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Early Adolescents' Voices in Indonesia

A qualitative exploration of results from the Global Early Adolescent Study

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Early Adolescents' Voices in Indonesia:

A qualitative exploration of results from the Global Early Adolescent Study 2020

Center for Reproductive Health, Faculty of Medicine, Public Health, and Nursing, Gadjah Mada University, Yogyakarta, Indonesia, 2020

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This publication is the result of the Explore4Action (E4A) program, a collaboration which consists of the following partners: Center for Reproductive Health of Gadjah Mada University, Rutgers Netherlands, Rutgers WPF Indonesia, Johns Hopkins Bloomberg School of Public Health, PKBI Central Java Province, PKBI Bali Province, PKBI Lampung Province, and Karolinska Institute.

Executive Summary

The period of adolescence (aged 10 to 19) is one of the most critical periods of human development as health and wellbeing at this age have lifelong consequences for health trajectories in later life. However, despite a growing interest in adolescent health and development over the last 20 years, the primary focus has been on those aged 15 to 24, with little attention given to younger ages. Explore4Action (E4A) is a four-year program aiming to fill this gap by investigating the factors that influence adolescents to make a positive and healthy transition from childhood to adulthood, and if and how comprehensive sexuality education can support this process.

E4A includes three research tracks: (i) the Indonesian arm of the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS), a longitudinal quantitative study investigating how gender norms develop in early adolescence around the world and how these impact health and wellbeing; (ii) two phases of Youth Voices Research, a qualitative study to provide deeper insight to the GEAS results; and (iii) implementation research to evidence what is needed for successful implementation and the scale-up of comprehensive sexuality education. The research is supported by an advocacy track to make the case for better health education and services for young people across Indonesia.

The baseline measurement of the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS) provided insights on a number of key issues currently faced by young people in Indonesia, including experiences of violence, mental health and future aspirations. We saw clear gendered differences in several outcomes, suggesting that gender norms disadvantage both boys and girls in different ways. Through this Youth Voices Research (YVR) we sought deeper insights into the finding of the GEAS baseline, understanding in more detail how norms and values related to gender, sexuality, power and violence impact on young people's lives and future aspirations.

Methodology

Data were collected in the same three sites as the Global Early Adolescent Study: Bandar Lampung in Lampung, Semarang in Central Java, and Denpasar in Bali. Aiming to validate and explore key GEAS baseline data in more depth, we spoke to 54 adolescent respondents (aged 12 to 13) who had responded to the GEAS baseline and 74 of their parents. Data were collected through 18 classroom discussions with adolescents, 44 focus group discussions (FGDs) with adolescents, and 8 FGDs with parents. Employing a participatory youth approach, young people acted as co-researchers, allowing more of an insider perspective and encouraging young informants to talk more freely.

Key findings and implications

1. Deeply embedded gender norms disadvantage both boys and girls in different ways

The GEAS baseline found gendered differences in parental expectations for their children's education, work and marriage. For example, 92.0% of girls said their parents expected them to complete university, compared with only 77.5% of boys. We also saw gendered differences in decision-making autonomy and freedom of voice, where girls scored higher than boys, and freedom of movement where boys scored higher than girls. The Youth Voices Research provided contextual information to explain these differences. The study demonstrated deeply embedded patriarchal gender norms across all three sites, and that by age 12 to 13, expectations and assumptions related to these norms have far-reaching consequences for both boys and girls, albeit in different ways.

At age 12 to 13, boys' aspirations for education are limited as they are expected to enter work as soon as possible to become providers for their families. This impacts their engagement in education and how seriously they are taken in class by teachers. Boys are expected to be tough and encouraged not to cry when they are facing mental distress. Girls' future roles as wives, mothers and homemakers are assumed by both adolescents and parents. Girls have higher aspirations for education – in order to prepare them for marriage – but lower aspirations for work, as after marriage work will be secondary to fulfilling their duties at home. Girls have more decision-making freedom than boys as they are seen – by themselves and by their parents - as more mature and more able to make informed decisions compared to boys. However, girls avoid expressing feelings of admiration for boys as it is seen as inappropriate, as boys should take the initiative. Furthermore, while both girls and boys are restricted in movement to protect them from violence, crime, bad relationships, drugs and premature sexual activity, girls are more restricted than boys. Both boys and girls expressed clear gendered ideals of physical appearances and reported a lack of self-confidence because of their body image, which they saw as not living up to standards

Implication: Need for programming to address harmful gender norms from an early age, at multiple levels

The need to address harmful gender norms and gender inequality has been raised by many scholars and organizations and is recognized in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) #5 on gender equality. Achieving SDG5 is also vital to achieving the other SDGs. We echo the need for interventions that focus on addressing harmful gender norms via both individual-level attitudes as well as community and institutionalized norms. The data from the GEAS and this Youth Voices Research illustrate that gender inequality harms both boys and girls from a young age in distinct but equally profound manners, and that starting to address this at age 15 or later, as many programs do, is too late. Comprehensive sexuality education is one kind of intervention that can help to address harmful gender norms.

2. Taboos around sexuality lead to low sexual and reproductive health knowledge, putting adolescents at risk of abuse and low self-confidence

In line with the GEAS baseline findings, the YVR showed that parents and adolescents avoid conversations about puberty and sexuality as they are deemed taboo, unimportant or difficult to talk about. These findings help to explain the low levels of SRH knowledge demonstrated in the GEAS. Such low knowledge can put young people at risk as they have less understanding of their own bodies and boundaries and may not understand what is happening to them. Taboos around sexuality can also contribute to negative feelings about their developing bodies and emerging sexual and romantic feelings.

Implication: Comprehensive sexuality education can improve knowledge and understanding and help protect adolescents

Comprehensive sexuality education can provide accurate information to help adolescents to better understand their bodies and boundaries. As sex and sexuality are demystified, stigma can be reduced and young people can feel more comfortable with themselves and their developing bodies, improving mental health and self-esteem. This improved understanding can also help to reduce young people's risk of abuse.

3. Bullying at school is common - perpetrators include peers and teachers - and (some) parents support use of violence at home

One of the most striking findings from the GEAS baseline was the level of bullying, violence and harassment which many adolescents have experienced. The baseline showed that 17.1% of students have felt unsafe or threatened at school in the past year, with boys more likely to report this than girls. Respondents reported these threats as coming from peers (76.6%), teachers or other adults (16.4%), and other sources (24.1%).

