent within the school in displaying differences between class years is the ways in which students communicate between themselves. The salient style, which is clearly recognised, is the unique communication between *utas* and *agit*, who deploy specific aspects of verbal and non-verbal communication in establishing their relationship. The significant use of verbal and non-verbal aspects in their

communication primarily can be linked with the notion of 'respect and politeness'. As it is only *utas* and *agit* who perform this kind of style within the school[21], focus will centre on the way they communicate with one another.

**Table 0.3 Communication Patterns**

| | *Utas* | *Aud* | *Agit* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Communication patterns | For the girls: facing down when communicating with their seniors, 'yes and no' in answering seniors' questions, no capital letters, no more than one vowel at the end of the word (e.g., *iya* rather than *iyaaaa)*, no blank spaces (e.g. …..) in written communication<br>For the boys: more flexible than the girls'. | As this class year does not have seniors and juniors, they do not show their own feature of communication pattern. | Often invite *utas* to come and order something (buying food and drink, photocopying, doing their work etc.), often use high volume when shouting at *utas*. |

In this part, the language used in verbal communication is the focus, with attention directed towards the use of particular patterns of language in face-to-face communication, as well as communication via electronic devices (Blackberry Messenger), arguing that verbal and non-verbal communication can be very important as a medium of displaying particular meanings (respect and unequal position). The following extract outlines the features of communication styles between juniors and seniors within the school.

***Extract 5.18***

| 1 | Rina | *kalo jalan harus nunduk.* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Prita | *Ngomongnya baku. Kalo bales bbm nggak boleh panjang-panjang.* |
| 3 | Indah | *Ga boleh panjang-panjang, gue diomelin* |
| 4 | RIna | *Cuman bilang iya  sama maaf.* |

---

[21] *Aud* does not have direct interaction with *utas* and *agit* (further discussed in Chapter 7)

| 5 | Sari | *Iya iy.. Cuma iya iya aja* |
| 6 | Prita | *Pokoknya kalo ngomong harus ada kata maaf. (FGD 4)* |

| 1 | Rina | *If we walk we should be facing down.* |
| 2 | Prita | *If we speak, it should be standard. If we reply on BBM, it shouldn't be long* |
| 3 | Indah | *It is not allowed to be long, I was scolded.* |
| 4 | RIna | *You can only say yes and sorry* |
| 5 | Sari | *Yeah…only say yes* |
| 6 | Prita | *Should there be 'sorry' if we speak* (FGD 4) |

The students in FGD 4 provide clear information pertaining to verbal and non-verbal styles, and how these should be shown by juniors when interacting with seniors. The following part details these styles.

**Face-to-Face Communication**

When *utas* engage in face-to-face communication with *agit*, they should display particular respect and politeness through their use of gestures, intonations and responses. Particular gestures the students should display when engaging in communication include looking downwards, placing their hands in front of their body, and standing around one metre away from each other. Since the social practices operated by the students are 'illegal', according to the school regulations, as has been discussed in the previous sections, it was difficult to provide images as evidence of their communication style; therefore, reliance was placed on the researcher's analysis of the data from the interviews and focus group discussions, with a little evidence from their electronic devices.

With regards the juniors facing downwards when engaging in face-to-face communication or when passing in front of seniors, students described '*kalo jalan harus nunduk, If we walk we should be looking downwards*' (Rina in FGD 4). Sari and Indah from other focus group discussions (FGD5) further explained, '*Iya, disuruh-suruh gitu kan. Kalo jalan harus nunduk, nunduknya harus gini pak. Harus sampe nempel, Yeah (we) are ordered to do (many things. If we walk should be facing downwards, it should be like this (practicing), the chin should touch (the chest).* There should be details in the paralinguistic pattern on facing, as stated by Sari and Indah, who state that the chin should stick to the chest. If they do not do this, seniors normally ask them to repeat and re-practice until they do so. Often, the juniors are scolded and shouted at in front of

their peers if they do not display the standard norm of non-verbal behaviour when engaging in interactions with seniors. The students contend that facing downwards when passing or engaging in communication with seniors is a way of educating juniors on how to respect and behave politely to those who are older, based on school norms. Although the following extract does not clearly refer to facing down in face-to-face communication, it indicates that the practice of seniority[22] is important in socialising and imposing value (respect).

***Extract 5.19***

| 1 | Fatima | *Padahal, seperti kita di keluarga pun kita butuh senioritas. Karena kalau* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *nggak ada rasa senioritas kita bisa seenaknya sama oang tua, ngelawan,* |
| 3 | | *gitu-gitu. Terus kalo kita nggak ada senioritas sama sekali, istilahnya orang* |
| 4 | | *bilang senioritas dihapuskan. Coba deh kalo misalnya senioritas dihapuskan* |
| 5 | | *itu dan perilaku junior ke senior bisa aja kurang ajar. Bisa aja nggak sopan.* |

| 1 | Fatima | *As we know, in our family we need seniority. If there is no seniority, we can* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *do everything to our parents, defy them or do anything. If there is no* |
| 3 | | *seniority at all or it is eradicated, juniors can damn us, they can act* |
| 4 | | *impolitely (to us). (FGD 2)* |

The underlying motives of practicing a particular style of face-to-face communication can be inferred to be about educating juniors about school values and accordingly respecting and behaving politely towards the elderly. The student's assertion, as shown in the above extract, is evident in stating that the protocol and norms are aimed at building the tradition to respect seniors.

From the style the students display, it can be stated that there is no eye contact during communication. Unlike in Western culture, which considers eye contact as significant and an important aspect in successful communication (Argyle and Dean, 1965), the absence of eye contact when engaged in direct interaction performed by the students of SMA 1001 is considered highly successful in performing protocol or norms. Moreover, the absence of eye contact in dyadic communication also can be interpreted as showing politeness for elders.

Whilst particular gestures should be displayed overtly in junior–senior communication, particular linguistic features also should be enacted in either face-to-face

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[22] There are several components in seniority practices including facing down when engaged in communication and passing in front seniors, school territorial segregation and styles.

communication or via electronic devices. The juniors are not allowed to use another fixed way of answering questions and orders from seniors; they have to follow standard procedures; that is, by saying and answering '*iya, kak*[23]', '*siap kak*', *dan* '*maaf, kak*'. There are no arguments in this type of communication, and this is what the seniors expect from their juniors: to be respected. Facing downwards and showing no arguments in every interaction is a characteristic of displaying respect and being polite to the elderly in students' communication within SMA 1001.

**Communication through Media**

Rather than performing different features in face-to-face communication, the students also need to perform particular styles of communication when engaging in interactions via electronic devices, such as Blackberry Messenger or Line. The students of SMA 1001 commonly use BBM rather than direct calling; this is just like typical Indonesian youths currently who prefer to use text messages rather than direct calling. The standard operating procedure in their communication via BBM is somewhat similar to face-to-face communication; short answers. There is a specific feature of symbols in written texts they use in their text messages; however, as illustrated by the student in FGD 5, '*Ngomongnya baku. Kalo bales bbm nggak boleh panjang-panjang. Ga boleh panjang-panjang, gue diomelin*' '*If we speak, it should be standard. If we reply BBM, it shouldn't be long. It's not allowed to be long, I was scolded*'.



**Figure 0.8 Seniors and Juniors' interaction through Black Berry Messenger (1)**

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[23] Kak is from the word Kakak and commonly in mundane communication refers to the slightly elder people of the speakers.

From the above figure it can be seen that the answers should contain particular words, 'yes' and 'kak', with the varying clarification, but it should fulfil the standard procedure and not be too long an answer. '*Iya kak yang slice kak?*', '*iya kak yang ukurannya berapa kak?*' ,'*yes kak, the slice one, kak?*', ' *yes kak, what is the size, kak*', and the answers '*Gak, yg gede*', '*no, the big one*' and '*yang ukurannya standard saja*', '*the standard one*'.

Another style of standard procedure in communication via BBM also can be found in the following figure.



**Figure 0.9 Seniors and Juniors' interaction through Black Berry Messenger (2)**

Like in Figure 0.8, the word *kak* often appears twice in the juniors' short answers. This might indicate the degree of respect and politeness. By using the word *kak* at the front and at the end of the sentence (repeatedly said), which refers to the sender, the juniors emphasise that they respect their seniors. To illustrate the highest position and authoritarian position of the seniors, juniors often associate seniors with the terms 'king' and 'queen'.

> *Maksudku mereka tetap saja bersikap saat MOS. Mereka ingin diperlakukan seperti seorang Raja dan Ratu. Ingin di hormati tanpa terkecuali. Dan apapun yang mereka inginkan harus dituruti.*
>
> *I mean, they are (seniors) behave like in MOS (students' orientation). They want to be served as King and Queen. They want to be respected all the time and everything they want to should be satisfied* (Student's diary entitled 'Kristalisasi Cinta dan Air Mata: Sebuah Autobiography' by Seirra Latanssa).

An interesting point to note is that there have been significant differences between the way in which boys and the girls display their patterns of communication, either face-to-face or via media. Whilst girls show distinctive features of communication, including facing down, particular linguistic forms and paralinguistic aspects, boys, on the contrary, do not necessarily display specific features of communication amongst themselves—junior vs seniors. The different patterns and the ways in which boys and girls communicate is depicted in the following extract:

***Extract 5.20***

| 1 | Ilham | *Gak tahu cewek tujuannya apa. Cewek pengen ditakutin aja sih. Cewek* |
| 2 | | *mungkin kalo marah nakutin ya. Cempreng gitu suaranya. Cewek kalo* |
| 3 | | *dihentak sekali juga utas nya langsung nunduk. Langsung ciut. Gak ada* |
| 4 | | *yang berani kalo cewek yang natap muka.* |
| 5 | Irfan | *Tapi kalo cowok kok enggak?* |
| 6 | Ilham | *Kalo cowok kan lebih slow. Kan mereka gak musingin masalah itu. gak* |
| 7 | | *penting banget kan. Cowok malah lebih deket jadinya. Kayak agitnya punya* |
| 8 | | *utas, kan sering main bareng. Sering nongkrong bareng. Sering disuruh-* |
| 9 | | *suruh. Malah kayak adik kakak. Jadi selow aja. Ngapain nunduk-nunduk ke* |
| 10 | | *gua.* |

| 1 | Ilham | *I don't know why girls practice that (communication style). They want to be* |
| 2 | | *feared. If they are angry, they are frightening. They make shrill noise. When* |
| 3 | | *girls (utas) are snapped (by agit), they will face downward. No one is brave* |
| 4 | | *to eye contact.* |
| 5 | Irfan | *But why the boys aren't like that?* |
| 6 | Ilham | *Boys are more relaxed. They don't think too much about it (facing* |
| 7 | | *downward). Boys are closer, when agit have utas, they hanging out together.* |
| 8 | | *They (juniors) are often being ordered by seniors so that their relationship is* |
| 9 | | *just like brothers. No point to (they) should face downward (Personal* |
| 10 | | *interview, Ilham).* |

Ilham explained that the way boys show respect to seniors is displayed by standing equal. For boys, showing gestures and paralinguistic features displaying respect are not crucial in their building of a good relationship. Although seniors often ask juniors to do many things, it is regarded as not being an intimidation; rather, it is seen as a way of showing closeness. They illustrate their closeness when asked to do anything with siblings.

The social practices operated by students either via direct interaction or via electronic devices are often carried out with particular force, meaning that the juniors seem to have

no choice other than obeying and following their seniors. In this regard, the seniors have made the juniors 'yes men' rather than independent people in displaying their particular characteristics in interpersonal communication.

## 5.4. Summary

This chapter has explored student social practices within the school environment and has revealed various key findings pertaining to the connection between social practices and the occurrence of school violence, either through intergroup or interschool fighting. Students' social practices include the colour and style of students' uniform, the division of spaces, and communication patterns.

With regards the issue of uniform, the chapter has shown that the style and colour of uniform is distinctively created in an effort to show and maintain the status of exclusiveness amongst students within the school and other schools within the city. The uniform also is used by students to display power, hierarchy, social class and identity. Similar to the uniform, to some extent, the territorial segregation is perceived by students as a strategic method to socialise particular values. How the students have created feared places amongst others and how this creation has influenced students' understanding and behaviour in seeing others indicate that the segregation of school facilities is meaningful for the socialisation of particular values in relation to school violence. The different places for hanging out also poses another important aspect in relation to strategic and philosophical values in school violence, which students should understand and practice. The way in which students communicate, whether face-to face or through media, also can be used as another example to suggest that social practices are riddled with the motives that eventually can be linked to school violence.

Due to the fact that the social practices operated by the students are unacceptable—and even contradictory to school regulations—some of these social practices generally remain hidden and underground. This, as the students perceive, comes as a result of the historical and cultural values of the school, which should be maintained and passed down to the younger generations in order to retain school identity.

The next chapter examines students' social interactions within the school and how the role of such social interactions influences students' understanding and beliefs about school violence.

# Chapter 6

# Growing up in School Milieu: Learning from the School's Story

*...Termasuk saya dulu waktu saya tawuran, saya masuk sini ga tahu apa-apa an. Masuk sini saya dari SMP 1000 yang dimana adalah sekolah pelajar termasuk sekolah unggulan untuk seukuran SMP, nah tetapi saya tiba-tiba terperangkap di lingkungan ini.*
*...when I entered this school, I knew nothing, including when I was involved in school violence. I graduated from a 'Junior High School 1000', a categorised reputable Junior High School. But then I got trapped in this environment.*

## 6.1. Introduction

As can be seen from the above extract, Satria described how his current environment, entering senior high school, and being involved in school violence had altered his understanding and behaviour. His testimony indicates a strong influence from his environment, reflecting on what it is like to grow up in a particular educational context and how the significance of such a social environment contributed to the alteration in his understanding and behaviour. Aside from the social practices argued (see Chapter 5) as contributing to students' understanding and behaviours, social interactions also play an important role in influencing students' perceptions and their behaviour, as illustrated in the above extract. Akers (2001), in his social learning theory, demonstrates that delinquent behaviour is learned through association, imitation, definitions and reinforcement (further explanation of this theory is discussed in Chapter 2). Adhering to the prosocial behaviour of peers and positive activities would support the positive development of students and vice versa (Seifert, 2012, p. 109).

Moreover, as has been noted in the youth research, one characteristic in the age of adolescents is trying to find experiences and values outside of the family setting (Richards *et al.*, 1998), marked by the decreasingly close relationship between children and parents and the increasingly close interactions with their friends (Collins and Laursen, 2004). This makes young people vulnerable to negative influences; therefore, there has been the suggestion that youth delinquent behaviour is the result of

commitment, conformity and attachment to the group. (Epstein, 1983), for example, highlighted that

> *'...youngsters are developing a sense of self from their reactions to events and from the reactions they receive from others, they also are learning about the demands for social behaviors from the settings in which they work and play. In school they learn what behaviors are valued and what kind of social interactions are rewarded by their teachers and by their peers'.*

Social interactions essentially form the development process of students' learning behaviours, values, and views about themselves and others (Phinney, 1987). In the context of educational institution, school plays an important role in mediating values practiced by the school's members.

The importance of the life stage of students at senior high school has raised interesting questions. Students' experiences at this life stage (senior high school) generally is characterised by intimate friendship (peers, clique and crowd). How are students' interactions situated within the complex and restricted social norms of the friendship group and how does this situation develop students' social skills and understandings? This chapter describes and explains the role of social interactions in the social learning process and further highlights various implications pertaining to students' social development. It should be noted, however, that this topic already has been introduced in part in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, with this chapter focusing in particular on the social interaction patterns and how such a pattern can be understood, constructed, and perhaps modified by members of the school community.

This chapter is split into four sections: the first section looks at the social interactions amongst the students and between the groups, as reflected through various models of school activities, where such dynamic interactions identify the roles of each member and group in constructing social interaction patterns; the next section addresses students' dilemmas (either following or refusing to get involved), pertinent to the complexities of challenging interactions, explaining the strategies they take and the interactions they need to perform with other school members, with the section looking at the boundary of strategies in engaging and challenging interactions; the next section is concerned with the shared understanding of the essence of the particular social

interaction in which the students take part; and the final section summarises the key findings.

## 6.2. Social Interaction Patterns

The students show clear patterns of interaction with distinctive features. Such distinctive features of students' interactions are not restricted to the distinction of the spaces they occupy and the characteristics of their verbal and non-verbal communication (see Chapter 5), but rather also extend to the patterns of their interactions and friendships.

The students' interactions within SMA 1001 can be illustrated in the following extract, as Pak Najib (teacher) notes:

**Extract 6.1**

| 1 | *Jadi kan itu polanya. Kan kelas tiga, mereka punya didikan kelas satu, kelas* |
|---|---|
| 2 | *dua udah nggak ada binaan apa-apa. Tengah-tengah merek itu. Makanya* |
| 3 | *kadang kelas dua berantem ama kelas kelas tiga dan kadang-kadang berantem* |
| 4 | *ama kelas satu. Begitu kelas duanya kelas tiga,, mereka kembali membina kelas* |
| 5 | *satu. Begitu terus siklusnya.(personal Interview Pak Najib)* |

| 1 | *That is the pattern, third year students have subordinates (first year students),* |
|---|---|
| 2 | *2nd year students do not have subordinates, they are in the middle. So that's* |
| 3 | *why 2$^{nd}$ year students fight 3$^{rd}$ year students and sometimes fight with 1$^{st}$ year* |
| 4 | *students. Right after 2nd year students step up to 3rd year; they begin to* |
| 5 | *prepare the 1st year students. That is the cycle. (personal Interview Pak Najib)* |

Pak Najib succinctly described the pattern of interactions amongst the students, clearly seen as a hierarchical system in which *utas* is positioned within the direct guidance and authority of *agit* whilst *aud* is alienated for not having subordinates until after they are seniors or *agit*. The implication of having subordinates, as Pak Najib explained, is that there are separations and building blocks between class years, referred to as *angkatan ganjil dan angkatan genap* or odd and even generation. In an effort to illustrate the interaction patterns, he associated it with three words that recently have been very popular with Indonesian politicians: 'structured, systematic, and massive.'

**Extract 6.2**

| 1 | *Dan itu terjadi bukan pada cowok saja. Ceweknya pun seperti itu. Saya punya* |
|---|---|
| 2 | *videonya dulu itu. Itu sistematis. Kalo bahasa MK itu terstruktur, sistematis,* |

| 3 | *massive. Polanya terstruktur. Kelas tiga punya binaan kelas satu. Kan* |
| 4 | *terstruktur itu. Kelas dua dibiarin nggak punya adek. Jadi nunggu nanti.* |
| | *Sitematis.* |
| 1 | |
| 2 | *And it is not only for boys, it applies to girls as well. I used to have the video.* |
| 3 | *It's systematic. It is the Constitution's words; it is structured, systematic,* |
| 4 | *massive. The pattern is structured. 3$^{rd}$ year students have subordinate 1$^{st}$ year* |
| 5 | *students, it is structured, isn't it? 2$^{nd}$ year students do not have (subordinates),* |
| | *they wait until later. Isn't it systematic?(Pak Najib)* |

Illustrating the interaction pattern with those three words reflects that the interaction is well-managed, representing who is coordinating, managing, circulating and implementing the interactional norms. 'Structured' refers to hierarchical position of the group/batch, which positions *utas* as the weakest and alumni in the highest hierarchy, with *aud/agit* in the middle. 'Massive' can be understood as the involvement of all group memberships in any activities, with the alumni the leaders, whilst 'systematic' is associated with the clear roles of each group in relation to all aspects of social practice. The three associated terms are overtly intended to emphasise and perpetuate the dominant and unequal position, which is argued to generate values for all students and alumni through the propaganda of 'anti-mainstream, identity, social capital and character building' (also see Chapter 4 and Chapter 5).

Although Pak Najib is able to identify that the interaction pattern is set-up, demonstrating that this pattern has been passed down from one generation to the next, still, he remains unclear as to who is behind this practice; this is because the hierarchical interaction pattern is one of the underground movements (such as the division of the canteen, stairs, sports fields, etc.) in the sense that it is difficult to identity who controls, manages and is responsible for all these practices; therefore, he illustrated this hierarchical interaction pattern as being like arsenic poison, the effects of which are real but where the material is difficult to identify.

The hierarchical interaction patterns could be recognised from, for example, the practice of getting a nickname, obtaining a group's name, *rejes* (jejer) or standing in line, and *peper* (pesta *perkenalan*) or extracurricular orientation. With regards to getting a nickname, it is a tradition that *utas* should be given a nickname by their seniors, *agit*. This nickname is given to subjects fulfilling the requirements that commonly are aimed

at ridiculing *utas*. The process of getting a nickname itself is usually conducted in a relaxed situation to give a nuance of friendship and closeness:

> *Hal baru yang aku dapatkan di SMAN 1001 adalah pemberian nama dari agit ke utas. Aku juga punya nama angkatan yaitu 'mokit' ...pertamanya dia menamaiku 'GoDang yaitu Gorila ranDang' dan aku disuruh mempekenalkan diri. Lalu tiba-tiba dia berkata 'tas, lo sakit ya? Akupun jawab 'engga kok kak'. 'tapi kok muka lo kayak orang sakit', katanya. Jadi dia mengganti namaku lagi menjadi MoKit alias Monyet saKit.*

> *A new thing I got from SMA 1001 is a nickname which is given by agit to utas. I also have a nickname, Mokit. ...intitially agit gave me a name GoDang or Gorila ranDang and they asked me to introduce to other agit. But suddenly they said, 'utas, are you sick? I answered 'no, seniors'. 'but, your face is like you are sick'. So, they changed my name become MoKit or Monyet saKit (sick monkey).* (Student's diary entitled 'Menjalani Roda kehidupan itu Indah', by Baskoro).