The YVR has provided depth to these findings, showing how school bullying is common and often linked to gendered expectations on appearance and behavior. Bullying via social media is also common, perpetrated most commonly by peers but also by strangers. We found that teacher bullying is common and that this has an impact on young people's mental health and discourages boys from speaking up in class. We know from other research that teachers see the need to address bulling, but that they find it very challenging to do so.

The YVR also indicated that some parents support violence at home, and that adolescents feel they have little power to combat experiences of violence at home. Alcohol was cited as a main trigger for violence. This is particularly worrying as we know that experience of violence in childhood can increase the risk of later experiences of violence, both as perpetrator and victim. Findings on experiences of violence in school and at home seem linked to broader (and not always negative) norms of strict respect to elders and children having little power and agency in relation to adults.

Implication: Need for interventions to reduce bullying, improve non-violent conflict resolution and to critically assess norms relating to violence and adult-child power dynamics

All the schools involved in E4A have a child-friendly school policy, but it is clear that this policy alone is insufficient to create a safe school environment. There is a need for interventions that improve skills for non-violent conflict resolution, targeting both adolescents and teachers and ideally the wider community, including parents. These interventions can also foster critical thinking among teachers and parents on norms relating to child-adult power dynamics, the acceptability of different forms of violence, and possible consequences for later life.

Recommendations

The implications of these overarching findings all point to recommendations for interventions targeted at adolescents, teachers, parents and the wider community which address harmful norms and taboos relating to gender, sexuality, power and violence. The following sets out recommendations on how increased access to comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) from a young age can help to mitigate the challenges and problems identified in this research.

1. Comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) should be available to all adolescents in Indonesia from a young age.

Using a rights-based and gender transformative approach, comprehensive sexuality education seeks to equip young people with the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values they need to determine and enjoy their sexuality, physically and emotionally, individually and in relationships. "Sexuality" is approached holistically and within the context of emotional and social development, incorporating not only sexual and reproductive health but also gender, relationships, diversity, violence and rights. CSE can contribute directly to addressing the three findings above related to low SRH knowledge arising from taboos around sexuality, the impact of harmful gender norms, and violence in schools and at home.

- CSE can **provide vital SRH knowledge**, which can reduce misinformation, shame and anxiety, leading to improved self-confidence, body comfort and mental health (Boonstra 2011; UNFPA, 2015). Increased knowledge and understanding can improve young people's abilities to make safe and informed choices about their sexual and reproductive health which in turn can help to reduce the risk of abuse and violence.

- Through a gender transformative approach, CSE **can build skills to critically reflect on unhealthy, rigid and harmful gender norms** and their implications and the development of redefined healthy, inclusive and positive norms This approach promotes more gender-equal attitudes and more equality in relationships, which can positively impact on the reduction of SGBV as well as the promotion of contraception use. This positive impact can especially be achieved if combined with interventions in the broader community a part of a multi-component services approach.

- CSE provides tools and opportunities to **reduce bullying, improve non-violent conflict resolution and to critically assess norms relating to violence and adult-child power dynamics.** Exploring different types of violence and the norms and dynamics (in particular related to gender and power) underlying them, understanding what is acceptable, prevention and where to seek help is a critical part of CSE. The YVR indicated that peer bullying often happens online. CSE can also provide skills in media literacy enabling young people to critically assess images and interactions they encounter online, including bullying and adult or pornographic material.

2. CSE should be implemented as part of a whole-school approach and include interventions for parents

The Youth Voices Research demonstrated that social norms and taboos relating to gender, sexuality, power and violence have wide-reaching impacts on both boys and girls. These derive from the wider community, and will not be addressed by CSE alone, which focuses on adolescents' individual wellbeing and development in relation to sexuality. It is therefore vital for CSE to be implemented as part of a wider whole-school approach. The Whole School Approach (WSA) 1 is an implementation model for sustainable and scalable CSE. Through a participatory approach, teachers, students, parents and other relevant school stakeholders are involved in embedding sexuality education into the school structure. Support of the wider management helps teachers to overcome the stigma of teaching sensitive topics using less "traditional" methods. The WSA also focuses on creating safe environments in the wider school, for example taking a whole-school approach to tackling bullying.

The addition of interventions for parents also has the potential to address more deeply and comprehensively the issues raised in this report, including lack of communication on SRH topics, harmful gender norms and support for violence in the home. Like CSE for adolescents, interventions for parents can take similarly rights-based, gender transformative approaches and provide opportunities to critically assess harmful gender norms, provide alternatives for violent or aggressive behavior, and create a safe space for parents to discuss sexual and reproductive health with their children.

[1] For more information see: https://www.rutgers.international/what-we-do/comprehensive-sexuality-education/whole-school-approach-sexuality-education-step-step

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We are very grateful to all the researchers who gave their best efforts in collecting stories from the students: we have dedicated the appendix of this report to their profiles and stories. Thanks also to Fuji Riang Prastowo who coordinated the data collection and undertook initial analysis of the data.

This research would not have been a success without the support of local stakeholders, school headteachers and teachers who allowed us to collect the data and eagerly participated in all steps of data collection and dissemination.

Finally, our highest appreciation goes to all the adolescents and their parents who shared their stories so generously with us.

Explore4Action Team

Preface from Director of UGM Center for Reproductive Health

Explore4Action (E4A) is a research initiative that aims to understand the gender socialization process and the factors that influence this process in the early period of adolescence (age 10 to14). It is also part of the evaluation of the effectiveness of the Spirit of Youth (SETARA) intervention program. This study explores transformative effects of the provision of comprehensive reproductive health and sexual education. E4A consists of three different research approaches: the quantitative research is the Indonesian arm of the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS) (see www.geastudy.org for more information); the qualitative research is the Youth Voices Research (YVR), which consists of two phases, phase I with 18-24 year olds, and phase II (which this report covers) focusing on 12-13 year olds; and finally, Implementation Research. In combination, these three research tracks aim to inform comprehensive understanding of early adolescent health and wellbeing and the best interventions to improve the outcomes. In this report we present the finding from YVR Phase II (YVRII).

The SETARA curriculum is a two-year comprehensive sexuality education intervention for standards 7 and 8 in junior high school. In order to evaluate the curriculum, the GEAS Indonesia is gathering data from students taking part in SETARA longitudinally from 2018 to 2021. This study aims to gather qualitative evidence to complement the GEAS baseline (gathered in 2018) and support the interpretation of GEAS baseline findings. Hence, data was collected from six schools in three cities in Indonesia (Bandar Lampung, Denpasar and Semarang) that are implementing SETARA and took part in the GEAS.

YVR Phase II collected information about how gender norms influence parental expectations related to their children's education and marriage, as well as parent-

child connectedness. Moreover, we also assessed how adolescents' voice, mental health, experience of bullying and violence differed by gender. Using this information, we expect to formulate recommendations for adolescent reproductive health services and interventions that support adolescents and young people in their healthy and safe transition into adulthood, and that are contextually appropriate and relevant.

YVR Phase II is undertaken in collaboration with Rutgers WPF, the Center for Reproductive Health, Faculty of Medicine, Public Health and Nursing, Gadjah Mada University (UGM), and the Indonesian Family Planning Association (PKBI). Financial support is provided by the Bill & Melinda Gates Foundation through a grant to Rutgers Netherlands.

On this occasion the writing team would like to express their deepest gratitude and appreciation to all the research participants; the schools; and stakeholders and government at the central and regional levels who have allowed and supported us to collect the data in the field and provided valuable input during the process of disseminating research results. Furthermore, we are also very grateful to the team of assistant researchers (coordinators and young researchers) in each site for their participation and cooperation during this research, ensuring that it ran smoothly. We must also thank Miranda van Reeuwijk, Anna Page, Wina Baeha, Nur Jannah, Amala Rahmah, Puput Susanto, Wina Baeha and Anna Kagesten for their continuous assistance and support during this study implementation.

It is our hope that this report will provide the greatest benefit to all stakeholders involved to support and help youth in Indonesia and the world to realize a better future through improving health and well-being in the early period of their development.

Professor dr. Siswanto Agus Wilopo, SU., M.Sc., Sc.D
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Gadjah Mada University

Preface from Director of Explore4Action

We are excited to present the results of this Youth Voices Research Phase II. Under the Explore4Action program we are using the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS) quantitative survey to evaluate SETARA, and to measure a range of health and well-being outcomes of more than 4,000 adolescent boys and girls in three sites in Indonesia: Bandar Lampung (Sumatra), Denpasar (Bali) and Semarang (Central Java).

From the GEAS baseline, completed in 2018 (UGM Centre for Reproductive Health, 2019, Wilopo et al. 2019), we learned that in early adolescence, many boys and girls already face substantial adversity while growing up: many suffered from bullying, violence and depressive symptoms. More boys seemed to suffer these emotional disadvantages than girls. Connectedness with parents seemed quite low, and parents seemed to have higher educational expectations for girls than for boys.

The baseline findings gave rise to many questions: Why is this so? How should we understand these findings? We set out to explore these questions in the second part of the Youth Voices Research. We worked with young co-researchers – who were trained and involved in the Youth Voices Research Phase 1 (which focused on young people aged 18 to 24) and the GEAS – to create an enabling environment for adolescents to speak about their experiences, and to help us understand the context and youth cultures so central to interpretation. The young co-researchers were coached and supported by professional researchers and together they interviewed adolescents, parents and teachers to get a better understanding of the lived realities of the adolescents we are studying.

This report validates key findings from the GEAS. It emphasizes the pressures that adolescents experience, from school, their parents, and their peers. Both GEAS and the Youth Voices Research

indicate that it is difficult for adolescents to turn to their parents or teachers with their problems, especially if problems or questions relate to sexuality. They do not get sufficient guidance to develop the skills needed to deal with these pressures, be they violence, bullying, or gendered expectations. Harmful gender norms are at the crux of many of the problems that adolescents are facing. There is a real need for interventions that address these harmful norms, both at the structural level (among parents and teachers and wider society), as well as among adolescents themselves.

Comprehensive sexuality education can help to build skills and knowledge that strengthen adolescents' healthy, positive development, including the development of their sexuality. CSE can improve critical awareness of harmful gender norms and lead to more equitable gender attitudes among adolescents. CSE is particularly effective if it is part of a larger program that works with a whole-school approach, with parents and with communities to address harmful norms, and if it links to youth-friendly sexual and reproductive health services. Findings from this Youth Voices Research will contribute to informing program improvements and collaboration with schools and governments to address structural barriers to adolescent sexual health and well-being.

Miranda van Reeuwijk, PhD
Director of Explore4Action Program
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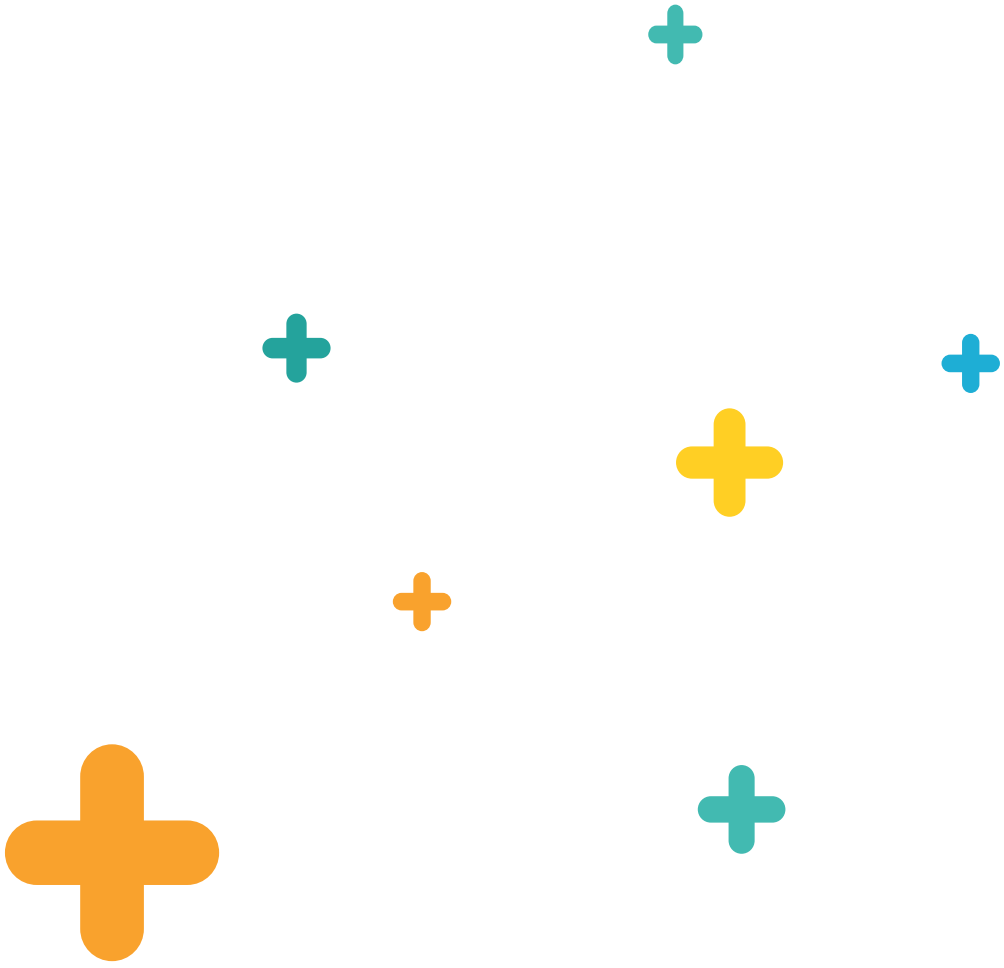