The nickname given by *agit* generally refers to the physical appearance and characteristics of *utas*. As can be seen from the above diary entry, *utas* is called *Mokit (monyet sakit)* or sick monkey due to his pale face, whilst the name *monyet* or monkey is just to ridicule him. Although the nicknames given should be mostly unique and humorous, some of the nicknames are a representation of students' characteristics. The use of individuals' characteristics for name-calling can be seen from one of focus group discussion' members in this study (Rambo, Section 4.2.2). I have asked him why his nickname is Rambo: he said that his seniors, *agit*, were impressed with his bravery and his body, which are similar to Rambo's characteristics in movies, and so *agit* decided to give him the nickname Rambo. As getting nicknames is designed for just having fun and to get them closer, the process is usually conducted with fun, avoiding violent behaviours. For example, when I sat in the canteen after school, I saw six *agit* gathered at their canteen territory. They called *utas* who passed by the canteen. I heard them asked *utas* if he had already got his nickname. I did not hear whether or not *utas* had been given his name as he answered the question quietly, but I noticed that he had not yet been given a nickname. After a while, I heard *agit* ask *utas* to sing a song with the she-male's style. *Utas* started to sing a song and danced like a she-male would. I saw *agit* were laughing as they watched the way *utas* sung the song. Eventually, they gave the name *Kacu (kancil lucu)* or funny mousedeer (Field note, September 30, 2013, at 15:30).

Unlike getting a nickname, which often is marked by fun and joy, obtaining a group name is riddled with violent behaviour. This practice is another school tradition each year, which is aimed at giving the group name to *utas* before they become *aud*, and also is a way of including them in the school hierarchy (each group should have a group name). There are rituals that *utas* should be able to pass through in order to earn a group name. These rituals include what students often call '*nakitnalep*' (pelantikan) or inauguration, where *utas* are gathered in a particular place to undergo 'training' on how to be students of SMA 1001. During this training, according to a teacher, violent behaviour, such as slapping, punching and kicking, is often conducted by their seniors, *agit*. After completed the training, *utas* should bold their hair; however, the group names will be given only after *agit* have compelted their graduation day. The rituals associated with earning a group name are always repeated each year, where seniors know how to conduct such a training, as they themselves received similar training from their seniors. The following student's diary illustrates how juniors, *utas*, should follow the conduct of *agit*:

> *Untuk mendapatkan nama angkatan kami harus berusaha menarik simpati agit agar mau melantik kami. Dari segi apapun kami harus terlihat baik, dari segi kompak, sopan dan lain-lain. Bukan tanpa usaha, setiap kami menarik simpati ada saja halangan kami, entah bagaimana datangnya yang jelas pasti itu pasti rencana agit karena pasal 1 agit selalu benar dan pasal 2 jika salah kembali ke pasal 1. Dengan hukum itu kami hanya pasrah.*
>
> *To get the batch's name, we have to attract agit's sympathy, so that they want to inaugurate us. We need to show 'good' behaviour, togetherness, polite and so on. When we are trying to attract their sympathy, there are always hindrance which I am sure are designed by agit. Because there is a rule, 1) agit is always right, 2) if agit is wrong, back to rule no 1. With this rule, we are only resigned of what agit want to do to us.* (Student's diary entitled 'Antara Aku dan Duniaku' by Robby Kurnianto)

It can be seen that inauguration is the right of *agit*, indicating that *agit* has an authority, whether to give, postpone or revoke the group's name. Further to Robby's diary, it was noted that he should have been given a group's name before *agit* left the school, but because of 'one thing' that caused *agit* to be disappointed, his group's name was revoked; after fulfilling the requirement, eventually he and his friends obtained the group's name in September the same year. When having a small talk with *aud* in the

sports halls, I asked them about the process of being assigned a group's name and the reason behind a group's name being revoked by seniors.

> *I came to Sports hall where mostly aud get together there every afternoon. I brought some snacks and drinks for breaking the ice…They said thank you. They asked me about many things including where I study, what I do in SMA 1001. After a while, as I had answered their questions, I started to ask several questions in return, regarding their peers who usually come to that place. He answered that almost aud come and get together every day after school hours. Then I asked whether they had already had their group's name. They told me that they had the group's name five month ago, but haven't declared it yet, waiting agit graduate first. I asked how they got it. They suddenly quit and saw each other, seemingly they didn't want to tell the process of obtaining the name to someone else except their in-group members. They were still reluctant to tell me, but suddenly there was someone whom I know is one of the students who follow boxing extracurricular, coming to approach me. He said with cautiously that they had it through the process of 'nakitnalep' in a place not far from the school. But again, he didn't want to tell more about the process of obtaining the group name, rather he suggested me to ask another question.* (Field note, October 2, 2013, at 16:30)

However, these students, like others, felt that they would be put in a dangerous situation if they were to disclose the secret practice, such as group name inauguration, to someone else outside of their group's members. Thus, when I asked them about it, my question produced a shift to another topic of conversation.

Another form of hierarchical interaction pattern also can be seen from the interaction between the students and alumnae in particular moments, such as what is notoriously known as *rejes* (*jejer*) or stand in line. This pattern of interaction, commonly between *agit* and alumnae (their ex-seniors), also is riddled with violence, where students, commonly *agit*, are interviewed by ex-seniors regarding the loss of school fighting. *Rejes* is conducted if the students withdraw from/lose in the interschool violence (see Section 6.2.1.2). The term *rejes* itself illustrates that the students should stand in line, and that each *agit* should be interviewed by alumnae. Because this practice is highly secret, nobody can have access to it except *agit* and alumnae themselves. However, a student even said that there had been a national TV station that broadcasted the process of *rejes* and then someone uploaded in YouTube, but when I traced it, it had been deleted. According to this student, *rejes* is really frightening, such as in terms of how

alumnae ask the students loudly, with the students required to answer clearly, or they will be punched, such as like a military interrogation.

In addition, the implications of having such interaction patterns are building blocks of interaction and separating group membership, which is known as *angkatan genap* and *angkatan ganjil or* 'odd and even group', as pointed out by Mambo in the following extract:

**Extract 6.3**

1    *kita dibagi dua sebetulnya. Taun ganjil dan genap. Kami kan ganjil, jadi beda-*
2    *beda. Jadi genap itu misalnya kita harus ribut sama kelas 2, harus apa, harus*
3    *bikin acara, kelas 3 ini acara farewell, acara apa, acara kelulusan gitu*

1    *We divided into two. Even and uneven year. We are uneven, so it is different. If*
2    *even, we have to fight with second year students, we have to make? have to*
3    *make events, farewell party for third year students, other events, a graduation*
4    *day ceremony. (Personal interview, Mambo)*

On the one hand, students need to be close to a particular group, but on the other hand, they also need to take up a position of opposition with the other group. Mambo admitted, for instance, that, as he was in the odd group, he should oppose the even group; at the same time, however, he and his peers should embrace and show their interpersonal relationship and emotional conformity to their higher social hierarchy, either *agit* or alumni, which belongs to the odd group through various dedicated non-academic events. The distinction between the odd and even group/batch itself, according to the students, can be traced back to the initial group's name, constructed in 1982, as the first generation (1st batch), which is referred to as the odd group. The following year (1983) is recognised as the second generation (2nd batch), and belongs to the even group; those students who started their first year in 1984 are categorised as the odd group or (3rd batch). The naming of odd and even groups then follows, detailing which batch they belong to, as illustrated in the following diagram.

**Table 0.1 Categorisation of Odd and Even Batch**

| Academic year | Group's name (anonymous) | Category |
|---|---|---|
| 1982–1985 (1st batch) | Tiger | Odd |
| 1983–1986 (2nd batch) | Lion | Even |
| 1984–1987 (3rd batch) | Elephant | Odd |
| 1985–1988 (4th batch) | Shark | Even |
| …2014–2017 (33rd batch) | Cobra | Odd |

In addition, the distinction between odd and even groups brings consequences in many aspects of school activities, such as the segregation of school facilities that keep the students separated (Chapter 5). Not only is there a tendency to separate themselves in any aspects of school activities, but also the two oppositional groups often compete over self-image; trying to impress and obtain positive image based on the school norms whilst also trying to underestimate and provide negative associations to other group. The students from the odd group, for example, historically have underestimated its counterpart for not being the school representation of tough, often losing in school violence (interschool violence). Conversely, the even group refuses and tends to mock the odd group with the term associated with loser characteristics.

> *Ketika aku masuk 1001, angkantanku adalah angkatan ke-15, sedangkan Dragon angkatan 13. Dragon selalu menekankan pada kami,*
> *"Angkatan ganjil itu paling jaya di 1001! Angkatan genap tuh katro-katro! Jangan takut sama angkatan genap". Karena itu kami pun jadi lebih berani pada aud, Lizard. Apalagi kepada angkatan berikutnya.*
> *When I entered SMA 1001, my group's batch is 15th, whilst my seniors (Dragon) is 13th. They always emphasised to us that,*
> ' *The odd group is the most glorious in 1001! The even group is hick! Don't fear with even group'. Because of that (doctrine), we are braver to (fight) aud, Lizard (group's name), even much braver with the following even groups.*
> (Students diary entitled Cerbung – ganjil vs genap, by H.S.)

Not only do they compete to get a status of ideal characteristic of the school, causing them to be separate, but the taking distance between the two groups also extends to the performance of religious rituals, such as praying. As observed, *agit* deliberately came to pray at almost the end of prayer time—after all students and teachers had finished their praying, trying to avoid contact with their opponents, *aud.*

*Extract 6.4*

> *When I finished my 'jamaah'/ together praying, I always found agit started to pray after we all finished our praying. When I asked them about their late praying, they answered that they had to have lunch first. When I asked other utas, they said that nothing was wrong with them, they just wanted to pray together with their peers. Although, they did not say the truth about their taking stance with their opponents/aud, I could see from their expressions when at one time they could not avoid seeing together in Friday prayer, praying together at the same time. They tended to separate from aud.* (Field note September 20, 2013)

When Bu Umi was confronted about the tendency of each group to separate themselves in religious activities, she confidently answered that ensuring distance between the two groups when praying has been practiced for many years and has been passed down by their seniors. However, she could not identify the initiation of the separation of students' religious practices. She also wondered why, in such a ritual performance, when the students were expected to get together, they still separated.

*Extract 6.5*

| 1 | Irfan | *Sampek sholatpun mereka ngga mau bareng.* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Bu Umi | *Iya, kelas 10 di belakang. Jadi kesalahan yang diatas. Doktrin-doktrin* |
| 3 | | *alumninya masih kental banget. Saya masih ngga tahu dari alumni* |
| 4 | | *berapa mulainya. Sepertinya dari 2003 atau 2004* |

| 1 | Irfan | *Until when they are praying, they don't want to be together, do they?* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Bu Umi | *Yeah, class 10$^{th}$ (utas) are on the back row. It is the previous generation's* |
| 3 | | *fault. The alumni's doctrines are still very powerful. I still don't know* |
| 4 | | *which alumni started to begin, it could be 2003 or 2004'* |
| 5 | | *alumni.(Personal Interview, Bu Umi)* |

The impact of such types of interaction, to some extent, might make students feel unmotivated to take part in extracurricular activities. Their unwillingness to participate in extracurricular activities has led teachers to generally force students to take part, as described by Bu Umi in the following extract.

*Extract 6.6*

| 1 | *Ya kalo di sini itu, setiap anak wajib mengikuti ekskul. Mereka kadang-kadang* |
|---|---|
| 2 | *pertama-tama setengah dipaksa. Harus ikut ekstra.* |

| 1 | *In this school, every student has to do extracurricular activities. They (students)* |
|---|---|
| 2 | *sometimes are initially forced to do extracurricular activities (Personal* |
| 3 | *Interview, Bu Umi)* |

Other than extracurricular activities, there also are school events that enable students from different groups to get together. This also is the designed activity created by school staff by assigning different group members to be the committee, aiming at developing close interactions amongst them.

***Extract 6.7***

| 1 | Bu Umi | *...Artinya pendidikan itu bukan dari kakak, kalo dari kakak kelas nanti* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *jatuhnya dendam. Itu harapan saya cara bergaul nya anak-anak* |
| 3 | | *(interaksi aktif ke dua belah fihak). Makanya (untuk membangun* |
| 4 | | *komunikasi ke dua belah fihak) kalau ada kegiatan kepanitiannya kita* |
| 5 | | *buat sama-sama walaupun yang bergerak Cuma motornya. Kayak* |
| | | *contohnya kelas dua. gitu.* |

| 1 | Bu Umi | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *...it means, the education (of respect) should not come from seniors. If it* |
| 3 | | *is from seniors, it will be revenge. I wish it were the pattern of their* |
| 4 | | *interactions (the interactions come from both sides, senior and junior).* |
| 5 | | *Thus (to build active interactions), if there is any programme, we assign* |
| 6 | | *the committee from different groups. Although, in fact, the key group is* |
| | | *the only active committee, such as aud. (Bu Umi)* |

Although the students are suggested as having intense contact with other students from different groups through assigning committee membership, only particular groups usually take part in the events. Compared to extracurricular activities, the school events are more exclusive in that only particular individuals are entitled to act as committee members. This means that the close and intimate relationships the teachers and staff aim to achieve are likely to be difficult to achieve.

Interestingly, although they are constrained by social norms, they are not necessarily separated. They still get together and engage in either overt or covert interactions in some particular activities—Extracurricular Activities24. Extracurricular activities are used as an umbrella to unite the students.

***Extract 6.8***

| 1 | *...Tapi jangan lupa, itu yang bikin unik, gitu. Kalo di ekskul mereka satu. Liat* |
|---|---|
| 2 | *aja. Nggak ada istilah kelas tiga atau kelas dua. Tapi kalau sudah bicara* |
| 3 | *angkatan, itu lain. Kalo ekskul mereka satu. Bahkan mereka punya peraturan* |

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24 There have been 25 extracurricular activities offered by the school to choose from (School booklet 2013).

| 4 | *tidak tertulis, jangan sentuh adek kelas loe kalo itu adek ekskul kita. Seperti itu.* |
| 5 | *Saking menyayangi adeknya. Kalo di eksul mereka semua akrab, jadi satu. Tapi* |
| 6 | *kalo udah masuk angkatan, yang bicara bukan ekskul. Udah kaya minyak ama* |
| 7 | *air aja* |

| 1 | *…That makes this school unique. Whenever they are in the same* |
| 2 | *extracurricular activity, they get together. You can see, there is no segregation* |
| 3 | *between first, second, and third year students. They have a convention: 'don't* |
| 4 | *ever touch your juniors if they are your extracurricular members'. They do that* |
| 5 | *because they love them so much. If they are in the same extracurricular* |
| 6 | *activities, they are close friends. But if they are back in their batches, they* |
| 7 | *belong to their batches. Not close friends anymore. They are like oil and water.* |
| 8 | *(Personal Inteview, Pak Najib)* |

In this sense, extracurricular activities have been transformed into a place for all different groups to be integrated where juniors, seniors and alumni are able to engage in active interactions without necessarily being concerned about the consequences of breaking the rules. Besides, through active involvement in extracurricular activities, it is possible for each member to access students from different groups and alumni—something which practically is impossible to do outside of extracurricular activities. Moreover, taking part in extracurricular activities, as Pak Najib said, is about providing shelter and protection for the juniors from the 'play' of the seniors, minimising the excess of social norms. The reminder about protecting juniors in extracurricular activities is well illustrated by Pak Najib, who explained that, after completing their extracurricular activities, they again start to make opposition, demonstrating that the two oppositional groups will never integrate.

In addition, according to the students, the close relationship across group members is incidental and purposive when, for example, there is a particular school event, as illustrated in the following:

> *…pertama gue juga nginep di hall basket bantuin agit gue. BulCup merubah sesaat agit menjadi teman, baik banget semua agit. Angkatan-angkatan sebelumnya utas jarang yang datang karena takut diapa-apain.*

> *…It was the first time, I stayed overnight at basketball Hall, helping agit. BulCup had altered agit to be good friends for a while, they were good. It was different from the previous groups where utas were seldom to come helping agit, utas were scared to be the victim of agit.* (Student's diary entitled, Warna Hidup by Omar)

Judging from Pak Najib's and the student's story above, the discourse about providing shelter for juniors through extracurricular activities only exists within these extracurricular activities. The friendships they make are tentative and will be easily terminated when they return to their groups. The commitment to protecting juniors therefore is only 'lip service'. When it is contrasted alongside a real situation, where wider interactions are involved, the higher hierarchy (the batch name) is prioritised rather than the extracurricular membership.



**Figure 0.1 Examples of School Extracurricular Activities**

One interesting point to note from the interaction patterns amongst the students within this school is their uniqueness, inconsistency, and the hidden interactions they performed. Their inconsistency can be seen clearly when they get actively involved in extracurricular activities but, when they go back to their groups, they start to confront

one another. Instead of co-operation, this interaction also is about opposition. In addition, the hidden interaction could be identified, such as when, in my experience, interviewing Satria. In the middle of our interviews, Satria often asked for a break due to needing to talk to his juniors.

***Extract 6.9***

| | |
|---|---|
| *1* | *When Satria saw his juniors and ensured that there were no peers around him,* |
| *2* | *he asked to stop the interview for a moment. He said that having a moment to* |
| *3* | *talk to his juniors (about discouraging their participation in social practices) is* |
| *4* | *quite difficult to find. He admitted that talking about not participating in social* |
| *5* | *practices could be harmful. He said 'In fact, I feel dishonoured when I am* |
| *6* | *caught (by my friends) engaging in communication with my juniors just as you* |
| *7* | *see when I called Udin. How could it be that Satria, a leader of the group,* |
| *8* | *doesn't support his friends' effort (to perpetuate the practice of seniority)?* |
| | *(Interview field note).* |

This shows that, when Satria is in front of his peers, he displays his capacity to be their leader, who ideally keeps strictly to recognized social practices; however, when he is not amongst them, he talks to the contrary. There seems to be a difficult situation: on the one hand, he still needs to be included in his group; on the other hand, he also needs to inform his juniors to stay away from the social practices owing to his compensation and regret at getting involved in the hierarchical system. He is aware of the consequences of practicing the secret interaction: alienation, physical punishments, or losing the respect of his peers. However, he continues to try to change his juniors' understanding of the system. When it is impossible to challenge the hegemony, hidden interactions are an alternative way of communicating with others.

With regard to inconsistency and the hidden interactions, the role of alumni in creating confusion amongst students is acknowledged through their active involvement in extracurricular activities and school events. Various active roles of alumni in the school extracurricular activities are quite clear, such as being coaches of the martial arts, boxing camps, futsal and the mountaineering club.

***Extract 6.10***

| | |
|---|---|
| *1* | *Setelah dia ikut, nanti ada 'PePer', Pesta Perkenalan. Dicari rumah anak-* |
| *2* | *anak orang yang nggak mampu, mengadakan pesta disana perkenalan dengan* |
| *3* | *kakak-kakak dan datanglah kakak-kakak alumni-alumni. (Bu Umi)* |

| | |
|---|---|
| *1* | *After their participation, there will be 'PePer/pesta perkenalan or an* |

*orientation programme. The students seek to find the affluent students, and the*
*orientation is conducted at the their house,, getting acquainted with seniors and*
*alumni. (Personal interview, Bu Umi)*

In addition, Bu Umi explained that, after the students take part in school activities, there would be an orientation and introduction programme with all members of the school activity, including the alumni. She wanted to demonstrate that the role of alumni (ex-pupils who have left the school) is quite pervasive, particularly in extracurricular activities. According to some students, the involvement of alumni in any extracurricular activities is centred on showing that they still have responsibility to guide and help prepare students to have the expected characteristics of SMA 1001. The alumnae's involvement also is a kind of positive hint that the alumni are quite caring with their juniors, willing to give their time for them and get involved in school activities. The positive alumni involvement, for example, can be seen when considering their willingness to coach students where the economic motive is set aside.

> *It was Friday. After Friday prayer, the students started to do their extracurricular activities…because I haven't seen boxing exercises, I decided to come what is the boxing exercise like. There were six (mixed) students at that time, some are aud and some others are agit. They exercised in pairs with the instruction of a coach. As they were busy exercising, the coach was just monitoring them from the distance. I approached and greet him…I asked whether he is alumni of SMA 1001 or not. He answered that he graduated many years ago, without telling the exact year. When I asked why he wanted to be a coach in this school, he told that he has a responsibility to help train his juniors. He himself was a national boxer and has ever experienced in boxing national tournaments. He then said that 'who else want to train the students with only 'small' payment'. It is about heart, it is about responsibility, it is about the school.* (Field note, October 11, 2013, at 16:15)

The reason for him being involved in school extracurricular activities is owing to the social motive and dedication to the school and its students where, according to him, being the tradition of the school that always prioritises 'employing' the alumni. The intense communication amongst alumni and the students through extracurricular activities make it possible for them to stay in contact at all times. According to the students, if the coaches are unable to train them again, they usually will find another alumna. There seem to be interconnectedness amongst them.

In addition, the involvement of the alumnae is not only limited to providing technical support, such as providing coaches for extracurricular activities, but they also get fully involved in other extracurricular activities when there is orientation and inauguration.