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List of Abbreviations

ACEs	Adverse Childhood Experiences
BK	*Bimbingan Konseling* (Counselling)
CSE	Comprehensive Sexuality Education
E4A	Explore for Action
FGD	Focus Group Discussions
FKKMK	*Fakultas Kedokteran, Kesehatan Masyarakat dan Keperawatan* (Faculty of Medicine, Public Health and Nursing)
GEAS	Global Early Adolescent Study
PI	Principal Investigator
PKBI	*Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia* (Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association)
PMS	Pre-Menstrual Syndrome
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SETARA	Semangat Dunia Remaja (The Spirit of Adolescents' World)
SGBV	Sexual and Gender Based Violence
SMK	*Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan* (Vocational High School)
SRHR	Sexual & Reproductive Health
UGM	Universitas Gadjah Mada (Gadjah Mada University)
WSA	Whole School Approach
YVR	Youth Voices Research

CHAPTER I

Youth Voices Research (YVR) Phase II

1.1 Background

In the Asia Pacific region, young people aged 10 to 24 years already account for more than a quarter of the population (UN, 2019). In Indonesia, National Census Bureau predicted that by 2020 there would be 67.7 million young people aged 10 to 24 years, which is 25% of the total population (BPS, 2013). If one in four Indonesians is in this age group, the health and welfare issues of this adolescents and young adults will have a significant effect on the population at large.

Young people (10 to 24 years) face many challenges through their growth and transition to adulthood. It might come from social media, urbanization, unhealthy diet, climate change and migration. The current young generation are also living in societies facing rapid social transformation, including globalization, urbanization, and increasing access to mass communication. This changing social environment complicates development and affects the social norms which in turn shape behaviors. In many countries of the world, especially low and middle-income countries, social stability has been constant for millennia; children grew up knowing exactly what their roles would be as wage earners and parents. But today's social change creates both new opportunities and uncertainties. Today's social contexts and support will determine the potential of young people (10 to 24 years) to realize the new aspirations to which they are exposed through the media and greater contact with the outside world.

Early stage (10 to 14 years) adolescents experience a dramatic transition due to their interrelated brain, cognitive, social and sexual development. Interactions between these factors will greatly determine their lifelong abilities and aspirations, as well as their current and long-term health and well-being, including their sexual and reproductive health (Blum et al., 2017, McCarthy et al., 2016). Puberty changes the physical appearance of adolescents from young children to mature adults (Blum et al., 2015). These physical changes are accompanied by the emergence of different social expectations from family, peers, school, and the surrounding environment regarding the roles and responsibilities of young adolescents (Blum et al., 2017). In addition to physical, social and emotional changes, their brain development in this period increases their cognitive ability for abstract thinking and their ability to think about the future (Sawyer et al., 2012).

During puberty, adolescents also experience increased self-autonomy, peer pressure and exploration of sexuality. These factors, combined with exposure to poverty, abuse or violence, media influence and unequal gender norms, can make adolescents vulnerable to mental health problem. WHO data suggest that half of mental health problems start at age 14, but most of them are undetected and untreated (WHO, 2019). This makes mental health problems, which account for 16%, becoming the leading cause of the global burden of disease and injury among people aged 10–19 years. Moreover, problem behaviors such as smoking, drinking, or drug abuse that arise during adolescent can cause premature death, accounting for 70%. Failure to address the consequences of adolescent mental health problems will result in enormous losses in both physical and mental health and limit their opportunities to lead fulfilling lives during adulthood.

Over the past 20 years there has been a growing interest in adolescent health and development; however, the primary focus has been on those of 15 to 24 years of age. Explore4Action (E4A) is a four-year Rutgers program aiming to address the gaps, investigating the factors that influence adolescents in making a positive and healthy transition from childhood to adulthood, and if and how reproductive health education can support this transition.

E4A includes the Indonesian arm of the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS), a longitudinal quantitative study investigating how gender norms develop in early adolescence around the world and how these impact health and well-being, and implementation research to establish what is needed for the successful implementation and scale-up of comprehensive sexuality education. Evidence is gathered at three sites across Indonesia: Semarang (Java), Bandar Lampung (Sumatra) and Denpasar (Bali). The research is supported by an advocacy track to make the case for better health education and services for young people across Indonesia (CRH, 2019).

Another arm of E4A is Youth Voices Research, a qualitative participatory research project which aims to complement GEAS numbers by providing more explanations and stories, exploring how messages and expectations around gender and sexuality influence adolescents' growing up process.

The YVR is a collaboration of Rutgers and UGM Center for Reproductive Health. The first phase of Youth Voices (April 2018-March 2019) focused on young people aged 18 to 24. Data was collected through 86 interviews and 24 focus group discussions which enabled us to identify the key issues related to gender and sexuality faced by young people as they make the transition to adulthood and which aspects were the most important over the whole transition period. In the same period, the first wave (baseline) of the GEAS was also completed. This collected data from more than 4,000 12 to13 year olds across the three sites.

In the second phase of Youth Voices, we collected in-depth information that helped explain the GEAS results. As we are focusing on the GEAS, the age of respondents in YVR Phase II will be the same as in the GEAS: 12 to15 years. We primarily focused on 12 to13 year olds as this was the age of GEAS baseline respondents. We aim to build on the experience of GEAS and YVR Phase 1 in the research design, including the process and methodology. In this second phase we collected information on how parental expectation, adolescent voice, parent-child connectedness, mental health, bullying and violence influence adolescent health and well-being. Moreover, we also explored how the SETARA curriculum helps adolescents to navigate those factors from adolescent and parent perspectives.

SETARA is a comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) curriculum for junior high school students (12 to14 years old) in Indonesia. SETARA aims to equip students with a comprehensive understanding of sexuality and reproductive health, as well as preparing young people to become peer educators. The SETARA curriculum was based on the World Starts with Me (WSWM) global program developed by Rutgers which follows the International Technical

Guidance on Sexuality Education (ITGSE) set by the UNESCO, adapted to the Indonesian context and for this specific age group, informed by feedback from a national workshop with teachers and students who had received the original materials and sessions.