*Extract 6.11*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | *Kemudian, dalam proses, terus ada pelantikan. Kalo belum ada pelantikan,* |
| 2 | *mereka belum sah menjadi anggota. Pelantikan itu diadakan di luar kota. Iya,* |
| 3 | *misalnya di Bandung, di Lembang, tempatnya terpencil. Karena, kalo anak-* |
| 4 | *anak berteriak, kan ada didikan mental, nanti kakak-kakaknya nyentak-nyentak* |
| 5 | *dia itu nggak kedengaran sama orang-orang kampong, gitu. Mereka jam 10* |
| 6 | *mlam, disuruh tidur sebentar. Jam 11, 12, dibangunkan, trus disuruh ke* |
| | *lapangan* |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | |
| 2 | *Following the process, there will be an inauguration. If there has not been an* |
| 3 | *inauguration, they are not official members. The inauguration is conducted out* |
| 4 | *of town, like in Bandung, Lembang, the remote area. This is so that, if they* |
| 5 | *scream, because the inauguration is mental training accompanied by scolding,* |
| 6 | *the people around them won't hear. They are ordered to sleep at 10 PM and* |
| | *then they wake them up at 11 or 12 PM to gather in the field. (Bu Umi)* |

It then can be discerned that the involvement of alumni is quite thorough from the beginning of the introduction process to the end of the programme of extracurricular activities inauguration.

Extracurricular activities therefore are being open access for the alumni to get involved in any students' activities, which is technically approved by the school. Although Bu Umi acknowledges that the involvement of alumnae is positive and helpful in line with the success of extracurricular activities, in contrast, Pak Najib recognises the negative involvement of alumni in any a number of different aspects of school life (also see Section 5.2.12). He further stated that alumnae are responsible to the practices of school violence; they often create violent discourses, such as scolding, mocking and bullying, as well as physical punishments to the students.

*Extract 6.12*

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | *Nah kalo kelas dua udah mundur ntar dikatain sama kelas tiga. Lu cemen.* |
| 2 | *Sama 1002 aja mundur, musti gua yang turun. Nah ini kan yang kelas dua kan* |
| 3 | *mundur, ntar dipanggil ama kakak kelas yang udah lulus itu. Ntar mereka* |
| 4 | *digiring, dikatain lu ngapain mundur, lu cemen lu. Jadi tidak selesai disitu.* |
| 5 | *Nah yang kelas tiga itu sama misalkan nggak bisa menghadang yang* |
| 6 | *menyerang. Mereka nanti dipanggil ama kakak-kakak yang udah lulus itu.* |
| 7 | *Dikumpulin dimana gitu. Lu cemen. Ama 1002 aja mundur. Ya gitu. Itu terpola.* |

*8 Makanya saya bilang yang lulus tiga tahun tu masih terlibat.*

*1 When second year students back away, the third year students will say 'you are*
*2 losers, you are only fighting with SMA 6 and you back away, should we take*
*3 over?'. If the second year students back away, the new alumnae will gather*
*4 them in what is called 'Rejes' or 'lines'. starting to scold them; 'why are you*
*5 retreating? You are stupid, you are losers'. Whilst the third year students who*
*6 can't stop the enemy entering the gate are also 'gathered' by their seniors*
*7 (alumnae) in a particular place, by saying 'you are losers, you are only fighting*
*8 with SMA 6 and you retreat'. Yeah, that is patterned. What I am saying is that*
*9 those who graduated three years ago are still involved in the school practices.*
*10 (Personal Interview, Pak Najib)*

The above extract sheds light on the interactions involving alumni within the school, which often are marked by actual physical acts of violence or otherwise through the discourse of violence rather than positive appreciation and encouragement. Mambo admitted that the influence of alumni is quite pervasive, and often is associated with physical punishments. However, he then argued that, right after the students become *agit*, the alumni's influences fade away and they then will be seen as equals. At this stage, the alumni stop giving punishments, such as punches.

***Extract 6.13***

*1 Keuntungannya sih, kita tau temen-temen kita. Kita tau alumni. Sebenernya*
*2 kita, istilahnya ya, dipukul alumni itu sampe kelas 2 aja. Kelas 3 itu udah kayak*
*3 loe alumni membaur sama gua.*

*1 The benefit is, we know our friends. We know the alumni. In fact, it can be said*
*2 that we are only punched until second year. When we are third year, it is like,*
*3 you (alumni) are part of me. (Personal Interview, Mambo)*

However, what Mambo said slightly contradicts Pak Najib's story (Extract 6.8) that being *agit* does not mean that they are free from being punched—as Mambo said in Extract 6.13—they are able to control the school. There is a higher hierarchy (alumni) who still control them. The equal position between *agit* and alumni, as Mambo mentioned, might be about the equal position that enables them to give juniors both orders and punishments. It can be said that they have not graduated from the school; this means they are under strict control and authorised orders from the seniors.

Drawing on students' and teacher's stories, it is clear that the pattern of interaction is not always linear between the different groups, but also involves higher and wider parties, including the alumni. The pattern can be seen in the following figure.
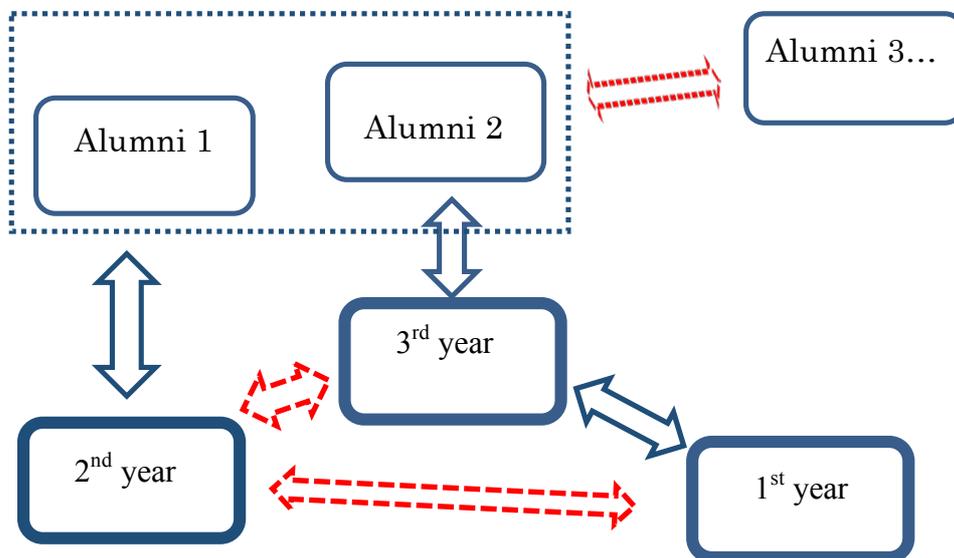


**Figure 0.2 Hierarchical Interactions**

From Figure 0.2, it can be seen that the hierarchical interaction is divided into two: direct interactions (straight arrow) and indirect interaction (dash arrow). The straight arrow shows active communication in any aspects, i.e. daily communication, hanging out together, giving commands, whilst the dash arrow displays passive interaction restricted to particular occasions. I deliberately position the alumnae 2 higher than the alumnae 1; this is merely due to the year they graduated. The alumnae 2 graduated two years ago, but still have direct influence and control over their juniors (*agit* and *utas*), whilst alumnae 1 graduated one year ago, meaning they are responsible for and engage in active interaction with *aud*. This interaction pattern is characterised by a dominant rather than egalitarian structure in which the seniors want to create frightening conditions so that the students will be easily controlled and organised.

*Extract 6.14*

1    *Cukup kayak "loe gua kasih kertas kosong, balik kesini loe bawa makanan",*
2    *jadilah makanan itu. Segitunya. Mereka nggak usah bentak-bentak kayak guru*
3    *karena senior atau alumni aksinya itu fisik, jadi junior takut. Ditampar,*
4    *ditendang, ditabok. Kalo guru kan nggak mungkin.*
     .

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Pak Najib stated that feared interactions through violent discourse and physical threats are quite effective in terms of controlling students. He compared these interaction patterns with those of the teachers who used more verbal cues and a more humanistic and egalitarian structure, which, as Pak Najib admitted, is not quite as effective in SMA 1001. This is also due to the lack of power in controlling the students (see Section 5.1.2)

All in all, the alumni have successfully maintained a particular condition through the feared interactions, which cause students confusion and potentially lead to dilemmas, particularly in relation to the inconsistency of social interaction. On the one hand, the students should generate tensions between different batches; on the other hand, however, they need to engage in certain interactions and friendships with all members of the school. This situation brings us to a further explanation regarding the dilemmas facing new students in SMA 1001 in the following section.

## 6.3.  The Dilemma of being a Junior in an Inconsistent School Culture

Being a new student in Senior High School is a challenging period, particularly in terms of adopting and adjusting to the new school culture. The challenging adjustment to being juniors in SMA 1001 specifically is concerned with making sense of themselves in relation to the social interactions and making friendships: the position they should occupy, the selection of their peers and the strategies they utilise in the complex interactions. Under the regulations, the interactions and friendships within the school are restricted and bound to existing norms. The existing norms, however, are not well-articulated in any written form; they merely exist in public discourses and through the designed social practices.

In response to the restricted and invisible interaction patterns, new students certainly display different understandings and responses: some students had been introduced to the particular model of interaction by their family, friends and neighbourhood before entering the school, whilst some others were striving to get to know the patterns through their own experiences. The latter type of students generally was seen to be going

through different and multiple process of socialisation: Fafi, a girl, as an example, realised the new model of interaction through the process of experience during her first year.

**Extract 6.15**

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | *Jadi kan, misalnya kayak saya nggak tau waktu pertama kali jadi utas itu kan* |
| 2 | *saya nggak tau tujuannya apa sih. Jujur saya kesel, kenapa saya harus diginiin.* |
| 3 | *Kadang-kadang temen-temen saya nunduk, saya nggak nunduk. Makanya saya* |
| 4 | *sotoy waktu utas* |

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | *So, just like, when I was utas for the first time, I didn't know the goals. I was* |
| 2 | *irritated, 'Why I am I being treated like this?' Sometimes, my friends were* |
| 3 | *facing down, and I didn't. So that's why, I was a smart aleck. (Fafi, FGD 2)* |

She argued that the problem was that she did not know the goals and she refused to do it. She started to question the benefit of this kind of interaction and reacted based on her understanding—being a 'smart aleck'. The students in the latter category commonly would respond like Fafi, refusing to follow the unknown essence of the new school patterns. The girls in focus group discussion accentuated their refusal in the following extract:

**Extract 6.16**

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Cinta | *Dulu sebenarnya jengkel sih* |
| 2 | Beti | *Tapi lama-lama…* |
| 3 | Nita | *Pertama-tama kaya ngga tahu tujuannya apa. Ini ngapaain sih senior ga* |
| 4 | Irfan | *jelas.* |
| 5 | Nita | *Ehmm..* |
| 6 | | *Buat apa digituin. Tapi makin kesini makin mikir itu berguna kaya mental kita entar kaya bikin 'even-even' gitu kaya diteken sama pihak-pihak lain.* |
| 1 | Cinta | |
| 2 | Beti | *. I used to be irritated.* |
| 3 | Nita | *But later…* |
| 4 | Irfan | *Initially, (we) did not know the goals. What the seniors did was unclear.* |
| 5 | Nita | *(Nita)* |
| 6 | | *Ehm…* |
| 7 | | *What use it is to us. But later, we thought that it is useful for our mental strength. Our mental strength is like what? When we organised events and had so many challenges from many parties. (FGD* |

Similar to Fafi's description, the students show critical understanding that they would refuse to do many activities without realising the benefits and goals of such interaction

patterns. But later, their understanding develops gradually through their meaning-making and through their involvement in each activity, which eventually leads to their awareness of how much what they did benefitted them. The following extract is taken from one of the students' diaries:

***Extract 6.17***

> *Akupun mulai mengetahui adanya senioritas di sekolah ini. Pada awalnya, hal tersebut sangatlah membuat diriku tidak nyaman sekali. Rasanya ingin sekali pindah dari SMA 1001. Rasa menyesal memilih SMA 1001 sebagi tempat untuk bersekolah pun menghampiriku. Sangat sulit untuk beradaptasi dengan SMA 1001 baik dengan teman-teman, guru-guru, maupun lingkungan sekolah. Hal itu terjadi karena aku sudah terbiasa dengan lingkungan sekolah swasta semenjak kanak-kanak…aku benar-benar tidak kuat dan tidak tahan dengan kondisi senioritas yang ada di SMA 1001…sekitar 1 sampai 2 bulan bersekolah disana, akupun mulai bisa beradaptasi dengan sekolah SMA 1001. Akupun mulai menyadari bahwa banyak sekali pelajaran-pelajaran yang tidak akan aku dapatkan di sekolah-sekolah lain.*

> *I know there has been seniority in this school. Initially, it made me uncomfortable and I wanted to move to another school. I regretted choosing this school, I found it difficult to adapt to friends, teachers, as well as its environment. This is due to my previous schools. I used to be quite familiar with private schools since my kindergarten. I could not really bear the seniority within this school…around 1 to 2 months later, I started being able to adapt to the school environment. I came to realise that I learnt lots from this school that I could not find studying in other schools.* (Dian's diary entitled 'Aku, Alunan Kisah Untukmu: Sebuah Biografi)

As she described in her diary, SMA 1001 was not what she imagined nor expected; it was not a secure and nice place for making friends. She found her peers, teachers and environment to be oppressive. She could not bear it, and was willing to move to another school. Her experience whilst studying at private schools taught her about the ideal school environment. Although she did not explicitly mention her scary experiences in dealing with peers, teachers and the environment, she concluded that the state school where she was studying was riddled with the practice of seniority. Nevertheless, after a couple of months, she became familiar with and began to start adjusting to the new environment. Then, as she illustrated, she gradually realised that the school provided distinctive values compared to other schools.

Although the alteration to her way of thinking was seen to be multi-dimensional, the most important thing to note is the dramatic change from her refusal (at the initial stage)

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to acceptance, and then to admittance, indicating the belief that a form of interaction brought along useful values. In addition, for some students who did not have initial information about the social norms, their understanding is often developed by going through the 'scary' process. To illustrate this, Ilham described his experience when he came to the school for the first time.

***Extract 6.18***

| 1 | Ilham | *Saya sih sebenernya gak tahu. Saya dulu kan dipesantren…Trus orang tua* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *saya bilang, ya udah kalo mau keluar, pilih sekolah favorit. Yang negeri.* |
| 3 | | *Biar gampang nanti kuliahnya. Nah SMAN yang deket rumah Cuma SMA* |
| 4 | | *1001 dan SMA 1008. Nah 1008 kan kuota nya dikit, banyak 1001. Akirnya* |
| 5 | Irfan | *masuk 1001.* |
| 6 | Ilham | *Kesan pertama gimana?* |
| | | *Kesan pertama ya ngeri.* |

| 1 | Ilham | |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *(I in fact didn't know. I used to study in an Islamic boarding school…then* |
| 3 | | *my parents said, if you wanted to study at public school, choose the* |
| 4 | | *favourite one, a state school where you can easily to continue to university.* |
| 5 | | *The state schools near my house are SMA 1001 and SMA 1008. Due to the* |
| 6 | Irfan | *limited quota for SMA 1008, I then decided to enter SMA 1001.* |
| 7 | Ilham | *What was your impression the first time (you entered this school)?* |
| | | *It was scary. (Personal Interview, Ilham)* |

He chose the school based on his mother's advice—students at state schools have a higher chance of being accepted at the state universities—in combination with the economic motive: it was close to his house. He did not intend to study at this school and did not know about the school's condition and its social norms as he spent his previous education in Islamic boarding schools. For him, entering a school with which he was not familiar was shocking.

The students who did not know the interaction patterns and social practices normally would find it difficult and often associated the condition with being scared and frightened. Similar to Dian and Ilham's stories, some students perceived that they were scared by the school environment. This condition is vocalised by focus group discussions where the students mostly did not want to study at the school.

***Extract 6.19***

| 1 | Prita | *Sebenernya saya pengen masuk SMA 3000.* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Rina | *Saya sendiri nggak nyangka keterima disini. Kakak-kakak saya semuanya* |
| 3 | | *anak 3000.* |

| 4 | Indah | Kita sebenarnya bertiga mau di… |
|---|---|---|
| 5 | All | SMA 3000 |
| 6 | Irfan | Ekspresi pertama kali gimana waktu menginjakkan kaki disini. |
| 7 | Sari | Biasa aja sih saya. Soalnya waktu di SMP udah ada senioritas juga. |
| 8 | Indah | Saya takut |
| 9 | Rina | Udah pak? |

| 1 | Prita | Actually, I wanted to go to SMA 3000 |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | Rina | I didn't expect to be accepted here. My siblings graduated from SMA |
| 3 | Indah | 3000 |
| 4 | All | We actually wanted to go to |
| 5 | Irfan | SMA 3000. |
| 6 | Sari | What were your impressions the first time you came to this school? |
| 7 | | Nothing to worry, because there was a student hierarchy in my junior |
| 8 | Indah | high school. (Sari) |
| 9 | Sari | It was scary. |
| 10 | | That's all, Sir? (Rina) (they are afraid that their peers and seniors see |
| 11 | | them being interviewed by me, so they always ask the similar question whether the interview is enough) (FGD 4) |

Although not all new students were scared by the new school environment, as stated by Sari, most of the students did state that they were frightened. The different response of the students is a matter of their previous experiences: when the students are accustomed to witnessing and experiencing particular seniority practices in their previous school, they likely will say 'nothing to worry'. When unfamiliar with those social practices, however, they will find it stressful and intimidating. Some of them might be fragile and powerless, meaning they are sometimes easily provoked and educated into particular patterns of the existing school culture, but others are determined to stay away from any social practices by being active in religious activities.

In contrast, with regards the students who were aware of the established social interactions before they entered the school, it is important to stress that generally they were more ready to enter the new school environment.

***Extract 6.20***

| 1 | Irfan | Nah, apakah anda pernah mendengar bahwa SMA ini mempunyai tradisi |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | semacam kayak tawuran pelajar? |
| 3 | Ahong | Oh kalau itu sih saya suda mendenger dari SMP |
| 4 | Irfan | Tapi tetep memutuskan sekolah sini? |
| 5 | Ahong | Iya |
| 6 | Irfan | Tidak takut? |

| 7 | Ahong | Ya takut sih awalnya. Tapi ya jalanin aja. |

| 1 | Irfan | Have you heard that this school has tradition with school violence? |
| 2 | Ahong | Ehm, I have heard it since I was in Junior High School. |
| 3 | Irfan | You decided to study here? |
| 4 | Ahong | Yeah. |
| 5 | Irfan | Weren't you scared? |
| 6 | Ahong | Yeah, I was scared at first but I got through it. (Interview Ahong) |
| | | . |

Ahong had known that the school has particular social practices, but he deliberately registered at the school. Although he said that he was slightly scared at first, he mentioned he could cope with all situations and conditions during his first year. His statement that whatever would happen he would get through reflects his understanding of the violence and other physical threats within the school, which had made him feel scared but at the same time ensured he could manage everything. Similar to Ahong, Wati (FGD 3) also said that '*Iya saya sebenarnya sudah tahu diberi tahu sama kakak saya*' or 'I have actually been informed by my brothers', but she still wanted to study at the school. Another student, Beti, for example, said that knowing and experiencing the distinctive interaction patterns within SMA 1001 is quite challenging where she could not find such similar practices in other schools within the city.

***Extract 6.21***

| 1 | Beti | Kalau saya sih, apa namanya. Gimana ya.pingin beda aja gitu. Beda kaya? |
| 2 | | Aku kan sudah tahu sebelumnya bahwa 1001 emang kaya gini. Terus wah |
| 3 | | ini "anti mainstream" gitu lho. Ga biasa gitu kan. |

| 1 | Beti | For me, ehm...? I want to be seen differently. Differ from others. I have |
| 2 | | known that (the school) 1001 is like this. It is anti-mainstream. It's distinctive. (FGD 1) |

She deliberately entered the school to find something new or challenging in her life that perhaps she had not found during her primary and secondary education. The typical students who have the motivation to study at SMA 1001 are, overall, motivated to experience and follow school norms. The circulation of school practices, including social interactions, revolves around the family, which motivated other family members to study at the same school. When they become students, they are likely to be more open and will voluntarily accept all manner of social practices imposed upon them.

There seems to be mutual understanding between parents and children about the social practices (also see Chapter 4), and Beti is an example of one student who is in this category.

The various amounts of knowledge and understanding concerning the social practices of the new students led to different judgements—sometimes false judgements—concerning what is permitted and what is not. Students who do not want to actively follow the regulated interaction patterns need to declare their choice at the very beginning by choosing extracurricular activities that enable them to stay neutral. They have found that embracing religious extracurricular activities gave them a secure place in not getting involved in any social practices, including school violence. The following story from Pak Najib provides an example to showcase that being an active member of religious activities means a student is positioned away from target violence of other school students.

***Extract 6.22***

1     *Iya pernah ada anak Rohis yang disejegat sama anak sma lain, diminta untuk*
2     *mendoakan agar mereka sama pinter dengan anak sma 1001…*

1     *Yes, there has been a moment when Rohis (students who are active in religious*
2     *extracurricular activities) were stopped by the students from another school to*
3     *pray for them (instead of being an object of violence, Rohis are highly*
4     *respected by asking to pray for them)… Personal Interview Pak Najib)*

Pak Najib's story illustrates that *rohis* are the exception for being the enemy lists and is perceived to be 'holy men', who should be respected. This is evidence that being a member of religious extracurricular activities provides a proper strategy for escaping the social practices and regulated interactions. Instead of religious extracurricular activities, however, there are other strategies that can be recognised from the way the students behave in social interaction within the school. Two of these strategies—namely staying *culun* and *songong*—are explained in the following section.

### 6.3.1. Being Culun (Innocent) and Songong (Boasful)

The students often display their behaviour as *culun* or innocent and *songong* to respond to the social practices and interactions. When students are unwilling to get actively involved in social practices and want to stay neutral in social interactions, they

generally will act as *culun*. If they successfully establish this identity, they are absolved from involvement in the hierarchy 'games; however, their declaration about acting as *culun* should be displayed at the beginning, as Ilham suggested, when talking about the interaction patterns of students that '*Jadi kalau disini itu harus jelas dari awalnya (posisi kita)* or we should be clear at the initial stage (which position we are)' (Personal interview, Ilham). What he meant is that the clear position of students, in terms of whether to pick up or resist particular practices and interactions, should be shown at the initial stage or in the first year.

Although the students have shown their preferences about picking up or resisting school practices at the initial stage of entering the school, as Mambo argued, their explicit declaration can be clearly recognised from their second year.

***Extract 6.23***

| 1 | Mambo | *angkatan 1001 itu kayak satu angkatan dibagi dua, mana yang angkatan sama* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *yang nggak. Nanti keliatannya mulai di kelas 2. Kelas 2 itu udah mulai nyatu.* |
| 3 | | *Mana yang angkatan mana yang bukan, gitu.* |

| 1 | Mambo | *SMA 1001 is like one batch but divided into two: one group gets involved in the* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *batch's name and one does not. It is seen clearly from the second year. From* |
| 3 | | *the second year, (we) started to unite. Which one follows batch's name and* |
| 4 | | *which one doesn't follow? (Personal interview, Mambo)* |

The visible affiliation of the students through their particular styles and their intense interactions with their own group has been shown to be the signifier of their determination. The first year is the transition process, and when students are in their second year they have to be affiliated to a particular group. It can be implied that the students, in fact, go through a process of adaptation and learning, which often is marked by different judgements that are based on their prior knowledge (some new students who have previous information about the school are better prepared) before they eventually make their choices.

Another aspect to be noted regarding students' actions is the consequences and consistency they should keep in mind. When students choose to behave *culun*, they need to be consistent with their choice. When they become seniors or alumni who have power to control the juniors, they should not be arrogant.

*Exttract 6.24*

1  Irfan  Oh, berarti harus konsisten?
2  Ilham  *Iya konsisten. Kalo emang gak mau ikut-ikutan ya udah. Kalo kelas tiga*
3         *juga gak usah sok-sok punya utas. Gak usah sok-sok galak, gak usah sok-*
4         *sok malakin.*
5  Irfan  *Oh gitu.*
6  Ilham  *Kalo di 1001 sih itu yang saya rasain. Jadi ada kebebasan juga.*

1  Irfan  *Ohh. We should be consistent.*
2  Ilham  *Yeah, consistent. If you don't want to follow them, don't. But when you are*
3         $3^{rd}$ *year students, don't use the utas. Don't be aggressive, don't ask for*
4         *money from utas.*
5  Irfan  *Ohh I see.*
6  Ilham  *That is what I feel. So there is also independency. (Personal interview,*
         *Ilham)*

Ilham, for example, did not want to contribute money to his seniors, which was his way of refusing to be included in the hierarchical system. He therefore should be consistent and not ask juniors for money when he becomes a senior. This rule usually is circulated by seniors either in the school orientation programme or in extracurricular orientation programmes. Once he has shown that he does not want to get involved in social practices, he needs to be consistent with his decision. In this sense, a clear declaration by students about whether or not they accept or resist social practices is needed in regulated interactions, and being doubtful is not a good choice and is not recommended by seniors. Ilham also illustrated that, when the students are in doubt, willing to contribute money to their seniors but at the same time active in other school activities or religious activities, they are likely to be involved.

By contrast, when at the initial stage students have shown that they want to take part in social practices and interactions and go through all the required processes, they are entitled to act as a senior with all its implications and characteristics, such as being arrogant to their juniors and being highly respected. In this way, it can be said that, in fact, students do have freedom over whether or not they want to be involved in or stay away from social practices.

Another position students often take is being *songong*. The term *songong* here means that the new students have the capacity and self-confidence to challenge seniors. Being *songong* in a new environment often invites confrontation, which generally ends with

the use of physical violence by seniors. This can be seen in the following extract from when Mambo was asked about students who refused to follow the regulated interactions:

*Extract 6.25*

| 1 | Mambo | *...Kayak misalnya ada yang belagu. Kalo belagunya udah yang belagu banget,* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *biasanya langsung ditarik. Langsung diseret, gitu lah. Dipukulin, 'loe kenapa* |
| 3 | | *songong', gitu. Kadang-kadang ada yang juga ngadu sama bapaknya, kayak* |
| 4 | | *kemaren itu. Baru aja. Ngadepin, jadi dia nggak jelas mukanya, ngeselin, terus* |
| 5 | | *dia kita terakin kan, dia bawa bapaknya ke dalem. Itu kita ribut sama* |
| 6 | | *bapaknya.* |

| 1 | Mambo | *...if there is someone who acts over-confident. If it is over-confidence, he is* |
|---|---|---|
| 2 | | *pulled and punched—'Why are you acting big?'. Sometimes they tell their* |
| 3 | | *fathers, just like the last time, very recently. He acted provocatively, then we* |
| 4 | | *shouted at him. He brought along his father and we quarrelled with his father.* |
| 5 | | *(Personal interview with Mambo)* |

When physical violence is used as the result of a conflict between *songong* and seniors, the interference of students' parents in this conflict, as illustrated by Mambo, is inevitable. It is common for students' parents to visit school to clarify issues and, in many cases, provide support for their children who have caused confrontation with other students. The confrontation with parents shows that students feel they have the power to challenge outsiders.

The power of the seniors over juniors shown by using physical threats is, in fact, another way of intimidating the students who do not belong to the majority or who do not get involved in the regulated norms. Being hesitant, as Ilham said, would be easily provoked and would be inclusion in the social hierarchical system, whilst being *songong* can be associated with potential students being recruited. Being hesitant and *songong* are about being pulled and pulling.

However, the process of recruiting new members is not arbitrary; it is through observation and selection. Ilham said:

*Extract 6.26*

| 1 | *Ya kan dari awal-awal. Kan kelas satu itu kita suruh kumpul. Kalo di 1001 ada* |
|---|---|
| 2 | *beberapa orang yang mencari bibit-bibit utas-utas nya yang potensial buat* |
| 3 | *badung. Potensial buat nongkrong-nongkrong. Kan biasanya tongkrongannya* |
| 4 | *di Melati. Nah dari situ dia direkrut-rekrut nyuruh temen-temen lu buat* |

There seem to be particular seniors whose responsibility it is to select new students to be their new members, choosing students who have the potential to be delinquents and potential members of the hang-out (see Section 6.2.1.2). Their observation particularly focuses on the characteristics of new students that have the potential to be trained with the inheritable values. *Songong* is one of the features of behaviour that is a hint that the new students want to be selected by their seniors. Ilham's explanation is matched with the ways through which the new students' behaviours either show their willingness or reluctance to be a part of the hierarchical system. When students are hesitant, as illustrated by Ilham in Extract 6.24, they will be pulled into becoming a member of the hang-out's group.

Having examined the dilemma of the new students and the ways they respond to the regulated interactions, the following section focuses on inter group's interactions and the issues that enable them to engage in interactions with the wider participants—alumnae.

## 6.4.  Negotiation of a Group over Others and the Larger Community

Instead of through extracurricular activities, there also has been particular interactions that involve wider participants, namely juniors, seniors and alumni. This interaction relates to specific circumstances, such as obtaining the batch name, *Rejes, Peper* (see Section 6.2), obtaining the group's colour and the abrupt issues pertaining to the existing future social practices within the school.

As mentioned briefly in my discussion of school violence and the tradition of obtaining the batch's jacket in Chapter 4, there also is a tradition of getting a particular colour. The process of granting a particular colour for the transition students requires the involvement of alumni. For example, when the transition students are granted a particular colour, such as light blue for their batch colour, they need to trace back whose

colour it was. When the colour has been used by a particular batch ten years ago, the transition students need to be able to access its leaders. As it was ten years ago, the transition students need to be mediated to be able to access that alumni, and it is the duty of the current alumni to channel this interaction. In this regard, the role of current alumni is to bridge and connect the interaction across generations.

The interaction amongst the transition students, current alumni and the old alumni is not only about getting permission to use the batch colour; there also is another hidden process that the transition students need to fulfil, i.e. paying a sum of money to the old alumnae (ex-students who graduated many years ago) and the current alumnae (who graduated just one or two years ago) There should be some negotiations about how much the old alumni expect for buying their colour and how much the transition students are able to pay. When the two parties have made a decision, the transition students set out to negotiate with their peers about paying the money. When Ilham talked about the relationship between juniors and seniors, he said:

*Extract 6.27*

| 1 | Ilham | *Ntar dikasih harga buat warna, nama juga. Pokoknya ada tarif.* |
| 2 | Irfan | *Oh, ditarif juga ya gitu itu ya?* |
| 3 | Ilham | *Ada. Ampek puluhan juta malah* |
| 4 | | *… 80 juta malah. Jadi kayak contohnya angkatan yang dulu terkenal.* |
| 5 | | *Jago banget deh. Itu kan warna nya ijo. Nah kita dikasih warna ijo army* |
| 6 | | *kan. Nah itu kita harus beli. Ke angkatannya dia. Saya sih denger-denger* |
| 7 | | *doang. Tapi yang pasti sih saya ikut ditarikin buat warna.* |

| 1 | Ilham | *Then, we are given a colour and the (batch's) name as well. Those are* |
| 2 | Irfan | *paying.* |
| 3 | Ilham | *Ehm, they are priced, aren't they?* |
| 4 | | *Yeah… Up to millions of rupiah.* |
| 5 | | *…80 million rupiah. For example, there used to be a batch name which* |
| 6 | | *was very notorious. Its colour was green. We are given army green (the* |
| 7 | | *same colour) and we have to buy it. I just heard about it, but I confirmed* |
| | | *that I contributed for the colour payment. (Personal interview, Ilham)* |

The economic orientation is an obvious motive of the mediated interaction between the students and the alumni. In order to be able to use the colour, the students need to get permission from the old alumni and, in order to be able to access the old alumni, they need to be mediated by the current alumni. There are mutual and graded interactions.

Obtaining permission and negotiating about the use of particular colour, however, involves only the leaders of each group—the leader of the transition students, the leader of the current alumni and the leader of the old alumni.

Another issue requiring wider interaction is when students want to envisage what kind of social practices should be applied when the sociocultural conditions have changed. Although it is recognised that the social interactions are default—they are recycled each year with similar patterns and activities—when there have been changes to the social conditions, they are quite negotiable. When I asked Mambo about the future of the school practices when they have been disrupted, such as by a student's death in school violence, for example, he said that his batch needed to consult their seniors (alumni):

***Extract 6.28***

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Irfan | *Biasanya kalo begini ini, diskusinya apakah melibatkan alumni-alumni* |
| 2 | | *yang dulu-dulu gitu?* |
| 3 | Mambo | *iya, pasti. Kan kita nanya juga sama alumni, kita enaknya ngapain nih?* |
| 4 | | *Habisnya kita kan nggak tau.  kalo ngedidik cara dulu sih kita ngerti,* |
| 5 | | *maksudnya, ulangin aja yang kita rasain. Tapi kalo misalnya beda culture* |
| 6 | | *yang baru, ya nggak bisa.* |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1 | Irfan | *If the situation is like this, should the discussion involve (senior)alumni ?* |
| 2 | Mambo | *Yes, of course. We ask our alumni, what should we do? As we don't know* |
| 3 | | *what we should do. We know the way they educated us. I mean, we just* |
| 4 | | *imitate what we were experiencing. But when the culture differs, we can't* |
| 5 | | *(imitate it). (Mambo) (Personal interview, Mambo)* |

As can be seen in the above extract, the hierarchical interactions occur when the current students require the involvement of alumnae. The involvement of the old alumni was crucial due to the inability of the current alumni to solve the problem. In this regard, the role of alumni is multifaceted; they are mediators for the students and old alumni, advisers for future social practices, and coaches in extracurricular activities.

Although there are different patterns of interactions amongst the students and groups, as well as between the groups and alumnae, they are integrated under one name—SMA 1001.

***Extract 6.29***

| | |
|---|---|
| 1 | *Iya jadi semua process ini bertujuan untuk menyatukan semua siswa yang* |
| 2 | *datang dari semua Kalangan. Bapak kan tahu bahwa jika mereka berasal dari* |
| 3 | *bermacam-macam sekolah akan menjadi tidak karuan. Nah tujuan dari* |

*1        Yeah, the goal of all processes is to unite students from diverse backgrounds.*
*2        You know, Sir, if they are from various schools, the conditions will be very*
*3        complex. The seniority is to unite them. (Personal interview, Satria)*

Satria argued that the diverse students' backgrounds could potentially open up the possibility of diverse patterns of interaction and other different patterns of social practices, which could erode the characteristics of SMA 1001. The function of the establishment of social practices, including social interactions, therefore is concerned with uniting the heterogeneity of students' backgrounds. This means that the different patterns of interaction amongst the students within the school in fact do not lead them to segregate themselves from the big name of the school. In contrast, the different affiliation and segregation of interactions positions them to be able to solidify their conformity and relationships beyond their groups.

In addition, although the students are aware that they belong to particular groups, they never regard alumni as belonging to a group; instead, they believe that, when they become alumni, they belong to the school's name and not to a group. The segregation of practices is limited to the current students and current school activities: when they are outside and contributing to the school's development, they are united under the name of alumni.

### Extract 6.30

*1        Kalo peran alumni banyak kali pak. Kan kita ada itu, wall climbing kan itu*
*2        juga sumbangan dari alumni. Lapangan soft ball itu kan juga sumbangan dari*
*3        alumni. Nah jadi itu bedanya antara 1001 sama SMA lain itu kalo 1001 itu*
*4        mempunyai ikatan kekeluargaan yang erat.*

*1        So many roles of alumni. We have a climbing wall built by the alumni. The*
*2        softball field is also a contribution from the alumni. What makes SMA*
*3        1001different from other schools is that this school has a strong family*
*4        relationship. (Personal interview, Ahong)*

This is concrete evidence that, when students talk about alumnae, they never say that the alumni belong to odd or even groups. It also can be said that, when they become alumni, they never describe themselves and never have been described as being separated or segregated by the category of odd and even groups. Once they leave the

school, their main affiliation is to the school, not to their group. This also shows that the various patterns of interaction with their different affiliations can be united under one term: alumnae.

## 6.5. Summary

This chapter has demonstrated the social interactions in educational settings and further provided evidence to suggest that the social interactions within SMA 1001 are deeply marked by the hegemony of particular groups. It is also clear that natural interactions are not quite obvious, which means students may be unable to choose their peers based on their conformity. This situation escalates to several strategies used by students to manipulate their conformity; the different ways in which students act are forms of negotiation and contestation in response to the school norms.

In addition, growing up through the complex and regulated environment has contributed to the students' social development in understanding their world where conformity, opposition, norms, values, determination, decision and consistency are salient in their day-to day life. However, they are taught to be flexible in given situations and to engage in interactions with others, including those who are opposed to them.

Although the school norms restrict students' interactions, this does not necessarily mean that they are distanced from one another. In contrast, by regulating and limiting students' interactions, this can promote intense, strong ties of interaction amongst the members of the group. The restricted and hierarchical relationships within the school enable them to solidify their friendships, leading to togetherness (as discussed in Chapter 5). When this is contrasted with the limitless interactions, students can engage across their class year, or when the interaction is not segregated via class year and batch, the concept of togetherness and strong solidarity might not be achieved.

With regards school violence, due to the pattern of interactions, the students are unaware that they are implicitly taught to confront others. On a small scale, they have learnt to deal with friction and violence with other students from different batches, whilst in a wider context, they are expected to perpetuate conflict with other schools. They are accustomed to taking opposition and seeing others as enemies due to their different groups, affiliations and school years, which in turn leads them to be more

sensitive and aggressive in dealing with very small issues. This easily could be escalated to school violence or, if not, they at least learn to hate others. However, through the pattern of interactions, some students are able to manoeuvre themselves around conflict, for example by identifying themselves as neutral through religion extracurricular activity.

In addition, this chapter has revealed the structure and function of social interaction within SMA 1001; that is, who participates, how they interact, and the underlying principles. These questions have been argued as important aspects in explaining social interaction within the school and how it relates to the practice of school violence. Whilst it is clear that the interactions involving alumni are not merely centred on academic activities, the function of the social practices and the interaction patterns within the school are perceived by the students to assemble students from different backgrounds and maintain unity and cohesion—a feature distinctive of SMA 1001. The gap and barrier of interaction between even and odd class years created by school norms can be eliminated through systematic discourse and the slogan 'although they are different, they are basically the same when they become the alumni'.

The interaction patterns constructed by students of SMA 1001 are quite practical, sensible and creative, regardless of their negative implications. The more they know each other, the more emotionally close they are, which makes sense since the students always get together within their own groups at school. Moreover, the ability to have access not only to their peers (members of their own group) but also to their seniors who graduated several years ago will be pivotal in building consistent relationships beyond educational contexts. All in all, the school story surrounding the interaction patterns of students within SMA 1001 has provided a wealth of information about growing up in the school milieu.

Having explained students' perceptions, social practices and interaction patterns in chapters 4, 5 and 6, respectively, the next chapter will discuss the key findings of the study by linking them to the relevant literature of youth and delinquent behaviour studies.

# Chapter 7

# Discussion

## 7.1. Introduction

The previous three chapters have provided a detailed analysis of data based on the themes that are pertinent to students' perspectives of violence and school culture; this chapter aims at dialoguing the findings with youth violence and other related literature introduced in Chapter 2. The first findings have revealed the meanings of violence from the youth viewpoint. They interpreted the violence as associated with: (1) achieving the status of masculinity; (2) building up identity; (3) constructing social capital; and (4) a medium of channelling personal problems. The second and third findings have shown that social practices and interactions influence the construction of the students' perceptions and the practice of school violence. All of these are investigated in order to answer the research questions

1. What are students' perceptions of school violence?
2. How have their perceptions been influenced by social practices and interactions within the school environment?

There are three sets of key findings to be discussed in this chapter: those concerning masculinity, identity and social capital. The study offers data relating to the concept of masculinity from the Global South youth perspectives, arguing that masculinity is not always associated with particular social class, but rather should consider the social and cultural contexts in which the individuals engage during their day-to-day life. The utility of online media as an alternative way of constructing masculinity in the modern time in urban high school is another apparent finding. This section is followed by the notion of identity construction through which violent behaviour is understood as the obvious way of displaying the youth identity (Section 2). The identity, which is constructed by the youth through violent behaviour, however, is not solely personal identity; there are two other identified identities; group/batch and institutional identity. All of these are deeply influenced by the context, and this study concerns violent behaviour and identity within educational context in a typical Metropolitan school, Indonesia. Section 3 discusses the

concept of social capital construction via school violence, examining school violence as a primary means of building social capital amongst the students involved in it.

## 7.2. The Impacts of Masculine Identity on School Violence

The focus of this section is to discuss the significance of school violence in youth gender identity construction. I will begin with a discussion of masculinity and violent behaviour within an Indonesian context and accordingly link this with another study of violence and masculinity in another part of Indonesia and beyond. I then will look at the debate on the relationship between socioeconomic status and violent behaviour, and accordingly highlight a contextual meaning of masculinity in an urban high school in Indonesia. The final part will situate the concept of masculinity and the ways of the youth in an urban area, using alternative means of showing masculinity.

Research findings have revealed that the quest for masculinity is a clear reason for students becoming involved in school violence. The type of masculinity students expect to construct within SMA 1001 is commonly associated with physical prowess, endurance and bodily injury through involvement in school violence. Although there are available spaces for negotiating masculinity through involvement in physical activities, such as wall-climbing and boxing (which also can be used to describe to masculine qualities such as strength, endurance and bodily injury), violent and aggressive behaviour is perceived by the majority of the student community (i.e. students and alumni) as the only acceptable way of constructing masculinity within SMA 1001. Masculinity in this regard is often associated with 'blood' and 'fear'.

West and Zimmerman (1987) argue that gender is achieved—it is not a fixed identity; it depends upon the psychological, cultural and social aspects of an individual. Borrowing the concept of Goffman's 'display', West & Zimmerman contend that 'doing gender' is about displaying particular behaviours so as to represent being male or female. In line with this concept, research findings suggest that students feel the need to display and achieve particular features of masculinity, as mentioned above, where the school community endorses school violence as a principal means of achieving masculinity rather than through other 'masculine' activities.