The data collection was limited to school level in urban settings in three cities, Bandar Lampung, Denpasar and Semarang. These sites were chosen to represent different cultural, religious and globalization influences including print, electronic and social media as well as tourism and contact with non-indigenous cultures.

1.2. General characteristics of GEAS baseline data

Data from the GEAS baseline indicate that nearly nine in ten students selected for this study lived in the city where they were born. More than two-thirds (68%) of the adolescents were Muslim, almost one-third were Hindu (predominantly in Denpasar, Bali), and the rest were Christian (2%).

Eighty percent of the students reported that they had attended a religious service in the past month. Boys were more likely than girls to report that they attended religious services frequently. The percentage reported that they are very or somewhat religiously devout is also higher in boys (88%) than girls (83%).

The level of literacy is also higher in boys than girls. The majority of the main caregivers/parents had a secondary education or higher, and 62% were employed. Three quarters of adolescents' main caregivers were their mothers. Approximately 90% of adolescents lived with both parents. More than eight in ten adolescents had siblings, in most cases of both sexes. About 90% of parents indicated that they want their children to complete university education.

Fifty-eight percent of the students have more than three close friends (i.e. a friend with whom one can talk about feelings and share secrets) of the same sex, but a majority also had at least one friend of the opposite sex (70% of boys and 60% of girls). Most adolescents saw their friends once or twice a week while one-third saw their friends every day.

Most adolescents reported school attendance and studying hard were important to their friends. Perception on peer attitude toward risk-taking behaviors suggests gendered behaviors encouraging risk taking among boys. Boys are more likely to report missing school days and thinking about dropping out of school. Boys' educational aspiration to attend university is also lower than girls. Boys had higher perceptions of social cohesion but lower perceptions of social control.

1.3. Study objectives

The Youth Voices Research Phase II aimed to explore the findings of the GEAS baseline in more depth, specifically to:

1. Gather qualitative evidence to validate and understand the GEAS data and support the interpretation of GEAS baseline findings.
2. Formulate recommendations for adolescent reproductive health services and interventions that support adolescents and young people in their healthy and safe transition into adulthood, and that are contextually appropriate and relevant.

1.4. Research Questions

Youth Voices Research Phase II aimed to answer the following research questions, which specifically look at issues that came up in the GEAS baseline study.

1. Parental expectations:

How and why do parental expectations differ between boys and girls in relation to education, employment, marriage and family? How do children (boys and girls) navigate if they have different expectations from their parents'?

2. Parental connectedness:

How connected do boys and girls feel to their parents? What do they talk to them about, and what do they not talk to them about? Why?

3. Voice:

Do boys have less self-confidence, freedom to speak and to make decisions? Why? What are the contributing factors? How do boys and girls respond to this issue from their perspective?

4. Bullying and violence:

How and why do boys and girls experience bullying, violence and adverse experiences? Who bullies who, and why? How do they cope with this?

5. Mental health:

Why do boys and girls feel worried, unhappy or sad? How do boys and girls experience these differently? What pressures are boys and girls under? How do they cope with these?

CHAPTER II

Methodology

2.1 Governance

The Youth Voices Research Phase II was carried out by the Center for Reproductive Health (CRH), Faculty of Medicine, Public Health and Nursing, Gadjah Mada University (FKKMK UGM), with technical support from Rutgers Netherlands and Rutgers WPF Indonesia. This study has been approved by the Ethics Committee of FKKMK UGM and received approval from the relevant national and local authorities. Local interviewers were trained, supported, and monitored by the CRH. Coaching, data quality checking, management, and analysis was conducted in collaboration between the CRH and Rutgers.

Figure 1.The organizational structure of YVR Phase II.

2.2 Research Design

This qualitative study was conducted in three sites; Bandar Lampung in Sumatra, Semarang in Central Java, and Denpasar, Bali.

Youth Voices Research Phase II aimed to gather qualitative data to complement and provide insights on quantitative data gathered through the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS) baseline. Data was therefore gathered in the same three sites as the GEAS baseline study: Denpasar, Bandar Lampung and Semarang. In each site, data were gathered in three schools which were "intervention schools" within the GEAS baseline. Intervention schools are those which receive SETARA comprehensive sexuality education, see further details below.

Data were gathered through classroom discussions, followed by focus group discussions (FGD) with adolescents — female and male students separately and with groups of parents.

All qualitative data gathered from classroom discussions and FGDs have been analyzed in developing this final report.

The Intervention

SETARA is a comprehensive sexuality education curriculum for junior high school students (12 to14 years old) in Indonesia. SETARA aims to equip students with a comprehensive understanding of sexuality and reproductive health, as well as preparing young people to become peer educators. The SETARA curriculum was based on the World Starts with Me (WSWM) global program developed by Rutgers which follows the International Technical Guidance on Sexuality Education (ITGSE) set by the UNESCO, adapted to the Indonesian context and the specific age group, informed by feedback from a national workshop with teachers and students who had received the original materials and sessions.

SETARA consists of two sets of guidelines, one for the teachers and another for students. SETARA is taught in two stages, in the 7th and 8th grade, covering 15 topics in each stage: self-identity, emotional and physical changes during puberty, healthy and responsible relationships, gender, individual human rights, sexuality and love, pregnancy, sexually transmitted infections, HIV/AIDS, substance abuse, healthy and non-violent romantic/dating relationship, planning for the future, and peer education. SETARA is implemented in collaboration with Perkumpulan Keluarga Berencana Indonesia (PKBI, The Indonesian Planned Parenthood Association) and involving the local government for permission and support.

Rutgers Indonesia conducted the national master training for educators to prepare and deliver SETARA. Rutgers Indonesia established the guideline on teacher characteristics deemed optimal for delivering SETARA. Local chapters of PKBI organized the training of teachers from the intervention schools, the teacher's workshop to develop teaching plans and for microteaching1. Rutgers Indonesia developed the monitoring and evaluation (M&E) tools for SETARA implementation; the M&E data collection is organized by the local chapters of PKBI.

In the intervention schools in Semarang and Bandar Lampung, SETARA is delivered during the dedicated "guidance and counseling" (Bimbingan dan Konseling (BK)) instructional time by the BK teacher. But intervention schools in Denpasar decided to insert SETARA sessions into biology or civic studies classes. Regardless of the delivery channel, the intervention schools all deliver 15 sessions and common topics.