Based on archival documents and oral testimony (see chapters 4, 5 and 6), the research findings demonstrate that masculinity within SMA 1001 is culturally constructed. There are some possible explanations that masculinity that is associated with violent behaviour is culturally constructed. One possible explanation is pertinent to cultural concerns that shape the students' community views. School violence was perceived by the students' community as a common practice within SMA 1001, suggesting that school violence notoriously has been a long tradition of the school; therefore, they consider that school violence is normal. This finding is seen to be in line with the concept of Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) masculinity that the construction of masculinity is embedded in the specific social environment, where the evidence here suggests that the school community approves of masculinity being represented through involvement in school violence. Another possible explanation is that the forms of social interactions that are determined by the hierarchical structure of the group are important in establishing the meaning of masculinity within the school. When the top hierarchy endorsed that masculinity is constructed through the involvement in school violence, the lower hierarchy would automatically approve the concept; therefore those students who failed to perform the required masculinity behaviours are at risk of getting punishments and being victims of bullying, such as through kicking, tampering and punching from seniors and alumnae. This finding supports the previous study conducted by Mrázek (2005: 263) that states, 'in Javanese (Indonesia) society today that there is a tendency to see a man who is strongly masculine as "normal" and any effeminate marks as somewhat abnormal or deviant and more or less as a *banci*'. The endorsement from the society at large that masculinity should represent typical male characteristics and avoid any behaviour associated with female features could contribute to the meaning of masculinity within the school.

Moreover, it is interesting to note that this study is carried out in the similar vein as that of Mrazek (2005), which argues that males or boys acting out representing 'female' behaviours, either in society or in education, in Indonesia would be labelled *banci* or she-male. Connell, (1983, cited in Hatty 2000: 120) remarked that masculinity 'is to embody force'. When force is being the key point in masculinity, men are therefore, 'taught to occupy space in ways that connote strength, potency, and assertiveness' (Hatty, 2000: 120). In this sense, men's bodies should reflect the ideal of a male body,

which is a 'body hard as rock' (Bordo, 1996: 290). Masculinity should ideally combine physical and mental masculine attributes, portraying the expectation of being real men. Following this concept of masculinity, if an individual cannot fulfil the expected requirements of masculinity, they, then, are not masculine. Messerschmidt (2000) reminds us of 'hegemonic and subordinated' masculinities in which as it is argued being the binary opposition; whilst hegemonic is highly honoured, subordinate is often underestimated. When it links to the current study, the students who became involved in violence are a representative of hegemonic masculinity, tough and warrior-like, whereas the students who did not take part or lost in school fighting are associated with subordinated masculinity, and derided as *banci*-she-male (see Section 5.2.1.2). This study is in line with the study of Swain (2002) in one of the schools in the UK, which demonstrates that violating schools' regulations (wearing opposed school' uniform) is perceived by the students as masculine. In effect, the students who conform to the school's rules therefore are stigmatised with the term 'gay' or 'boff', and are alienated from their peers. The similar concept of hegemonic and subordinated masculinity also can be found in the study of football fans in Argentina Alabarces, 2005, cited in (Spaaij, 2008), which shows that masculinity is associated with the winning of fighting. The stereotype of football fans who often lost in violence is called *hijos* (little boys) and *putos* (homosexual or sons of a bitch). Moreover, the study by Burcar and Åkerström (2009: 37) on victim identity in Sweden suggests that 'masculinity is associated with strength and power, while victim is associated with weakness and impotence'. The finding of this study, therefore, affirms the understanding that violence is understood as a male activity and a way of asserting masculinity. In this sense, violence is perceived as the representation of gender-based acts. For those who refuse or are unable to act in a gender-based way, there is the labelling as deviant. School violence, therefore, is a pathway for the students of SMA 1001 to prove that they are not deviant, preventing them from exclusion and alienation of peers and group membership.

A study on masculinity in Indonesia, in addition, has highlighted that youth violence is particularly associated with the construction of masculinity in working class families (Nasir and Rosenthal, 2009). Nilan *et al*. (2011) argue, derived from the previous study about male and masculinity in Indonesia, that youth violence is a kind of 'compensatory masculinity', where masculinity is the result of the desperation, scepticism and

ambivalence of their future life. Masculinity, in this particular context, is seen as the effect of the social and cultural conditions where there are limited sources available to display a particular masculinity. A study of masculinity amongst unmarried men in a village in Lampung, Indonesia, revealed that masculinity is constructed through being a 'gangster', practicing illegal gambling and being a 'tiger', conducting non-physical harassment to the young women and this results from an inability to assert masculinity through financial autonomy (Elmhirst (2007: 234-35). Other research in America and the Philippines, for example, suggests that violent behaviour in the pursuit of masculinity is only the compensation of individuals' and social conditions, where the traditional status of masculinity, such as being the family provider, is reduced or not available (McMahan, 2011, Yea, 2015). In the historical study of delinquent behaviour, such as those carried out by (Cohen, 1964, Miller, 1958), for example, the suggestion has been made that lower-class and working-class youth are associated with juvenile delinquency, in that masculinity constructed by the lower class can be viewed as 'protest masculinity' (Connell and Connell, 2005) in that, when they cannot or do not get what they want and expected the negative presence of stimuli, this may result in offence (Sanders, 2005. P. 61).

My findings, however, do not indicate that masculinity in my research site is a sort of compensation or protest masculinity; rather, the evidence suggests that the students of SMA 1001 come from middle-class families (Chapter 3.5) who have various ways of showing masculinity as they possess adequate economic and cultural capital in terms of material and intellectual achievement. From the school data (see Chapter 3.5), we find that, in the main, the students come from middle-class families and the school was and is famously known as one of the top schools in the capital. In terms of cultural capital, the students who participated in this research, for example, reported that school entrance tests were tough—they need to pass series of entrance tests that include academic tests, English language test and interview tests—where only selected students were accepted. Besides, as the number of students registered to the school was overwhelming, the students who had achieved higher grades and passed the selection process were able to secure a place at SMA 1001. The graphs (Chapter 3.5) also display concrete evidence to support that the majority of the students are accepted at the reputable state universities within the country. Whilst their acceptance at prominent state universities can be used

by the school to claim that the students possess good academic competence, it also can be taken as evidence in this study to support the argument that the students possess cultural capital; this finding, therefore, stands in contrast to the view that 'middle-class masculinity is seen as individualistic, rational, and relatively disembodied, whilst working class family is associated with physical, embodied and oppositional behaviour', as argued by Morgan (2005: 170). Moreover, the evidence of this study does not support the view that violent behaviour amongst Indonesian youth is associated with a particular type of school and lower class family, as described by Parker (2013), for example; however, this finding corroborates the previous empirical research, which suggests that masculinity and violent behaviour amongst youth in East Timor is not simply related to social class and gender, but rather should be placed in the wider context, considering the historical and cultural aspect (Myrttinen, 2012); this study has shown that historical and cultural aspects of the school are prevalent in constructing the meaning of masculinity.

It, therefore, can be argued that violent behaviour and masculinity within SMA 1001 is part of the scenario of alumni practicing school violence for over decades and therefore partly might be the school system, which tends to be somewhat permissive to such social practices that develop and exist within the school. Masculinity, in this context, often is infused in the pursuit of identity through the social practices that the students engaged in their day-to day interactions. The findings of the current study are seen to be in line with other studies, where identity of masculinity commonly is utilised as a medium to enact inter group conflict (school gangs) in Jogjakarta Indonesia (Kadir (2012). Another study conducted by Wilson (2012) about *jago* or local strongman masculinity in Jakarta during the colonial and post-colonial history indicate that masculinity has been used as a political agenda for the government to rule the country. Masculinity, in this sense, is viewed as a strategic way or propaganda in achieving particular goals for particular people or groups, rather than merely being perceived as such kind of 'protest' (Connell and Connell, 2005), which refers to lower class families.

With regards school violence, it is complex, and there are many factors that play a role. As has been aforementioned, school violence is the agenda of particular students and alumni, where the socialisation process during the initiation of the new students is recognised as crucial in shaping the students' understanding and perceptions of

themselves, others and their behaviour. Stretesky and Pogrebin (2007) point out that the socialisation process (in the gang membership) is central in terms of shaping the construction of the self and identity, which are intimately linked with masculinity. Bandura and McClelland (1977) argue that aggressive and violent behaviour is perceived as a result of social learning and are understood to affirm the young men's place in society (Canaan, 1996). This notion is seen to be in line with the finding that, although students are from middle-class families when they are placed in a particular condition and environment that does not support them to develop, embody and manifest the positive values, nonetheless, they would likely engage in the violent and aggressive behaviour. The central problem of the school violence, therefore, expands beyond the concept of 'protest masculinity'(Connell and Connell, 2005); it is embedded within the sociocultural environment of the school and particular agendas of alumni. The findings (see Section 4.2.1) suggest that the violence is tacitly accepted and even admired by the students, alumnae, and even some of the teachers.

Moreover, the findings of this study have shown that the economic, social and cultural agendas clearly contribute to the construction of school violence and masculinity. The view is that students to be inaugurated as a member of 'school community', for example, should pass through various rituals, such as fighting with other batches and fighting with other school students. They also should direct significant amounts of money (more than eighty million rupiahs) to obtain the batch name and batch colour at the end of the rituals process (see Section 6.3). This provides evidence to argue that masculinity and school violence are a cultural and economic agenda for particular people whilst, when linked with social scenario, it may be associated with the promise of benefits the students earn after their study and at work, referring to the construction of social capital (to be discussed in Section 7.3).

Another important finding of the current study concerns the way or medium of masculinity displayed, maintained and established by the students of SMA 1001. McMahan (2011), in his study on masculinity amongst the working class in America, suggests that attracting people's attention when fighting to get approval of masculinity is crucial in terms of constructing American working class masculinity. One study carried out by Carton and Morrell (2012) in KwaZulu-Natal Africa, for example, has found that the attendance of particular people (sweethearts and women) to help endorse

the young men masculinity construction through stick fighting is undeniably important. Whilst previous research clearly indicates the approval and endorsement of particular masculinity via the attendance of particular people crucial, this study suggests that masculinity is creatively constructed through multiple-channels, not only limited to the use of traditional ways, such as direct witness of particular people (alumni and family) in the school violence's arena or through oral history circulated among individuals or graffiti which occupies public spaces, but also in a more dynamic way, following the chronological progression and current technological trends. The use of online media, such as Twitter, YouTube, BlackBerry Messenger and Facebook, in terms of distributing the injured images, caused by their involvement in school violence, and the chronology of school violence, are apparent amongst the students within the city, including the students of SMA 1001. Two of my participants in personal interviews advised that the students injured in the school violence generally and proudly upload images of their injuries in the *forum tawuran pelajar* and *tubir (ribut)* mania or students' violent forum and fighting mania via Twitter or Facebook in order to showcase or maintain the view of their masculinity to their peers, alumni and wider community. Uploading their heroic school violent videos via Facebook and YouTube, whilst often hiding their losses of battles with other school students, indicates that technological devices are utilised as a means of constructing masculinity.

In addition, spreading out through online media, which is aimed at achieving levels of notoriety, as well as constructing and perpetuating the name of particular individuals and institutional in the history of school violence, is perceived by the students as an instant way of generating wider impacts; to be recognised by more people rather than through traditional ways that only people at the place witness. This is due to the utility of social media in generating wider audiences within the city and beyond. One of the students in my focus discussions suggested that, if students could defeat as many enemies as possible, providing the fact they circulated the declarations amongst public audiences, such as through uploading photos and videos via forum *tawuran pelajar*, this becomes a crucial resource in the building of credible threat of violence. Essentially, the more the student defeats his foes, the more they would be honoured, feared and sought.

The evidence from online sources[25] indicates that school violence often is enacted and spread out online due to their linked-forum on Twitter and Facebook.

In addition, as has been discussed in the previous paragraph, dominant masculinity is associated with the victory of school violence; those with the characteristics of subordinated masculinity are depicted as being losers. Similar to this finding, a study in Australia has shown that media is used to polarised particular youth problem behaviour, including masculinity performed by particular ethnic youth, which is associated with aggressive and violent behaviour (Mills and Keddie, 2010). This study is in line with another study in Europe (Spaaij, 2008), which notes how the media is used to construct particular masculinity whilst at the same time marginalising other groups' masculinity, such as in the case of the rivalry between Feyenord and Ajax club supporters. In his study, Spaaij (2008) points out that the media is used to claim the masculinity of particular football supporters over others. He provides an example that the withdrawal of Ajax supporters from the fight against Fayenord's hooligans, which is broadcast on television, is used to legitimatise and claim that Fayenord's hooligans are the fearsome and toughest hooligan in the Netherlands, whilst Ajax are described as being 'real pussies' (p. 378). Media can be creatively utilised to challenge and enact fighting between the groups; however, it also can be effectively used to claim and exaggerate particular identity.

This study has provided evidence that masculinity is contextual but also is able to reflect characteristics concerning the global understanding of masculinity in that masculinity commonly concerns the particular agendas, including youth violence. With regards school violence, in this study, since masculinity is achieved through violent behaviour and owing to the fact this is still highly acceptable within the educational setting, another plausible alternative of positive masculinity might not appear and develop. Nilan (2009) recognises the different types of masculinity amongst the youth in Indonesia, where masculinity is not always concerned with violent and problematic behaviour, but also with portraying more positive images of youth—as religious, pious, and responsible for their family.

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[25] Many online media have reported that online media is a common way to be a medium of provoking school violent and other related school violent activities including posting injured images by the students such as can be found in http://wartakota.tribunnews.com/2014/11/14/duh-twitter-dipakai-untuk-saling-tantang-tawuran-pelajar

The concept of masculinity in school violence closely relates to the notion of identity construction of self, group and institutional identity. The following section discusses identity construction through school violence.

## 7.3. The Role of Identity on the Occurrence of School Violence

The result of this study maintains that showing fearlessness, toughness and bravery through the involvement in school violence relates to the personal need to accentuate self-identity concerning the group and institutional norms to which the students belong as members. According to the students, the norms and values of institutional norms with regards to being tough and fearless are a default and are inherited through various hierarchical practices. As the school's norms value the students being tough and fearless through the involvement in school violence, the students often self-image and self-describe, such as by stating, 'I am a hero, I am a warrior' in consideration to the construction of their own personal identity. School violence, therefore, is perceived as the arena of constructing self-identity and the quest of achieving the status a hero *and jagoan* (warrior). In this sense, the construction of the self, i.e. what kind of a person he is, what to look like and how to act, is based on the school's norms.

The evidence that norms are crucial in shaping the group's member identity also has been found in some studies of youth delinquent behaviour: for example, the study of Kuusisto (2007) on the use of marijuana amongst youth in Finland found that the youth identity, which is constructed through the use of marijuana, clearly has been shaped by the group's norms, customs and tradition. Similarly, the studies by Sanders (1997, 2012) relating to gang membership have shown that the use of marijuana is the way of 'doing gang membership', demonstrating that, in order to be regarded as the group member, individuals should follow the group's norms. In addition, one study conducted by Mesch *et al.* (2008) in Israel found that a clear motivation for the immigrant youths to conduct violent behaviour was the need for recognition and social status to be accepted within group membership. In this sense, group norms serve as 'guidelines' for all members in terms of how to behave, as attitudinal and behavioural uniformities, or in relation to shared beliefs pertaining to appropriate conduct for a group member (Abrams and Hogg, 1990). Consistent with this argument, this current study highlights the crucial

role of group norms as the construction and reflection of students' identity and their involvement in school violence.

The explanation of the argument to suggest that norms and values are the essential elements on the construction of students' self-identity can be illustrated in terms of self-components, as noted by Wallace & Fogelson (1965, cited in (Vigil, 1988: 425) (see Chapter 2.4), comprising 'the ideal self, feared self, claimed self, and real self'. The evidence suggests that each student makes attempts to display self-images as representing the required identity, such as tough, physical prowess, vigilant, *jagoan* (warrior) and emotional attachment/bond. Those students who can satisfy the ideal identity gain status of *jagoan*, suggesting that they can defeat other students from other groups and other schools in fighting. Whilst the students should be able to represent ideal identity, they also are aware of the feared identity associated with the term *banci* (she-male). This label is attributed to the students who either perform poorly in intergroup and interschool violence or do not get involved in school violence. Labelling the term *banci* (she-male) is perceived by the students as shameful as it could lead to alienation from peers and group membership. This finding seems to support the previous study pertaining to youth social identity construction and maintenance through violent behaviour (Fagan and Wilkinson, 1998), where the ideal identity of the group is sought to secure the group membership, whilst at the same time the group members do not want to be categorised or try to avoid 'punk or herb' identity (poor performance). Thus, this current finding indicates that the principle of inclusion and exclusion consistently matters in the emergence of intergroup and interschool violence.

Moreover, the findings of the current study reveal that the students are polarised in to two opposition groups: odd and even (see Chapter 5); the rivalry between the two batches in many aspects, including intergroup fighting (*tubang*)[26], is quite clear. From the data sets, it can be seen that each group certainly portrays and conveys a desired image to other groups through a variety of symbols, metaphors and violent behaviours. Utilising symbols, such as the military attributes and their miscellaneous accessories (weapons), often is witnessed in order to exaggerate more impacts on its members and out-group members. The chosen military reference is expectedly able to boost the spirit

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[26] *Tubang* stands for *tubir* or *ribut angkatan* (fighting with other batches)

of fighters amongst in-group members to win the fighting, but also to convey the message and alert of potential symbolic threats to out-group members. The group's name, such as *Balistik* or ballistic, for example, is utilised by students to show that their group is deadly, just like its reference, which is expected by its members to give more powerful threats to outgroups, either within or across schools.

Whilst symbols are used to portray and convey the desired image of particular group, the group also use metaphors to insult other groups. The data sets suggest that the terms *katro*[27] and *manja* (spoil) often are used to embarrass and insult a particular group that often has lost in school fighting, as *katro* and *manja* are perceived by students as an antithesis of institutional norms and identity. The result of connoting negative attribution to other group assigns negative associations to out-group members whilst building positive images across the in-group members. According to students, the use of negative attributions to other groups is a sensitive trigger to the enactment of intergroup violence. The findings of the current study support Free & Hughson's (2003) study of hooliganism, which established that the utility of binary opposition, such as 'real men vs. poofs, men vs. gay' is a way of constructing and promoting the supremacy of particular group identities, and also is used to insult and embarrass other groups. This current study therefore provides evidence to suggest that engaging intergroup violence amongst the students of SMA 10011 is a way of disseminating the positive images of a particular group, as well as maintaining the supremacy of particular groups over others. In this sense, the students often define intergroup violence in terms of 'us and them' in consideration to the conception of social categorisation (Tajfel, 1981), where 'us' is better than 'them'.

However, the evidence of this study also suggests that, rather than the role of negative attribution in the enactment of intergroup violence, the role of strong relations amongst the students in their group promotes their involvement in intergroup violence. The data sets suggest that the students continuously asserted that the relationship of in-group members is unlike common friendships; it is beyond this, dedicated like siblings' relationships or brotherhood. This might be because they adopt highly collectivist society values, which direct emphasise to the concept of *gotong royong,* which, in

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[27] The Indonesian slang term refers to individuals whose behavior is associated with lower class. *Katro* is also associated with the individuals who do not know the current trends.

Indonesian society, means the spirit of mutual assistance, where helping and supporting one another within the group is an obligation including if one of the group's members gets involved in violence. This finding draws a parallel with the study of Lim and Chang (2009) where it has been found that the youth group violent behaviour in Singapore is deeply influenced by their collectivist value of identity, explaining that youth involvement in violent behaviour is primarily owing to the responsibilities and obligations of in-group members to support and help one another rather than simply due to self-categorisation. Although it may be argued that collectivist value plays a fundamental part in violent behaviour, there is little evidence to support that the collectivist culture is a major contribution to the intergroup violence in SMA 1001.

Violent behaviour, therefore, is perceived as the result of competitiveness and rivalry, which is aimed at maintaining prestige and status of a particular group. This finding seems to be consistent with the concept identified in the literature that the in-group and out-group stereotypes contribute to the enactment of violence. The finding of this current study also supports the view that social categorisation is a crucial aspect in enacting and perpetuating intergroup violence, but the findings cannot accurately portray the extent to which social categorisation influences students in conducting intergroup violence.

In addition, with regards interschool violence, the findings of this study suggest that SMA 1001 privately and possible publicly has been identified as encompassing racism, and strongly makes oppositions to particular types of school, namely vocational schools within the capital. To symbolise this, they are involved in racism and opposition; they have created each batch's name that always stands for and is associated with anti-vocational schools. The students clearly narrated this from the first time the batch's name was created, in around the 1980s, and stated it should contain oppositional terms to vocational schools, such as *GESTAVO* stands for *Gerakan Serdadu Anti STM…* or The soldier movement anti-Vocational School…; *INTERFET* stands for *Infantri Tentara … anti STM* or Infantry Soldier of… anti Vocational School. The use of symbolic opposition through the name of each group is perceived by students as a way of reinforcing the opposition to vocational schools. This opposition, as the students often asserted, closely related to the challenge of the domination of masculine identity, which generally is attached to vocational schools (see Section 7.1). In effect, it

influences students' perceptions in seeing students from vocational schools as their enemy that should be fought. Besides, the use of symbolic opposition and racism is a way of controlling the behaviours of students, ensuring they maintain the practices of school violence against other schools.

The findings indicate that the use of symbolic opposition and racism are signifiers that school violence commonly occurs after school hours, and that this is not a spontaneous outcome, such as staring on each other or misunderstanding when they meet on the street; rather, it is about historical opposition represented through the group's name, which has been constructed and inherited over many years. Having said this, however, the opposition between the two types of schools is a historical aspect; the finding therefore does not support the public discourses and the Indonesian government's statements reported in the media that the problem of school violence is primarily about lack of communication or misunderstandings when students stare or mock one another when they meet (see Section 1.1). The problem of misunderstandings, due to mocking and staring at one another, is just a trigger, and the underpinning reason for the students to perpetuate confrontation and violence in the pursuit of institutional identity.