[1] Microteaching is teacher training that facilitates development of technique and provides constructive feedback from peers and/or students about what has worked and what improvements can be made to their teaching technique.

2.3 Sampling

The Youth Voices Research (YVR) focused on the same three sites as the other research streams in Explore4Action: Bandar Lampung (Sumatra), Semarang (Central Java) and Denpasar (Bali). The three sites were selected as areas where the SETARA curriculum is implemented, where Rutgers WPF Indonesia has strong links with the local chapter of PKBI, as three contrasting areas in terms of cultural-religious influences (more conservative Islam in Sumatra compared to Java, and a more open Hindu culture in Bali), and for the varying influence of globalization (modern media, online communities, access to entertainment, tourism) in these three regions. Further details about each of the sites is provided in the GEAS baseline report (Wilopo et al. 2019).

Figure 2. The location of study sites (Indonesia map)

The Youth Voices Research Phase II aims to provide validation and interpretation of the results of the GEAS baseline study, unearthing the qualitative stories behind the quantitative figures. We therefore elected to gather data from adolescents who had taken part in the GEAS baseline and their parents. The GEAS baseline gathered data from three "intervention schools" delivering SETARA, and three "control schools" which did not offer SETARA. YVR2 gathered data only from intervention schools, totaling three schools in each area, nine in total. In these schools, 7th graders in two selected classes had been invited to take part in the GEAS baseline. The selection process was based on the counseling teachers' recommendations and students' time availability (school schedule).

For YVR2, we obtained informed consent from parents or guardians of all 7th graders in the selected classes for their and their child's participation in YVR2. Teachers helped to facilitate the research team, explaining the study and the consent information to the students. During these sessions, consent forms for the parents were also distributed. Students were given time to discuss it with their parent(s) and collect their consent. Completed consent forms were to be returned to the teacher in the next few days. The teacher and research team provided a phone number and information through a parents' WhatsApp group (managed by teacher) should they need further information about the study. A total of more than 300 students participated in the classroom discussions. From those, we selected 54 students to participate in FGDs. The counseling teacher also helped the research team to connect with 72 parents and recruit them to participate in FGDs.

2.4 Data Collection and Processing

2.4.1 Participatory youth research

The Youth Voices Research places the experiences of young people at its center by involving young people as co-researchers. The key motivation for working with young co-researchers is that young informants can talk more freely about personal and sensitive issues with other young people who they can identify with, as compared to adult researchers. Young co-researchers have, to a certain degree, more of an insider perspective compared to adults, and use language and methods that more closely fit the knowledge, understanding and interest of other young people. This helps to create space for children and youth to express themselves more freely and honestly (Rutgers & IPPF 2013; Burke et al. 2018). Six young people were trained and engaged as co-researchers (two per site), with an adult professional researcher (site coordinator) to support, train and coach them and check data quality.

2.4.2 Data Collection

Technical planning meeting

In each school the research teams held a technical planning meeting before the start of data collection. This meeting was attended by the school principal, teachers and representatives from the school committee (parents, community:

a. MGain buy-in from the school for YVR2 in order to minimize rejection.
b. Ensure the school understands the steps of YVR Phase II including how teachers, students and parents would be involved.
c. Confirm logistical and technical arrangements for data collection; agreement on timelines.
d. Explain what would be asked in data collection (not a full review of instruments sentence-by-sentence, but explain topics), inviting feedback and advice, e.g. on framing in acceptable way.
e. Ask the school committee for help in recruiting parents for parent FGDs.
f. Share GEAS findings and collect data (data collection) from classroom discussions.

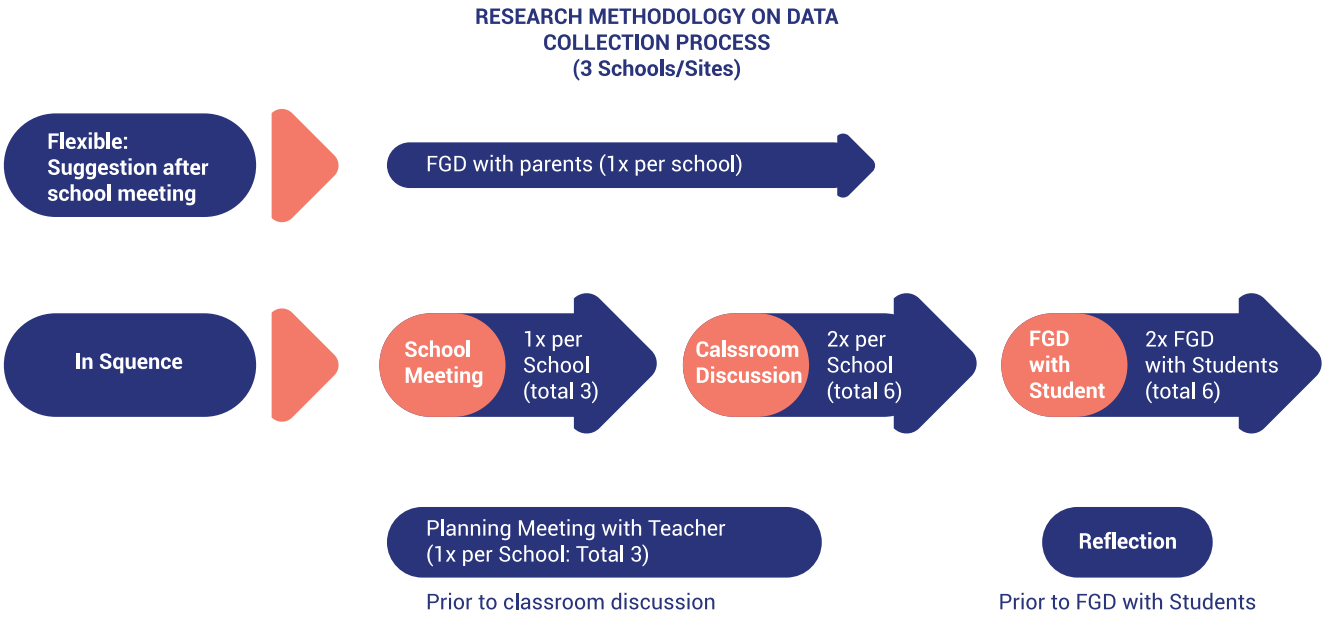

Figure 3.The Research Design of YVR Phase

Classroom discussions with SETARA classes (two per school).

Researchers attended SETARA lessons with pupils who responded to GEAS to hold a class discussion about the GEAS findings. The YVR Phase II discussion replaced a SETARA class: the research team used the whole 45 minutes for their session. Research teams worked with schools to establish which classes they may be able to join. The three sessions each focused on different topics, as outlined in the research instrument. UGM/Rutgers provided PowerPoint slides/handouts with GEAS findings on which to base discussions.

Focus group discussions with pupils (two per school, five/six pupils per FGD)

From each classroom discussion research teams selected five or six pupils who would be invited for a follow-up FGD to further explore issues from the classroom discussion. Each FGD included five or six pupils. They could be single sex or mixed. FGDs could be during the school day or after school. It was up to the research teams to find what worked in their site. The exact questions and methods used in each FGD depended on the outcomes of the classroom discussion.

After conducting a classroom discussion, the site coordinator led the team to reflect on the data collection process in the form of key findings and their relation to GEAS data. Reflections were written by the site coordinator into the logbook and field notes in the Google drive. The reflection process was carried out with the Study Manager and Qualitative Researcher to discuss findings during the classroom discussion and the process of selecting students who would conduct FGDs, based on certain criteria determined by the team. Student FGDs were conducted in single-sex groups, to provide a comfortable space for students to tell their stories.

Parents' focus group discussions (one per school, six to eight parents)

Parents' FGDs were conducted for those who participated in GEAS Wave 1. Research teams asked the school to help find a group of parents whose children took part in GEAS who would be willing to participate in a small group discussion. This could be in the evening or at the weekend to accommodate working parents.

Table 1. Youth Voices Research Phase II informants.

Respondent group	Method				Respondents		
	Method	Per school	Per site (3 schools)	Total (3 sites)	Per Method	Per site (3 schools)	Total (3 sites)
SETARA Classes	Classroom discussion	2	6	18	±35	±105	±315
Pupils	FGD	2	6	18	6	18	54
Parents	FGD	1	3	9	8	24	72

2.4.3 Safeguarding

Youth Voices Research Phase II aimed to explore some sensitive areas including experiences of bullying, violence, abuse and mental health. Under Explore 4 Action (E4A), YVR Phase II was committed to provide a safe environment for young people to fully participate in this study. This commitment is stated in E4A Child Protection policy (Rutgers WPF, 2018), which includes a code of conduct for the research team, reporting system, person in charge, and referral and support system for victims. Together with local PKBI organizations, UGM provided a reporting and support system for respondents who disclosed safeguarding concerns during data collection. The policy protected not only children and young people as our respondents but also all research members, including young researchers. The PI received human research ethics certification from John Hopkins University and trained the research team on the subject. The five days training covered the study, human research ethics, child protection policy and referral system, research methodology and how to conduct interviews in a safe manner.

2.4.4 Data management

UGM managed the transcription of all data collections. There were 52 transcripts in total, consisting of 44 transcripts of FDG with students/ adolescents, and 8 transcripts of FGD with parents.

All transcripts were anonymized and all identifying data removed. After interview, the site coordinator sent records to the transcript coordinator. The transcript coordinator accepted the transcript and changed the original name on the record for initials. The transcript coordinator sent records to the transcriber, ensuring that there were no real names in the documents. The transcript coordinator sent the transcript results to the qualitative researcher via email. The qualitative researcher confirmed the quality of the transcription to the site coordinator. After the quality of the transcript was confirmed to be good, the transcript coordinator provided the results of the transcript to the qualitative researcher for coding.

Data storage and sharing

All electronic data were stored on password protected laptops. Hard data (paper notes, etc.) were be stored. Confidential documents that captured the real names of informants were not stored on public Google drives to protect data.

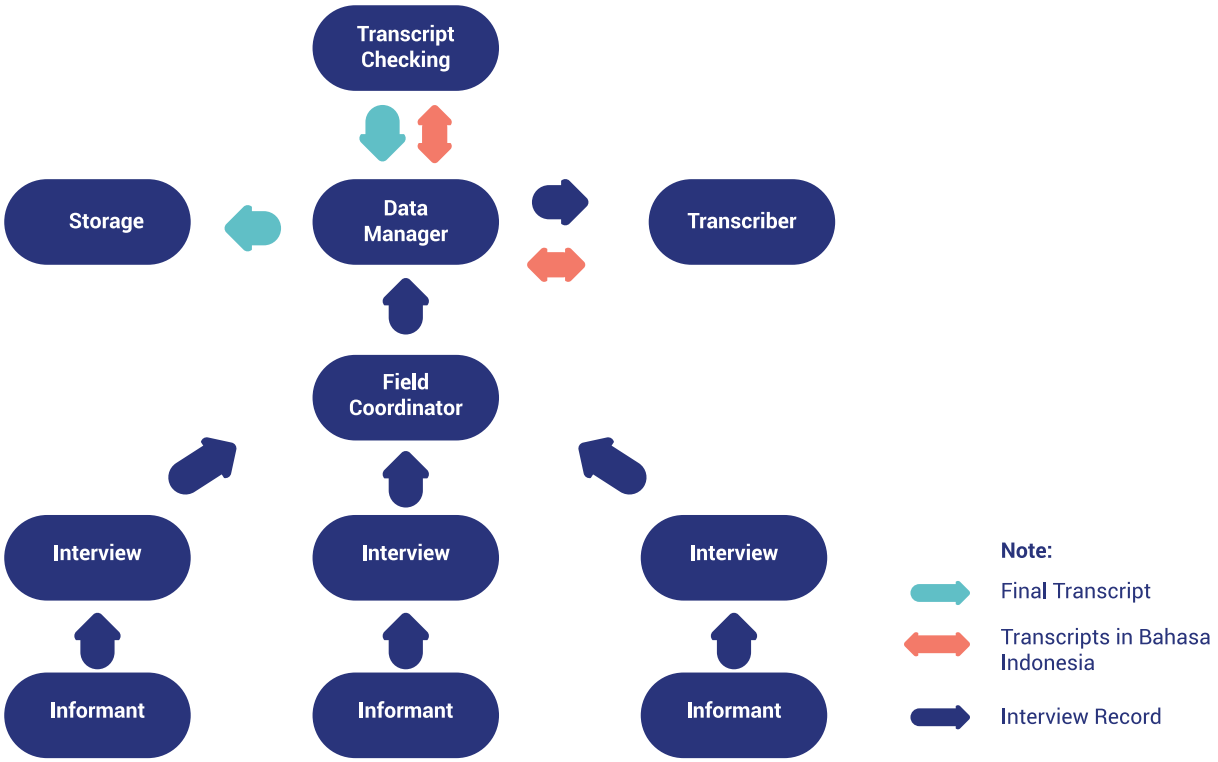

Figure 4. Data management flow of Youth Voices Research Phase II

2.4.5 Analysis

The stages of data analysis for this report followed the principles of qualitative data analysis (Miles; Huberman, 1994; Miles, Hubberman, Saldana, 2014):