In addition, the quest of the unique identity of the students of SMA 1001 is another clear aspect of interschool violence. The interviews of the students, focus group discussions and online media provided eloquent accounts of the sense that the construction of institutional identity is historically centred on maintaining multiple identities, and the combination of violent schools, elite and good academic achievement schools. The data sets suggest that the identity of violent schools is often primary, with good academic achievements coming later. This, according to students, is the way of denying and counteracting the view that the students who get involved in school violence or grow up in a violent school environment are seen to achieve poorly. This finding is inconsistent with the previous study that found that there is a strong relation between poor academic achievement and the perceived violent neighbourhood and violent school environment (Milam et al., 2010, Johnson, 2009). The current finding also does not support the previous study carried out in elementary and middle schools in Canada, which suggests that school environment (safety and inclusion in the school and experienced being bullied) are significant in terms of influencing the students' success of their academic achievement in numeracy and literacy (Gietz and McIntosh, 2014).

However, the finding suggests that violent environments, to some extent, are not equally perceived by students as having poor academic achievement; rather, identity is significant in terms of contributing to their academic achievement regardless of the school environment. In addition, the finding demonstrates that the students want to convey a message that violent behaviour is not always about stereotypes of a particular social class, but rather is a matter of youth striving to seek their identity and, in this sense, their unique identity as closely pertinent to their own envisaged life in the future. Having a unique identity, as the students perceived, would enable them to garner wider opportunities in terms of living their life in the globalisation era (see Section 4.2.3). This unique identity therefore is portrayed beyond the issue of social class, violent behaviour and academic achievement.

Overall, the findings of the current study corroborate the previous research concerning the significant role of identity in the enactment of communal violence, such as ethnic, group and religion violence Sen (2008). Sen (2008) provides examples about the religion and race violence in Rwanda, former Yugoslavia and Ireland, which clearly are in the pursuit of identity. Other studies that reveal the importance of identity in the occurrence of violence can also be found in White's (2001) study of violence in Northern Ireland and Staub (2001) work about genocide and mass killing cases in the world. The results of the current study reveal important information concerning identity and violence at a smaller scale in an urban high school context, arguing that identity really matters in intergroup and interschool violence.

## 7.4. Bridging Social Capital and Violent Behaviour

The findings from this study suggest that school violence is perceived by students as a means of building strong ties, trustworthiness and reciprocity (all of which can be linked to the core concept of social capital) and may be the evidence that, if there is a connection, strong ties and reciprocity, these may be constructed as fact. The students illustrated that strong ties, trust and reciprocity—what I refer to as social capital—are not simply observed and measured, but are easily articulated through verbal communications and forms of group membership. The students require a medium or arenas to validate and prove their social capital. The evidence suggests that the students are willing to sacrifice their time, energy and assets (finance and physical) to hang out

every day at a particular place and take part in school violence, not only in school time, but also in the afternoons and at night and during weekends; rather than investing their time in studying and participating in educational activities, they seek to validate and prove their social capital. Social capital, which is constructed by students, thus, is not merely a rhetoric but should be tangible and provable.

In addition, the finding suggests that school violence and other social practices offer opportunities for the students to develop their social capital, such as through trust and reciprocity. For example, the students advised told that in school violence, there should be student(s) who are injured, and this is the right moment for other students to show trust through as an act such as rescuing the victim's friends and sending them to hospital. Their help is not only limited to rescuing and sending to hospital, but also extends to emotional and material support during and after treatment. The building trust, which is often associated with the term 'truly friends', is displayed when they help one another in particular conditions, such as when one of them becomes injured in school violence whilst others rescue. Helping each other is a way of proving that their friendship and connections are purely equal connection without worrying about exploiting it to get benefits from particular individuals or what the students often said, '*temen tapi ada mau*' or friends but with hidden motives. Trust is testable when it has been established; other elements of social capital, such as reciprocity, will be achieved.

The finding of the current study is in line with the work of Coleman (1988), who provides an illustration to suggest that trustworthiness is like credit that can be debited in the future. The evidence suggests that students' involvement in school violence and opposition to other batches and other schools' students is carried out in line with the expectation that their seniors and alumnae would repay their credits. When the seniors and alumnae have trusted that the students have fulfilled the requirements based on the agreed norms, as illustrated in the previous paragraph, such as through hanging out, fighting and opposition, the students would earn credits in terms of getting a batch name, and would be included in the school hierarchy, with other benefits to follow. In this sense, the trustworthiness and norms of reciprocity, which are the core elements in social capital, are significant in constructing school violence.

This recent study corroborates the established research on social capital, particularly the role of trust and reciprocity in the economic and social cohesion in community. Fukuyama (1996: 25) claims that, 'communities depend on mutual trust and will not arise spontaneously without it'. Field (2010) argues that trust is required in almost every aspect of everyday life, such as when getting married, picking a meal for one's children, wondering whether to report a crime, and many other activities. Field (2010) further demonstrates that trust is not restricted to the individual level but also extends to the group and wider community. Trust in this study is in line with the previous research in that it becomes the requirement for the continuing relationship amongst students and extends across the group/batch relationship. However, trust in this study might be different from trust in the study of social capital. Whilst trust is understood as the result of social capital (Woolcock, 2001), trust in this study is more likely the fundamental component to be developed before they can engage in further social interactions characterised by strong ties and reciprocity. This finding, then, adds to the debate in terms of whether trust contributes to the establishment of social capital or is a product of social capital.

In addition, this finding supports other research, demonstrating that delinquent behaviour is committed by youth as a way of constructing strong connections, attachment to the group membership and maintaining the position of group membership. Koutra *et al*. (2014) and Manton *et al*. (2014), for example, carried out studies that showed that alcoholic drink is utilised to establish and maintain position within the group membership, and also as a way of creating social bonds amongst the youth in European countries. Decker & Van Winkle's (1996) study showed that solidarity, trust and close ties amongst members are crucial in the youth gang's organisation. It is also evident in the study of youth violence that friendship networks can encourage youth to conduct violence behaviour (Akers, 2011;, Haynie et al., 2006, Lederman et al., 2002). Moreover, this study supports Bourdieu's ideas that utilising valued behaviour is a way of asserting and accordingly strengthening position in the group hierarchies (Lunnay *et al*., 2011). The evidence from this study, therefore, suggests that social practices involving aggression and violent behaviour utilised as a means of establishing position in the school hierarchy.

Concerning the importance of social capital that students want to achieve, the findings demonstrate that social capital revolves around higher educational environments and working spheres. Based on the data sets, the students believe that connections, strong ties and trust throughout their studies at high school will benefit them and further will increase the opportunity to be accepted at reputable universities within the country through the personal tutors provided by the alumnae. It should be noted that it is common in Indonesia for students who want to be accepted at state universities (see Section 3.4 about state universities) to have intensive trainings at *bimbingan belajar* (institutional courses) pertinent to the university entrance tests. The tutors of the trainings should be state university graduates and, in this sense, where the alumnae of the school were mostly state university graduates, they ascertained that the alumnae can help students to be accepted at state universities through the private trainings provided. Moreover, they also said, when needing temporary accommodation when starting their studies far away from home, they would be considered as family at their seniors' accommodation. With regard to the working sphere, the students believe that the alumnae would help them to find a job and get a position through the network of contacts they have created. At this point, there seem to be key persons who can be contacted in each batch; they are connected across batches. Whoever has a connection would likely get a position or what Indonesian refers to as nepotism. It can be seen such as the existing programme implemented in this school what is known as 'alumnae back to school', in which the alumnae who have got higher positions in the government offices or in private sectors come to school specifically to give students support and motivation. Implicitly, the message they want to convey is that the alumnae are there to support students and school.

Similar to this finding, Billet (2014) points out that social capital can function as 'getting on' in that strong bonding capital benefits students in their everyday lives, such as borrowing money from friends, sharing food and providing personal support (Bottrell, 2009). Moreover, social capital also serves as 'getting ahead' (De Souza Briggs, 1997) in that individuals can take advantage of their conformity with peers in their future life, such as through getting jobs (Billet, 2014). A possible explanation for this might relate to the 'information channels' (Coleman, 2000: 22) and open access to 'the group's economic and social supports', as suggested by Billet (2014: 853). To be

able to get access to the group's support, the students perceived that getting actively involved in school violence and other social practices would help them in creating strong bonding capital; however, as has been discussed in Chapter 4 and Chapter 5, social capital benefits the students in getting emotional and social support as opposed to the motive of gaining support due to their economic deficit. This study, therefore, provides evidence in support of the idea that violent behaviour is important to maintaining group solidarity, reinforcing friendships and affirming allegiances.

However, although students significantly emphasise that social capital is more about seeking emotional and social support, they also have come to realise that social capital will benefit them for their future life, such as in getting a job and obtaining positions. The students understand the importance of social capital in supporting their future life in terms of getting a job and gaining positions, with this view in line with the satire amongst job seekers that 'for most of us get our jobs because of whom we know, not what we know' (Putnam, 2000: 20). My findings reveal that the majority of students seemed to believe that educational achievement is the significant factor to the success of future life through possessing social capital. However, it should be noted that not all students juxtapose the importance of connections with academic achievement; rather, some wanted to emphasise that connections would likely enhance their opportunity to become a success. The explanation for this might be about the nature of the students within the school who possess intellectual capacity and higher economic background, so that what they expect is more centred on complementary needs, such as having good connections. Besides, this is also due to the social reality in a metropolitan city that public spaces and social events facilitating the construction of bonding and social capital is very limited. Besides, the students often depicted that living in a metropolitan city is fierce and oppressing. The students thought that educational institution with its unique social practices would be starting point to build bonding and bridging social capital to help achieve their goals. Moreover, in relation to school violence, the finding demonstrates that students seem to echo their predecessors concerning the success of the alumni due to their connections, reciprocity and trust, as built during their study at high school, marked by aggression and violent behaviour.

This current study supports the well-established research about the important role of social capital on the economic behaviour. Putnam (2001: 319), for example, emphasises

that social capital influences economic advantages, such as getting a job, a bonus and a promotion. The importance of social capital also is found in the survey study of young people in Spain, which revealed that half of them were thanks to family and friends (Viscarnt, 1998: 228). A similar study also has been found in China (Zhao, 2002: 563-4), where laid-off workers who found other jobs was through the social capital, i.e. a kind and close neighbourhood. More specifically, when comparing bonding and bridging capital in relation to job seekers, (Sabatini, 2005), in her study in Italy, demonstrated that bonding social capital is more helpful in acquiring secure jobs.

However, this study seems to differ from other studies in social capital in that the construction of social capital within SMA 1001 is through involvement in school violence. Whilst many researches have reported that cultural and social capital are utilised to create healthier school environment or otherwise to reduce violent and aggressive behaviours through various positive educational activities (Coburn, 2011, Ngai et al., 2012, Chen, 2010), the findings conversely show that social capital is perceived as the cause of school violence. This is what Putnam & Rubio note concerning 'dark, perverse or bad' social capital (Putnam, 2001; Rubio, 1997). The 'dark, perverse or bad' social capital term is attributed to problematic behaviour, organised criminal activity and gang membership (Putnam (2001); Rubio (1997). The associated delinquent behaviour conducted by the youth could be linked with strong bonding social capital (De Souza Briggs, 1997; , Rubio, 1997), which can discourage the formation of bridging social capital (see Section 2.4). In this respect, the strong bonding capital (see Section 2.4) has a significant implications in terms of constructing self-perception whilst at the same time can increase suspicions amongst others, often leading to seeing others or members of other groups as a threat to the existence of the group. Asal *et al*. (2015), for example, recognised the negative effects of social capital in terms of a network, trust and norms amongst particular ethnic group memberships in the Middle East, indicating terrorism against other, different ethnic groups. This is evident when considering that the current study concurs with the notion of dark or perverse social capital (Putnam, 2001; Rubio, 1997), which suggests that social capital is not merely about productive assets but also as being detrimental to social cohesion and the structure of society.

Social capital arguably plays an important role in terms of the number of criminal activities in the community and further determines whether or not individuals turn to criminal behaviour (Field, 2008: 69). The data sets suggest social capital as being used as a means of achieving individuals and groups' goals, where many are associated with the negative in the results, either directly or indirectly (Field, 2008). Since this study consistently shows that social capital is the medium to achieving particular groups and institutions' goals either in conjunction with identity or other economic and social aspects, such as through paying huge amounts of money for a group's name and colour or building unique characteristic through school violence, this study affirms the suggestion in previous studies that social capital can help reinforce anti-social behaviours.

## 7.5. Summary

This chapter has discussed the key findings of the study; the concept of masculinity, the construction of identity through school violence and the concept of social capital in regard to school violence.

The first section has highlighted several concepts of masculinity. Firstly, masculinity is a male characteristic that should be constructed through school violence. Secondly, masculinity, which is constructed through school violence, is not always associated with a particular social class; rather, it is mainly affected by the social and cultural context. Thirdly, there are several motives underpinning the construction of masculinity through school violence, ranging from political, social and economic agendas. Lastly, masculinity in recent time is constructed beyond the traditional ways; it now is creatively utilised media aiming at generating more impacts than those of the traditional.

The second section highlighted students' perspectives of identity construction pertinent to school violence. The findings suggest that group norms are a crucial aspect in the construction of student, group and institutional identity. The finding emphasises that the institutional identity students construct is a kind of unique identity in which several aspects perceived as contradictory to each other are combined. This unique identity is the combination of violent behaviour, elite school and good academic achievement.

Finally, the third section emphasised that social capital is the goal to be achieved through involvement in school violence. The findings suggest that the social capital constructed through school violence would benefit them in terms of academic, social, psychological and economic considerations, in which all of these benefits extend beyond the school context; it transcends to the university, working places and familial relationship in the future. Moreover, the findings also suggest that social capital is utilised as a means of obtaining particular individual and group goals, which often are associated with criminal behaviour.

# Chapter 8

# Conclusion

## 8.1. Introduction

This chapter offers final conclusions drawn from the findings presented in the previous three chapters and ideas presented in the Discussion chapter. It begins with the main research findings, and is followed by the strengths and limitations of the study, and potential future research. The final section highlights methodological and theoretical implications and practical contributions.

## 8.2. The Key Research Findings

The problem of school violence is complex in nature; this study aims to shed light on the problem of school violence in an urban school in Jakarta, Indonesia, from the individuals' viewpoints. There are some underpinning reasons upon which this study focuses on, namely through consideration to the students rather than teachers or parents. The students are the main actors of the problem of school violence, and therefore it is essential to garner understanding pertaining to their own views of school violence. Moreover, the students, as the actors and agents of school violence, were largely marginalised and overlooked in the design and implementation of intervention programmes of school violence in Indonesia (see Chapter 1.1). They often were treated as culprits rather than as victims whose voices should be heard and to whom attention should be paid in regards to what they actually shouted about.

It has been established that their perspectives are influenced by the social practices and interactions in their day-to-day life within the school; therefore, it is also important to examine the students' social practices and interactions so that we can get an insight the importance of the social and cultural aspects on the construction of students'perceptions. This study has set out to gain understading of students' perspectives of school violence whilst examining the social practices within the school ambience, which strongly influence their understanding of school violence.

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Since the current study is concerned with garnering an understanding of school violence from mainly students' viewpoints and their social practices within the school context, the following section summarises the key research findings in accordance with the research questions in the following:

1. What are students' perceptions of school violence?
2. How have their perceptions been influenced by students' social practices and their day-to-day interactions?

**Research Question 1**: What are students' perceptions of school violence?

This study has shed light on the complexity of the problem of school violence by garnering an understanding of the problem from students' perspectives. Drawing on the interviews, focus group discussions and students' diaries, it has been found that the students' viewpoints of school violence were quite diverse, demonstrating a positive view of school violence. The students, in fact, acknowledge that the effects of school violence are devastating, but their acknowledgement of the implications of school violence for academic, personal and social development also are prevalent; these are the reasons why they are continuously involved in school violence: for example, students perceived that school violence is a way of building mental and physical strength. The finding suggests that possessing physical and mental strength benefits them to the success of future life, getting jobs and position, this is due to living in a metropolitan that is characterised by severe competition, high criminal rates, urban condition- traffic jams and other social problems. To be competitive and successful in their future life, as the students perceived, individuals should have tough mentality and physique (see Chapter 6.6).

Building social capital also was found to be another clear reason behind students' involvement in school violence. The finding suggests that social capital ideally should be constructed through involvement in school violence. The rationale behind this perception is that they need evidence to support the view that their relationships and the connections they have constructed, and that will be constructed, are of mutual benefit, represented through helping one another in difficult situations. The students in this study, however, identified that social capital would benefit them within the boundaries of their academic success to be accepted at reputable universities within the country, as

well as during the life stages after university, such as when striving to secure a job. The alumnae's success in being accepted at reputable universities and gaining a higher position, either in the government or in private sectors, often was used as an example of the importance of social capital constructed during the study at school through their involvement in school violence. Moreover, social capital also was recognised by students as able to establish a position in the school hierarchical system, enabling them to remain control and maintain the social practices within the school, whilst also obtaining economic benefit from the students (see Section 6.4), which aims at gaining economic motives.

Moreover, school violence was perceived by the students as an available alternative solution of channelling or relieving their emotion, stress and any psychological burden. It also could be a nice memory; being a topic of discussion when they have a reunion in the future and when they are getting older and meeting one another. The students admitted that living and studying in a metropolitan could be very stressful and intimidating. The students illustrated that they would go to school early in the morning, at 5AM, and would leave school late in the evening and often in the night, which caused them to feel physically fatigued. Furthermore, the demands of performing well in school lessons, the high rate of crimes as well as the problem of traffic in a metropolitan city puts the students in difficult situations: as they cannot escape from these situations, one way of relieving the boredom and stress is through school violence, which is accessible and acceptable within the students' community.

Another important finding about students' perception of violence is masculinity. The finding suggests that their display of masculinity through the involvement in school violence is an attempt to garner approval and endorsement from peers, seniors and alumnae, emphasising the point that they are truly 'a man'. This is due to the stereotype of gender-deviant often being centred to students who are not involved in school violence or poorly perform in school violence. This is supported by the fact that the students' community regards school violence as the only way of proving masculinity amongst the students; this means that, when included in the students' community, the students should display their masculinity through the involvement of school violence. The findings suggest that the school violence within SMA 1001 is centred on masculinity, where the construction of masculinity often is identical with violence,

whilst violence is the primary source of the construction of male characteristics. Masculinity, which often is infused in the pursuit of school violence, was emphasised by the seniors and alumnae as an effective strategy to perpetuating the school tradition—that of school violence.

In addition, identity also is a prevalent issue in students' perspectives of violence. Mostly, the students reported that school violence is concerned with identity, either self, group or institutional. The results indicate that identity formation amongst the students within SMA 1001, with regard to school violence, provides a significant contribution to their motivation, aspiration and expectation regarding 'who they are' in comparison with out-group members and other students from other schools. The findings of this study indicate that the school norms that value a unique identity significantly influence students' and group construction of their own identity. It has been recognised that, implicitly, the government policy of enforcing uniformity—the same uniform, no significant marks allowed on the uniform—is perceived by students as forging a unique identity. Moreover, this is furthered by not providing such positive competitions, such as sports, by the government to form a unique identity. In this sense, the distinctive identity the students have constructed and maintained is their unique identity involving the combination of violent school, elite school, good academic achievements and higher social class.

The way the students constructed this unique identity is through their efforts refuting the stigma that violent schools generally are identical, with poor academic achievements, lower economic class and particular types of school.

**Research Question 2**: How have their perceptions been influenced by the students' social practices and their day-to-day interactions?

The findings have highlighted that social practices and interaction patterns within the school environment play an important role on students' understanding and perceptions of school violence. There are possible reasons   why social practices and interaction patterns impact the positive view of school violence. The findings have revealed that social practices within SMA 1001 are, centred on socialising values, norms and particular agendas to students. The division of school facilities, the assigned place for hanging out, the assigned styles and communication patterns all are examples of social

practices found within the school environment, which students are required to obey; however, there is also the recognition that these social practices were maintained by particular groups to perpetuate particular agendas.

The datasets revealed that the division of school facilities, such as canteen, sports field and staircases, which are divided into three consecutive areas for first-year, second-year and third-year students, often are a place to create fear and violence. The findings suggest that first-year students often are reluctant to buy food and drink at the canteen; they often are scared that their seniors would ridicule them or provoke them to have fights with their opponents (second-year students). Their reluctance to visit the canteen also stems from the poorest facilities for first-year students, as well as their experience that fighting often occurs there.

The places for hanging out for different class years were also perceived as scary places for some students. This is due to the fact that the lower class years are not allowed to pass by their seniors' territories. Moreover, the students are required to hang out at the assigned place each day after school hours; if they do not, they would be bullied and even alienated from their peers and seniors. The activities in which the students were involved there also are perceived by the students, initially, as useless and potentially life-endangering, as other students from other schools commonly would attack students at their hang-out places. Instead of being a nice place for gathering and engaging in communication with peers, hang-out places are transformed into dangerous places to gather.

However, despite the fact that the segregation of school facilities and assigning places for hanging out often enact violence and could jeopardise the students, there are positive values behind these practices. The datasets show that the students realised and understood that the division of the canteen and the circulated places for hanging out are implicitly designed as an arena for the socialising and training of the students to garner life skills, such as responsibility. The findings suggest the gradable responsibility is represented through assigning a smaller scope, such as the canteen and places for hanging out, to the wider scope, i.e. the school. Through the circulated authoritative places, the students are trained to have sense of responsibility to their peers, their place and their belongings. When they are third-year, they have a wider scope of

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responsibility, particularly related to defending and protecting their school and their juniors from the attacks of other school students. Besides the value of responsibility, the students are taught about togetherness and friendship (bonding), which is constructed through the division of school facilities and hanging out every day after school. Therefore, the evidence suggests that many students often negatively reacted to and commented on these social practices, with others refusing and wanting to move to another school; later, when they witnessed, saw and went through the experience, however, they developed awareness that all they did was meaningful in relation to their life skills (see Chapter 6.3). This also applies to other social practices, such as styles, communication and interaction patterns, which initially were perceived by students as meaningless and useless, but upon experience—such as facing down and lowering tone when engaging interaction with older people (seniors)—were found to teach the meaning of respect and manners in their daily communication.

Another interesting finding is that of the interaction patterns involving alumnae, which are characterised by an unequal and dominant position, often perceived by the students as oppressing and intimidating. The finding suggests that the interactions patterns, such as *rejes* (jejer) or stay in line, obtaining batch name, jacket and colour, and the inauguration of getting a batch name, are riddled with physical risks. The datasets revealed that, when the students experienced those moments, they were particularly intimidated, frightened and unmotivated to study; when they could pass through them, however, they felt proud. The students also asserted that all physical trainings, either through involvement in school violence or through varied interaction patterns with seniors and alumnae, benefitted the students in having physical and mental strength, as well as through building strong relationships and bridging capital within the school connection. Moreover, as the findings demonstrated, all the sorrow the students experienced during the process of their interactions with seniors and alumnae would likely end up being a positive moment for them—a nice story to be told in the future. This is what the student said in the focus group discussions; everything is strange at first, but when they used to it, they would like it eventually. The evidence of the current study and the view illustrated by the students in the focus group discussion could be used to argue that the positive perceptions of violence are influenced by the engagement, interactions and involvement of individuals with peers, seniors, alumnae

and the environment, particularly when the norms approve such kinds of violent behaviour. This finding supports the previous research, which states that peer groups and environment influence the way in which individuals respond to and perceive particular situations (Felson, 1978; Cotterel, 1996).

## 8.3. Strengths and Limitations

The aim of this study is centred on gaining understanding of the students' perceptions of school violence; thus, having involved them in the study is one of its strengths. Through the interviews and focus group discussions, they could voice their views with regards to their perspectives of school violence, meaning the data gathered is directly generated their own voices. Besides, the decision to adopt an ethnography approach is also one of the strengths of this study. The ethnography approach enables the completion of fieldwork, observing students' day-to-day activities within the school environment and getting involved in their activities, such as in sports and hanging out. It benefited me, the researcher, in understanding the meaning of their actions through contextual understanding, and facilitated cross-checking the data generated from other methods, such as interviews, focus group discussions and artefacts. Through close interactions with the students, rich data about the day-to-day experiences and practices of the students could be garnered in a real setting. Since this study is centred on students' perspectives of school violence, and as the data has been generated from their direct points of view and not from third parties, this could be another strength of the study.

However, it should be acknowledged that, despite the strengths of the approach adopted, there are some limitations to consider. Since this study is a reflection of students' perspectives in only single case study and at particular place and time, the evidence of this study may can not reflect the larger perspectives. Eckert (1997) suggests that the study can be used only to portray the conditions of a particular context as a result of interactions between the researchers and all components in the field. In other words, the description of the thesis is limited only to particular times and places, with the possibility extended to the past through the utility of a particular method of research, such as the students' story.

In addition, a much wider spectrum on the youth perceptions of violence might emerge if employing more than a single site of the research. As this study focuses on only the

single school, with the themes centred on sensitive issues, the data generated is limited to a reflection of only a single site. Utilising more research sites potentially would provide richer data, particularly when the aims are concerned with contrasting and comparing the students' perspectives of school violence in two or more schools.

In addition, when the study involves symbols and codes that are prevalent in the study of school violence, the semiotic perspective of analysis should be considered. Although this study does not merely focus on the particular and in-depth understanding of specific symbols, such as uniform or language used, the systematic analysis of utilising semiotic analysis is not included.

## 8.4. Potential Future Research

As has been suggested by WHO (2002), as a way of enhancing the programme of violence prevention, the research should prioritise the scope, causes and consequences. Whilst this research covers only the smaller scope—the setting is in one school and focuses on the students' perceptions and the social practices within the school environment—a further research should cover wider contexts. This is important if the study is aimed at contrasting and comparing different participants from the different settings. Moreover, this study also has acknowledged the limitations of participants (see Section 3.5) in the data collections, meaning future research should consider the involvement of more participants, not only limited to students but also with the involvement of teachers, parents and alumnae, in an effort to generate more comprehensive perspectives from different age groups and parties adopting different roles of involvement in such a phenomenon.

In addition, further study also should consider the application of a longitudinal study to understand participants' perspectives over a long period of time; the participants' current perspectives, their perspectives in the coming years, and when they are at university and work. This is essential in terms of establishing the prolonged perspectives of participants. Focus then could be directed towards answering various questions: Do their perspectives alter when they get older or do they have the similar perspectives when they grew up? Are the concepts of togetherness, strong mentality and physique, as a nice story constructed through the involvement of school violence when they get older, real? As this study only reveals the current students with the possibility

of reflecting the past and the future condition through the story they told, it limits the data and perspectives of particular subjects to a particular point in time. However, as this study focuses on only students' perspectives, the mere involvement of students has fulfilled the goal of the study.

## 8.5. Methodological, Theoretical Implications and Practical Contributions

In this final section, I reflect on the methodology used during my fieldwork, particularly when conducting interviews and focus group discussions pertaining to sensitive issues, such as social practices within my research site. As some of the social practices remain hidden, some information cannot be explored merely through the completion of interviews and assigning focus group discussions, which often are conducted with a limited number of individuals, such as 4–7 participants. However, as my topic discussion is categorised as a sensitive issue, assigning a number of participants and even including all students in the classroom is the solution, where generating information from the ideal number of participants is challenging. Moreover, assigning a number of participants also could generate a greater spectrum of views and active discussion amongst participants. However, it also should be noted that involving a number of participants in the group discussion could potentially prevent particular participants to speak. Future research, which focuses on sensitive issues, such as hidden social practices, should consider unexpected situations where recruiting participants is challenging or when recruiting participants with a number of students involved in group discussions is inevitable.

In addition, in relation to theoretical implications, there have been various causes of youth violence, and there also are ways of tackling these problems; however, context plays a significant role in garnering the insights of youth violence. When youth violence is associated with the rivalry of gangs' territory, other violence could be centred on different triggers, such as historical violence. The school violence occurs in Jakarta, arguably, as a more historical and cultural aspect rather than in consideration to race, religion, individuals or even disputing place and territory, as other research (e.g. Nilan, 2010, Kadir, 2012, Nilan et al., 2011)) claims to be the significant contribution of youth violence in Indonesia. The findings hopefully contribute to an understanding of how social behavioural and cultural aspects heavily affect the school ambience and

prolonged practices of violence and delinquent behaviour within the school context. This means that the study contributes to the existing youth violence research surrounding social practices and youth culture, which play a crucial role in the continuation and enacting of violence.

In addition, the term 'gang' should be placed in a local culture and context, where definition of the term in Western areas, and the tradition of gangs in Chicago, are associated with groups and their criminal behaviour; conversely, in this study, the term is connected with the name of a particular class year, functioning to signify and provide a marker to emphasise that they are different from other class years. (batches). Moreover, the gang's name in this study, although to some extent used for criminal activities (getting money from the students), mostly provides emphasis on distinctiveness, separating one class year from another. This is important since it is much easier to recognise students when they are together at reunions through making reference to the group name (see Section 6.2) rather than individual names.

In addition, as the characteristics of the gangs and any other youth groups are centred on territory and space, which are used to generate fear amongst others and further show their authority, the space and place of territory the students have shown in this study are multi-purpose; as a way of training students in relation to ownership, graded-responsibility and togetherness. Therefore, there always are dual sides of possessing territory; it can be a negative aspect for enacting violence and conflict, but also positive, such as when students need to acquire educational social learning.

## 8.6. Practical Contributions

This study has highlighted the positive views of students in regards school violence. The findings argue that violent behaviours are deeply influenced by the school environment. Through the social practices and interactions in which the students are engaged, mainly with seniors and alumnae through various school activities and hidden practices, interventions based on this evidence might help to attenuate and possibly preclude the school violence from occurrence.

The intervention programmes aimed at reducing violent behaviours ideally should pay closer attention to the recognised factors of school violence and, in this sense, the

students' positive views of school violence. Several suggestions for practice are offered specifically at the school, local government level in Jakarta, and the Ministry of Education in Indonesia.

a. The findings revealed that the students hold positive views of violence; this was the reason they continue to be involved in school violence. Having highlighted the students' own positive views of violence, the intervention programmes should address and touch upon the essence of the problem. The government needs to provide better information and sources to facilitate students' awareness that school violence is harmful in many aspects of life. This could be furthered by providing alternative programmes to mediate students' positive views through the availability of positive sources. For example, the findings show that violent behaviours are centred on constructing masculinity; therefore, the government should accommodate and provide spaces for forming masculinity and identity through positive educational activities, such as improving intense sporting competitions and creating teams for academic competitions, either as in-school or interschool competitions. With regards competitions, these should not be based on batches or class year as that would be unfair; thus, schools could adopt the common British practice of 'houses', where students are placed in artificial groups that are flexible in assigning its members to compete against one another (it doesn't have to be sports alone, but can include activities such as debating or even talent shows). The intense completion of more positive competitions, thus, would likely discourage the circulation of public discourse that school violence is the only way of constructing masculinity. This is essential in terms of generating greater awareness amongst students that there are possible alternative ways of forming masculinity and identity.

b. Considering the increasing amount of school violence each year and the critics from the youth forum (see Section 1.1) that suggest that the intervention programmes of school violence applied recently seem ineffective, the involvement of actors' (students') views on the process of policy-making would be beneficial in the sense of touching upon the essence of the school problem. However, it should be carefully considereded concerning the issue of students' vulnerability, the conservative views of the parents and the government (see Chapter 1.1).

c. The findings show that the role of alumnae is pervasive in the perpetuation of school violence. The involvement of the alumnae in more positive activities would be effective in terms of reducing the number of violent instances. It might be that, as the findings suggest, students tend to obey their seniors and alumnae rather than their teachers (see Chapter 5.1.2 and Chapter 6.2). Seeking alternative solutions involving students and alumnae or otherwise empowering the role of alumnae in more positive ways through adopting fraternity programmes in the US, for example, might generate more positive values of the students and alumnae. Take, for example, the Black Fraternities (Alpha Phi Alpha Fraternity) in the US, which are centred on cooperation, interactions, engagement in either social or academic aspects, as well as social and financial support through involving its members, including its alumnae, provides a clear example of more positive collaborations between members and alumnae. At a more practical level, the government could collaborate with students and alumnae to create such a fraternity programme, with emphasis on the social and academic, as the students often asserted, in the interviews and group discussions, that they are involved in school violence due to the social and academic support.

d. Having recognised that brotherhood, reciprocity, trust, the concept of social capital are the main motives of students in becoming engaged in school violence, various questions should be posed in order to establish how their principle and orientations of social capital could be transformed into more positive values and activities. The government could transform students' concepts of brotherhood without necessarily changing the essence of the concept by adopting the concept of brotherhood in fraternity membership. The concept of brotherhood in the US fraternity, as in the case of Alpha Phi Alpha, is similar to that of the students' concept of brotherhood, where each member helps others when they are in difficult situations. The similar concept of providing housing and emotional support throughout the transition process to college also can be found in the students' concept of brotherhood—and that of fraternity. The government should be able to ascertain that the students and alumnae community could be built through the enactment of more positive methods.

e. Moreover, since prejudice and stereotypes are the crucial components in school violence, providing collaboration activities, such as the programme of painting public spaces together, as initiated by the former governor of Jakarta, Mr Joko

Widodo, should be more intensively conducted. This is important in terms of increasing contact amongst students and across schools, which is able to reduce the prejudice and which can build interactions in a more positive way. Research has suggested that having outgroup friends is important in decreasing the contact avoidance between the groups (Mendoza-Denton et al., 2002) and thus is able to reduce prejudice (Davies et al., 2011).

f.  Whilst this research has recognised that the role of peers, school environment and the interactions patterns in students' social development are quite pervasive, the role of individuals should never be neglected in that they have the capacity to construct their own social development based on their family values and knowledge, their experiences and their getting along with peers (see Chapter 6.3.1). In relation to pedagogical development, this study informs that students' determination and their capacity to make decisions (students as an agent) in choosing particular behaviours that are aligned with their own background and family values has proven effective in reducing violent behaviours. The educational activities should address and empower pre-existing students' capital to minimise active involvement in school violence. The role of the teachers in strengthening students' values in classroom pedagogical activities and accordingly creating more positive interactions and atmosphere therefore is crucial in creating a healthy school environment.

## 8.7. Summary

The research reported in this thesis has garnered students' perceptions of violence and their social practices within the school context, demonstrating the students' positive views of school violence and the influence of social practices on the construction of students' views.

Through the journey of this PhD, I have learnt many things in regards practical, personal and professional matters. How I worked with my participants during the fieldwork, and their voices during the process of data analysis, with the presentation of such in my analysis chapters, required much skill and attention, and emphasised the need for me to be more reflective when engaging in interactions with my supervisor; this was really encouraging but also challenging. It has been a valuable experience and would be an asset for my future academic career as well.

In this final thought, I should also say that, to some extent, the students' positive perceptions of violence should not be considered merely as a negative aspect of their life and reacted to through severe punishments; rather, it should be cautiously considered that the problem of school violence stems from a process of the students' development, social learning and seeking identity. The school and government should be more proactive to direct, manage and involve them in creating more positive and challenging activities.

Moreover, this study reminds me of when I had scholarship interview four years ago. The interviewee asked me, 'In which category are you applying for this scholarship?' Further to the interviewee's question, 'How could you offer solution to the social problem?', I am now confident that my study would contribute to the social problem in Indonesia, particularly the problem of school violence in the capital and other areas in Indonesia, by offering alternative practical contributions (as can be found in the previous paragraph). As I am under an Indonesian government scholarship (Directorate General of Higher Education), Ministry of Education, it would be possible to contribute in terms of creating more effective intervention programmes for school violence solutions conducted by the Ministry of Education. Besides, as our agreement with the school that the results of my research would be sent to school as a document and the possibility of being the topic of discussion amongst school personnel, this would raise an issue in regards how the school intervene with the school problem, not only through expulsion.

More specifically, this empirical evidence and its implications would help contribute to making schools safer, healthier, and more positive in terms of academic activities. To this end, the students, as the future hope of the nation, would be able to hold more positive views of plurality, whilst also strengthening their identity, social capital and any other social skills, to keep maintaining the country slogan *Bhineka Tunggal Ika* or Unity in Diversity.

# APPENDIX  1

# Informed Consent Form

**Researcher:** Irfan Rifai

**Research Title:** Violence in an urban Indonesian High School.

You are invited to participate in a research study that examines students' perspectives of school violence and cultural contexts within the school environment. Your participation in this study requires an interview, during which you will be asked questions about your views and attitudes in regards school violence. The interview will be conducted in approximately 60 minutes. With your permission, the interview will be audio-recorded and transcribed. However, your name and your school will be anonymised, and will be kept strictly confidential. This study will be conducted by researcher Irfan Rifai—a doctoral student at the University of Leeds.

**Risk and Benefits:**

This research does not have any identifiable potential risks to participants. However, the interviews might cover sensitive topics related to your perception of school violence and social practices within the school environment. You have the right to choose not to comment on any points or to withdraw during the interview should you wish. There is no financial remuneration for your participation in this study. Although this research would not benefit you financially, I hope, through your active participation in interviews or focus group discussion, you would be able to share your experiences, thoughts and ideas pertinent to the topic of discussions with others.

**Security and Confidentiality:**

All data generated from interviews and group discussions will be anonymised and codified right after each interview. The participants' names and school will be anonymised. All data will be transferred to the M drive on the University of Leeds server, which unauthorised users are unable to access.

**Who is organising and funding the research and how results will be used?**

This research study is conducted by me, under the supervision of Professor Mike Baynham and Dr Martin Lamb, at the School of Education University of Leeds. This is funded by the Directorate General of Higher Education, Ministry of National Education Indonesia. This research study is to be submitted in partial fulfilment of requirement for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of Leeds.

| This consent form is design to check that you understand the purposes of the study, that you are aware of your right as a participant and to confirm that you are willing to take part | | |
|---|---|---|
| Please tick as appropriate | Yes | No |
| 1.  I have read the information describing the study | | |
| 2.  I have received sufficient information about the study for me to decide whether to take part | | |
| 3.  I understand that I am free to refuse to take part if I wish | | |
| 4.  I understand that I may withdraw from the study at any time without having to provide a reason | | |
| 5.  I know that I can ask for further information about the study | | |
| 6.  I understand that all information arising from the study will be treated as confidential | | |
| 7.  I know that it will not be possible to identify any individual respondent in the study report, including my self | | |
| 8.  I agree to take part in the study | | |
| I consent to participate in (please check one)<br>    a.  Individual interview<br>    b.  Group discussion | | |
| Name | | |
| Date | | |
| Signature | | |

# Informasi Persetujuan

**Peneliti: Irfan Rifai**

**Judul Penelitian:** Violence in an Urban Indonesian High School

**Paragraf Ajakan**

Anda saya minta berpartisipasi dalam penelitian ini, yang bertujuan untuk mengetahui persepsi individu tentang perkelahian pelajar dan budaya di sekolah. Partisipasi anda dalam penelitian ini nanti berupa wawancara selama kurang lebih 60 menit, tanya jawab masalah pandangan anda terhadap perkelahian pelajar dan budaya di sekolah. Dengan ijin anda, semua hasil wawancara nanti akan di rekam dan ditranskripsi, namun nama dan sekolah anda tidak dicantumkan, diganti dengan nama samaran dan sifatnya rahasia. Penelitian ini dilakukan oleh saya sendiri, Irfan Rifai mahasiswa Doktor di Leeds University.

**Resiko dan Keuntungan:**

Penelitian ini tidak teridentifikasi adanya potensi resiko terhadap partisipan. Namun, dalam wawancara nanti mungkin akan juga menyinggung topik sensitif yang berhubungan dengan persepsi tentang tawuran pelajar dimana kemungkinan anda pernah terlibat. Anda berhak untuk tidak berkomentar atau bahkan mengundurkan diri selama wawancara tanpa mengungkapkan alasannya. Dalam penelitian ini tidak ada imbalan uang, namun harapannya melalui partisipasi Anda dalam wawancara atau group diskusi bisa memfasilitasi untuk saling berbagi pengalaman, ide dan pemikiran dengan yang orang lain dalam group diskusi tentang topik diskusi.

**Keamanan dan Kerahasian**

Semua data yang terkumpul lewat wawancara dan group diskusi akan disamarkan dan di kode setelah interview dan group diskusi selesai. Nama partisan dan nama sekolah juga disamarkan. Kemudian semua data di transfer ke drive M di kampus University of Leeds dimana hanya saya yang bisa mengaksesnya.

**Siapa yang mengorganisasi dan membiayai penelitian serta hasilnya digunakan untuk apa?**

Penelitian ini dilakukan oleh saya sendiri dibawah bimbingan Professor Mike Baynham dan Dr Martin Lamb di School of Education University of Leeds dan didanai sepenuhnya oleh DIKTI (Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi). Penelitian ini dilakukan sebagai salah satu syarat untuk membuat Disertasi guna memenuhi syarat untuk mendapatkan gelar Doctor of Philosophy (Doktor).

## Formulir Persetujuan

| Formulir persetujuan ini dibuat sebagai sarana untuk mengetahui apakah anda paham tentang tujuan dari penelitian ini. Sebagai partisipan anda berhak untuk berpartisipasi atau tidak dalam penelitian ini, saya hanya minta konfirmasi kesedian anda saja | | |
|---|---|---|
| Silahkan di centang salah satu | Iya | Tidak |
| 1. Saya telah membaca informasi tentang tujuan penelitian ini | | |
| 2. Saya mendapatkan informasi yang cukup tentang rencana penelitian  ini dan memutuskan apakah ikut berpartisipasi apa tidak. | | |
| 3. Saya paham bahwa saya bebas untuk mengundurkan diri jika saya keberatan | | |
| 4. Saya paham jika seumpama saya mengundurkan diri dari penelitian ini, saya tidak harus menjelaskan alasannya. | | |
| 5. Saya tahu bahwa saya boleh bertanya lebih jauh tentang penelitian ini. | | |
| 6. Saya paham bahwa jika informasi yang di dapatkan dari penelitian ini akan dijaga kerahasiannya. | | |
| 7. Saya paham bahwa tidak akan mungkin mengetahui nama setiap orang, termasuk saya sendiri. | | |
| 8. Saya setuju untuk ikut serta | | |
| Saya setuju untuk berpartisipasi dalam (pilih salah satu) <br>   a. Wawancara <br>   b. Diskusi kelompok | | |
| Nama | | |
| Tanggal | | |
| Tanda Tangan | | |

# APPENDIX 2

## Interview Guides (students)

1. What are students' perceptions of school violence?
Interview guides

   a. Could you say something about yourself?
   b. Where did you graduate from?
   c. Why do you study here?
   d. Have you ever experienced in school violence?
   e. What do you think about school violence?
   f. Why do they get involved in school violence?
   g. I am interested in about what said, about….. could you tell more details about it?
   h. What does violence mean to you? What do you think and feel about school violence? follow up questions…is it correct that you feel…?
   i. Are there any motives they get involved in school violence?
   j. Could you describe in detail how school violence initiated?
   k. Why did you do that? Why did they do that?
   l. Could you say something about that…? Could you give a more detail description of what happened?
   m. What happen if students do not want to get involved in school violence?
   n. There is a view that school violence is about identity, what do you think?
   o. Do you think your experience in school violence influences on the way you manage your life?

2. How have their perceptions been influenced by the students' social practices and their day-to-day interactions?

   a. Could you tell about 'school culture' in this school?
   b. What are they?
   c. Could you explain more details about those practices?
   d. What are the motives of those practices?
   e. Why do they practice that?
   f. Are there any rules about those practices? How far?
   g. Why do you obey it?
   h. How do you know about those practices?
   i. Is it for boys only? Why?
   j. What are the processes?
   k. Between odd and even batch? What do you mean?
   l. What about the batch's name? *rejes (jejer)*? Inauguration? Batch's jacket?
   m. How is it conducted? Where? Who are they?
   n. What do you think about that?
   o. It is said that school violence is good for mental and physical trainings? Do you think so?
   p. What is the effects of those practices on the students?

# Interview Guide (teachers)

a. Could you tell me about the students in this school?
b. What schools did they graduate from?
c. What are the reasons they study in this school?
d. Could you tell me about school culture in this school?
e. What do you think about school violence?
f. Why do the students get involved in school violence?
g. Who get involved in school violence?
h. What are they? What about the school facilities division?
i. What are their/students' motives?
j. What about odd and even batch?
k. What does the teachers' respond on those practices?
l. What are the impacts of the division between odd and even batch on the students' daily interaction and school activities?
m. What has the school conducted to overcome the school violence?
n. What is the role of the school culture on school violence?
o. What do you think about the view that school violence is for solidarity?
p. It is said that school violence is for mental and physical trainings, what do you think?
q. Is there the role of alumnae on school violence and school activities?
r. What is the school and teachers' response?

# Interview Guide for Group Discussions

1. What are students' perceptions of school violence?

   a. What are your perceptions of school violence?
   b. Why do the students get involved in school violence?
   c. How do you feel when you get involved in school violence?
   d. How school violence happens?
   e. What do you think if students do not want to get involved in school violence?


2. How have their perceptions been influenced by the students' social practices and their day-to-day interactions?
   a. What do you think about school culture of this school?
   b. What are they?
   c. How do you perceive of those social practices?
   d. Why exist such social practices within the school?
   e. Who practices it?
   f. How are those practices practiced?
   g. What are the reasons to implement those social practices?
   h. Is there any limitation of those social practices? Within the school?
   i. What is the relationship between those social practices and school violence?
   j. What are social interactions like between juniors, seniors and alumnae?
   k. It is said that school violence can build strong solidarity? As a way of mental and physical training?

# APPENDIX 3

## The School Regulation (Point Based System)

**1. HAK SISWA**ni.

Siswa SMA Neglanggararhak:

1. Mengikuti Keg men pembelajaran dengan baik.
2. Memperoleh penilaian hasil belajarnya.
3. Berbuat sesuatu yang berguna untuk memajukan diri sendiengan ban sekolah
4. Mengikuti kegiatan ekstrakurikuler yang ada di SMA Negya.
5. Mendapatkan informasi, bir sáyısı pdasih sayang atau perhatian dan perlindungan dari sekolah melalui wali kelas, BK, guru dan karyawan SM/ara adil. sekolara adil.

**2. KEWAJIBAN SISWA**

Siswa SMA Neja mulaneykewajiban:

1. Menaati, nloq miohi dan menjunjung tinggi tata tertib sekolah
2. Mengikuti proses KBM dengan baik
3. Hadir dan pulang sekolah tepat waktu
4. Menjalankan ibadah sesuai dengan agama yang dianutnya
5. Siswa yang tidak mengikuti KBM harus memberikan surat keterangan dari orang tua
6. Siswa yang terpaksa meninggalkan KBM harus seizin guru
7. Berperilaku baik, jujur dan hormat kepada semua warga sekolah
8. Berperan aktif menciptakan suasina zıralusif di lingkungan sekolah dan sekitarnya
9. Menjaga nama baik almamater br sumse
10. Berupaya meningkatkan prestasi,' dh 'bidang intrakurikuler atau ekstrakurikuler
11. Memakai seragam sekolah sesuai ketentuan yang berlaku
12. Memakai sepatu model kets/olahraga warna hitam serta berkaos kaki putih
13. Memakai seragam olahraga saat pelajaran olahraga sesuai ketentuan sekolah
14. Mengikuti upacara hari Senin dan hari besar lainnya
15. Memiliki dan membawa Kartu Identitas Pelajar (KTP/ kartu pelajar)
16. Mematikan dan menyimpan alat komunikasi selama KBM berlangsung
17. Mengikuti kegiatan ekstrakurikuler minimal 1 kegiatan, maksimal 2
18. Kegiatan ekstrakurikuler atau kegiatan dari luar harus seizin kepala sekolah
19. Menjaga keutuhan dan kebersihan kelas/ sekolah
20. Bertanggung jawab atas terciptanya 7 K
21. Menciptakan ketahanan sekolah sebagai wawasan wiyata mandala

**3. LARANGAN dm̃OBOT POIN PELANGGARAN**

1. Siswa Sᴾ dialodbarang melakukan atau dapat diduga melakukan tindakan-tindakan yang tertera dalam pasal-pasal dibawah ini.
2. Bobot pelanggaran atas larangan ini dinyatakan sebagai poin pelanggaran.
3. Siswa yang mencapaisejumlah tertentu poin pelanggaran memperoleh sanksi.
   a. Mencemari kepribadian, karakter, dan citra siswa berbudaya sebagai berikut:

| Ayat | Isi | Poin |
|------|-----|------|
| 1. | Memakai pakaian seragam yang tidak sesuai dengan ketentuan sekolah. | 3 |
| 2. | Memakai sepatu yang tidak sesuai dengan ketentuan sekolah | 3 |
| 3. | Siswa Putra :Berambut panjang, mengecat rambut, memakai anting, gelang, kalung, dan kemeja/celana ketat. | 3 |
| 4 | Siswa Putri :Memakai perhiasan/*make up* , kemeja ketat, mewarnai rambut, mengecat kuku, tidak memakai kaos dalam | 3 |

b. Melecehkan citra SMA Negeri 70 Jakarta sebagai institusi pendidikan sebagai berikut.

| Ayat | Isi | Poin |
|------|-----|------|
| 1. | Menggunakan alat komunikasi saat KBM | 7 |
| 2. | Tidak mengikuti upacara dan melakukan hal-hal yang menganggu upacara | 7 |

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 3. | Membawa kendaraan ke dalam sekolah tidak sesuai tata tertib. | 7 |
| 4. | Masuk/keluar sekolah dengan cara melompat / menerobos pagar. | 7 |
| 5. | Selama menjalani skorsing berada di lingkungan sekolah | 13 |
| 6. | Membawa / menyimpan rokok di lingkungan sekolah | 20 |
| 7. | Mengisap rokok di lingkungan sekolah sampai radius 200 meter | 20 |
| 8. | Siswa terlambat pada jam pertama | 3 |
| 9. | Siswa yang masih berada di lingkungan sekolah atau nongkrong di atas jam 07.15 karena terlambat. | 10 |
| 10. | Siswa berkumpul/nongkrong di lingkungan sekitar sekolah melebihi batas toleransi kecuali ada kegiatan ekskul. | 7 |

c. Suasana Kelas

| Ayat. | Isi | Poin |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Masuk ke kelas tanpa seizin dari guru/ piket bila terlambat baik pada jam pertama atau pergantian jam pelajaran. | 7 |
| 2. | Meninggalkan kelas/lingkungan sekolah saat KBM sedang berlangsung | 7 |
| 3. | Tidak masuk sekolah tanpa keterangan | 7 |
| 4. | Melakukan kegaduhan, keributan, sehingga mengganggu KBM | 30 |

d. Pelestarian Lingkungan

| Ayat. | Isi | Poin |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Membuang sampah sembarangan sehingga merusak keindahan sekolah | 3 |
| 2. | Mencoret, merusak, dan menyalahgunakan sarana/prasarana sekolah | 20 |

e. Norma Susila

| Ayat | Isi | Poin |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | Bersikap tidak sopan terhadap sesama siswa/orang lain | 7 |
| 2. | Melakukan perbuatan yang bertentangan norma susila dan agama: | |
| | a. membawa/menyimpan /bermain kartu | 3 |
| | b. berjudi | 35 |
| | c. berpelukan dengan lawan jenis di lingkungan sekolah | 50 |
| | d. berciuman/meraba /memegang organ vital lawan jenis | 75 |
| | e. melakukan hubungan seksual | 100 |
| 3. | Merekam/memperlihatkan/menyimpan gambar pornografi | 75 |
| 4. | Berlaku tidak sopan/menghina/membangkang/melawan terhadap kepala sekolah/ guru/ karyawan secara langsung maupun melalui gambar, | 75 |
| 5. | Memalsukan identitas atau tanda tangan orang lain | 14 |
| 6. | Memalsukan tanda tangan kepala sekolah atau guru atau karyawan | 50 |
| 7. | Melakukan kecurangan ketika ulangan /ujian. | 14 |
| 8. | Memberikan keterangan atau pernyataan palsu. | 20 |
| 9. | Merusak, mengambil, meminta dengan paksa baik uang / barang orang lain atau milik sekolah. | 50 |
| 10. | Melakukan intimidasi terhadap siswa lain | 50 |
| 11. | Menendang/menampar/memukul terhadap sesama siswa atau orang lain | 75 |
| 12. | Menendang/menampar/memukul terhadap sesama siswa atau orang lain **sehingga menimbulkan cedera.** | 100 |

| 13 | Upaya melakukan perkelahian baik perorangan maupun kelompok | 50 |
|----|----|-----|
| 14 | Terlibat perkelahian, baik secara perorangan maupun massal (tawuran), terhadap sesama siswa atau orang lain | 100 |
| 15. | Membawa/menyimpan/menyembunyikan/menyalakan petasan | 50 |
| 16. | Memicu terjadinya perkelahian baik perorangan maupun masa(tawuran) | 75 |
| 17. | Membawa / menyimpan senjata tumpul yang membahayakan | 50 |
| 18. | Membawa/menyimpan / menggunakan senjata tajam | 100 |
| 19. | Membawa/menyimpan/menggunakan senjata api | 100 |
| 20. | Melakukan tindakan kriminal yang berhubungan dengan pihak kepolisian di dalam atau di lingkungan sekolah dan sekitarnya. | 100 |
| 21. | Membawa/menyimpan/mengonsumsi/mengedarkan miras/narkoba | 100 |

6. Organisasi

| Ayat. | Isi | Poin |
|----|----|-----|
| 1. | Menggunakan jaket /sweeter tidak ada hubungannya dengan seragam | 3 |
| 2. | Menggunakan jaket /sweeter / jas / tas / topi atau pakaian yang ada identitas angkatan di lingkungan sekolah | 17 |
| 3. | Membentuk atau menjadi anggota organisasi yang illegal | 50 |
| 4. | Mengikuti kegiatan yang tidak mendapatkan persetujuan sekolah | 30 |
| 5. | Memberikan/mengizinkan/memfasilitasi tempat atau rumah untuk kegiatan upaya pembentukan atau pelantikan nama angkatan. | 50 |

4. SANKSI

1. Siswa SMatu ib menerima sanksi sesuai dengan poin pelanggaran tata tertib ini.
2. Sanksi berupa teguran lisan, teguran tertulis/surat peringatan, tugas belajar dirumah (skorsing) atau dikembalikan kepada orang tua.
3. Sanksi berupa teguran tertulis/surat peringatan, tugas belajar dirumah atau dikembalikan kepada orang tua terurai berikut ini.

| Ayat | Poin | Isi | Diterima dari |
|----|----|----|----|
| 1. | 15 – 19 | Surat Peringatan Pertama (SP 1) | Wali kelas dan atau BK |
| 2. | 20 – 24 | Surat Peringatan Kedua (SP 2) | Wali kelas dan atau BK |
| 3. | 25 – 29 | Tugas Belajar di rumah 2 hari | Pembina Kesiswaan |
| 4. | 30 – 34 | Surat Peringatan Ketiga (SP 3) | Wali kelas dan atau BK |
| 5. | 35 – 39 | Surat Peringatan Keempat (SP 4) | Wali kelas dan atau BK |
| 6. | 40 – 44 | Tugas Belajar di rumah 3 hari | Pembina Kesiswaan |
| 7. | 45 – 49 | Surat Peringatan Kelima (SP 5) | Wali kelas dan atau BK |
| 8. | 50 – 54 | Surat Peringatan Keenam (SP 6) | Wali kelas dan atau BK |
| 9. | 55 – 59 | Tugas Belajar di rumah 5 hari | Pembina Kesiswaan |
| 10. | 60 – 64 | Surat Peringatan Ketujuh (SP 7) | Wali kelas dan atau BK |
| 11. | 65 – 69 | Surat Peringatan Pertama (SP 8) | Wali kelas dan atau BK |
| 12. | 70 – 79 | Tugas Belajar di rumah 10 hari | Pembina Kesiswaan |
| 13. | 80 – 99 | 1. Surat Peringatan Terakhir 2. Siswa membuat surat perjanjian di atas meterai diketahui oleh orang tua | Kepala Sekolah |
| 14. | 100 | Dikembalikan kepada orangtua | Kepala Sekolah |

3. Sanksi yang diterima siswa sesuai dengan besarnya poin pelanggaran larangan yang dilakukan, bukan mengikuti urutan SP 1, SP 2 dan seterusnya.

# Example of Extract Individual Interview

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Irf | 1 2 | Pernah punya pengalaman tentang perkelahian? | | Have you had any experience being involved in a fight? |
| Sat | 3 4 5 | pernah waktu SMP ya, bermula dari SMP saya pernah cuma ngga pernah separah hingga SMA sekarang | | Yes, when I was in junior high school, but it was not as bad as when I am a senior high school student until now. |
| Irf | 6 | oh begitu | | Ah… I see |
| Sat | 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 | dimana saya kalau titik terparahnya hingga SMA, saya sudah melihat, bukan melihat, tetapi sudah merasakan dimana ada orang meninggal disekeliling lingkungan saya karena akibat perkelahian pelajar terutama dan yang sudah pernah saya lihat dengan kepala saya sendiri, terlebih lagi itu adalah teman-teman dekat adalah ketika melihat teman-teman saya paru-parunya terbacok dan paru-paru-itu bocor. Lalu teman-teman saya yang terkena tempurungnya ada yang harus diangkat itu | | My worst experiences of fighting happened when I started senior high school, I saw, not only saw, but also felt how people in my neighbourhood died just mostly in student-brawls and I saw when my close friends' lung got stabbed with a machete. There were also some other friends whose skulls have to be taken away. |
| Irf | 22 23 | ngeri sekali, ini berarti saksi hidup | | What a thrilling experience! So you are a surviving witness then. |
| Sat | 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 | iya saksi hidup juga pelaku sejarah mungkin ya. Pelaku sejarah karena saya yang mungkin saya yang dibilang pelaku tetapi terkadang teman2 saya heran, saya selalu kalau saat tawuran atau perkelahian pelajar itu saya yang selalu di depan. Karena senjata yang saya gunakan adakah memang harus ditaruh di depan gitu. Tetapi teman saya heran kenapa saya tidak pernah kena saat tawuran itu. | | Yes, not only am I a surviving witness but maybe also a history maker as well. Because I was also involved in the student-brawls but sometimes my friends amazed, when a student-brawl occured I was always the one on the frontline. Because the weapon I used had to be put in front of the barricade. But my friends got amazed why I had never got any wound. |
| Irf | 35 | hahaha. Ini | | hahaha. You are the boss. |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Irf | 36 | namanya bossnya. | | |
| Sat | 37 | bisa di bilang begitu sih Pak. | | You can say that, Sir |
| Irf | 38 | itu biasanya bermula dari apa? | | Mostly, what did trigger this students brawl? |
| Sat | 39<br>40<br>41<br>42<br>43<br>44<br>45<br>46<br>47<br>48<br>49<br>50<br>51<br>52<br>53<br>54 | oh. Kalau misalnya kita bertanya kepada bermulanya kita harus balik ke sejarah awal tawuran pelajar itu ada. Yang saya dengar2 berawal dari secara umum ya Pak..waktuitu terdapat beberapa SMA besar seperti SMA 1000, SMA Pakem, SMA 109, SMA 203 dan banyak sekali sekolah2 lainnya. Ehm..awalnya mereka belum perkelahian pelajar yang seperti sekarang-sekarang yang kita dengar selama ini. Awalnya mereka hanya dengan perkelahian 1 orang melawan 1 orang, lama-lama tapi itu dilapangan Pak. Perkelahian ….atau disebut dengan partai. | | Oh. If you ask me about how student-brawl begins, we have to look back the history of student-brawl itself. As rumours, there used to be several senior high schools which had big names like SMA 1000, SMA Pakem, SMA 109, SMA 203, and some others. Ehm… at the beginning they said that they did not have any student-brawl like us nowadays. They used to have a man to man fight. As the time went by, they went to field to fighting… also known as party. |
| Irf | 55 | kaya tinju saja | | That sounds like boxing |
| Sat | 56<br>57<br>58<br>59<br>60<br>61<br>61<br>63<br>64<br>65<br>66<br>67<br>68<br>69<br>70<br>71<br>72<br>73<br>74<br>75<br>76<br>77 | iya kaya sparing di suatu lapangan dan dilihat oleh teman2 yang lainnya. Itu dulu. Lalu berlanjut tiba2 ada suatu partai masal. Partai masal artinya diikuti oleh beberapa kelompok dan beberapa kelompok saling adu hingga ehm... tanpa hingga berseteru tapi tanpa adanya..e..kontak senjata tetap pakai fisik sendiri. Hingga beberapa selang tahun ke depan salah satu SMA di Jakarta yang terbesar, SMA 1005 SMA 1002, SMA 1009, SMA 1010 dulu ini adalah beberapa contoh dari yang lain yang terbilang suka ribut dan banyak SMK-SMK lainnya, SMK Pelangi, SMK lainnya. Itu adalah biasanya anak-anak STM yang suka berantem. Eh..dari yang saya tahu dari kelanjutan itu SMA 1009 dan SMA 1010 adalah cikal bakal SMA 1001. Lalu pada | | Yes it is like having a sparing in a field and is seen by friends. It was years ago. It is now continued by "mass parties". Mass parties means that the fighting involves several groups and these groups fight against each other until… ehm… they end up fight without using any weapon. They use merely physical strength. Years after that, some of the biggest schools, such as SMA 1005, SMA 1002, SMA 1009, SMA 1010, were some examples of the schools which liked to have coflict with some vocational schools like SMK Aviation, and other vocational schools. All I know was that SMA 1009 and SMA 1010 were the seeds of SMA 1001. There was then an enactment from the ruling government at that time, those two schools need to be merged. This was because of the frequency and level of the student- |

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| 78<br>79<br>80<br>81<br>82<br>83<br>84<br>85<br>86<br>87<br>88<br>89<br>90<br>91<br>92<br>93<br>94<br>95<br>96<br>97<br>98<br>99<br>... | akhirnya di gabung ada suatu keputusan dari pemerintah harus digabung karena frekuensi dan tingkat perkelahian ini sudah melampaui batas. Jadi sekarang semua disatukan menjadi satu sekolah sekarang bernama SMA 1001. Eh…yang saya tahu lagi dengan..disitulah sma negeri 1001 menjadi salah satu acuan untuk namanya ajang tawuran pelajar. Untuk mencari adu gengsi dimana e…SMAn 1001 adalah salah satu SMA yang apa ya…tergolong SMA papan atas waktu itu untuk…dalam hal segi tawuran. Eh sehingga saat saya berinteraksi untuk melakukan banyak hal eee…dari yang saya tahu dari web, blog dan segalanya itupun sudah saya tarik kesimpulan itu semua karena ada satu yaitu adalah gengsi, yaitu mencari kejayaan, Glory. | | | brawls was out of limit. The schools were then merged into one public school namely SMA 1001. Eh… another thing that I know is that since that moment SMA 1001 has been used as one cornerstone in the field of student-brawls. SMA 1001 was considered as one reputable school for having student-brawls.<br>…. from what I know after reading webs, blogs and others, I have concluded that all happens because of one thing: prestige, to win. Glory. |

# APPENDIX 5
## List of Abreviation

FGD    : Focus Group Discussion

KNPA : Komisi National Perlindungan Anak

KTP    : Kartu Tanda Penduduk

Peper  : Pesta Perkenalan

QS      : Quacquarelli Symonds

SMA   : Sekolah Menengah Atas

SMK   : Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan

WHO  : World Health Organisation

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