1. **Develop the coding sheet (list of keywords and relevant concept) based on five research questions.**

Table 2. Research questions of Youth Voices Research Phase II

No	Research question	Key/relevant concepts
1	**Parental expectations**	Parents' expectations regarding their children's education, job/occupation, marriage; youth strategy towards parental expectation
2	**Parental connectedness**	Youth-parent relationship and communication on gender role and expectation, courtship, puberty and sexuality, digital gadgets and social media, and youth-parent strategy on this issue
3	**Voice**	Youth confidence, expression, and decision making on their body image, puberty, and courtship
4	**Bullying and violence**	Youth stories and experiences on bullying, violence, and assaults in school, home/neighborhoods, social media and their strategy to respond it
5	**Mental health**	Youth source of happiness and sadness, and their strategy for mental health

2. **Code the transcript using NVivo 12 Plus**

   Data analysts read each transcript thoroughly to search and identify key/relevant concepts and entry the coded data into NVivo 12 Plus.

3. **Develop thematic matrix of findings**

   The coded data were categorized based on five themes which derived from five research question: 1) Parental expectation; 2) Voice; 3) Mental health; 4) Parental connectedness; 5) Bullying and violence.

2.4.6 Report writing

The process of analysis was carried out by qualitative research specialists. An initial round of analysis was carried out by Fuji Riang Prastowo. Issac Tri and Erna Herawati then elaborated inputs from UGM and the Rutgers team ensuring the correlation of qualitative findings with the GEAS data in order to meet with the key research objectives.

An outline report was developed based on the discussion with the principal investigator/the director and the research manager of UGM team. Sections and sub-sections in the results and analysis were organized based on the findings to answer research questions and study objectives. The structure was developed based on the flow of comprehensive explanation regarding themes corelated to contextual factors, parental expectations, parental connectedness, and adolescents' voice, as for the first part of the chapter, followed by bullying and mental health as a closing section, which is slightly different from the structure of the research questions.

The previous draft of data findings by the qualitative researcher and the constructive advice/notes from Rutgers were considered in developing a more comprehensive and concise report. The quality of the report has been checked by UGM and Rutgers to get input on improvements to ensure quality in answering the research questions and objectives of the study.

2.5 Study Limitations and Reflections

There is variety in the transcript quality yielded from focus group discussions and classroom discussions at the three sites of this study. This variety is due to:

1. Skill variety of the researchers in moderating and probing the discussion, and variety in preference for research topics. Some discussions are long and rich in data while others are short and thin. For example, transcripts from FGDs with adolescents in Bandar Lampung are rich in data about bullying and violence among girls in school and home, while similar data do not appear much in the other two sites.
2. Variation could be due to differences in the characteristics of adolescents in each region or differences in the quality of primary data obtained. Variety in quality might be different due to some researchers investigating one topic more than another, or some being very good at probing while others asked more leading questions.
3. The demographic and socio-cultural-religious background of each site affects informants (parents and adolescents) views and opinions on topics in this study. In Bandar Lampung and Semarang, adolescents tended to relate their opinions to the religious (Islam) and cultural norms of the Javanese; while in Denpasar they related to Hindu and Balinese norms. Adolescents in Denpasar were more open on the discussion about gender and sexuality, compared to their peers in Bandar Lampung and Semarang.

Furthermore, the research teams found it challenging in their data collection, analysis and reporting to find a good balance between relevant details and nuance and keeping focus on answering the research questions. Working across different sites and across different cultures and languages posed challenges to this process

CHAPTER III

Results

Youth Voices Research: Exploring GEAS Data in More Depth

The Youth Voices Research Phase II aims to explore the findings of the GEAS baseline in more depth. (See section 1.2 for a summary of GEAS findings). Five domains were selected, as indicated in the research questions:

1. **Parental expectations**

   How and why do parental expectations differ between boys and girls in relation to education, employment, marriage and family? How do children (boys and girls) navigate if they have different expectations from their parents'?

2. **Parental connectedness**

   How connected do boys and girls feel to their parents? What do they talk to them about and what do they not talk to them about? Why?

3. **Voice**

   Do boys have less self-confidence, freedom to speak and to make decisions? Why? What are the contributing factors? How do boys and girls respond to this issue from their perspective?

4. **Bullying and violence**

   How and why do boys and girls experience bullying, violence and adverse experiences? Who bullies who and why? How do they cope with this?

5. **Mental health**

   Why do boys and girls feel worried, unhappy or sad? How do boys and girls experience these differently? What pressures are boys and girls under? How do they cope with these?

The following chapter sets out the results of data analysis, in response to each of these key research questions. Findings are presented in five sections, corresponding to each of the research questions. Findings are presented alongside findings from the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS) baseline results in order to provide more depth and explanations of the GEAS results.

3.1 Parental Expectations: Parents' Aspirations for Adolescents in relation to Education, Occupation and Marriage

The GEAS baseline found gendered differences in parental expectations for their children's education, work and marriage. For example, 92.0% of girls said their parents expect them to complete university, compared with only 77.5% of boys. Through the Youth Voices Research, we sought to understand these gendered differences and answer the following research questions:

- *How and why do parental expectations differ between boys and girls in relation to education, employment, marriage and family?*
- *How do children (boys and girls) navigate having different expectations from their parents'?*

Snapshot findings

Education

- Parents say they have the same aspirations for girls and boys: to continue to higher education in order to improve employment prospects, to be financially independent and to have a better life in the future
- However, underlying gendered aspirations encourage boys to complete education sooner, so they can start work and become family breadwinners
- Boys are seen as less mature and less serious about their education, while girls are seen as having fewer extracurricular activities so more time for studying

Occupation

- Boys are seen as future family leaders and breadwinners, so are expected to find work sooner; this pressure is exacerbated in cultures of patrilineal inheritance
- Women's main role is to take care of their husbands, children and households and they are not expected to work after marriage
- Increasingly, women want to work to avoid financial dependency on their husbands, however women's income is viewed only as supplementary to their main duties at home

Marriage

- Parents expect both boys and girls to get married after finishing education and getting jobs
- Boys are expected to be financially stable before marriage
- A girl is expected to work before marriage, but when she gets married her main role is to be mother and home keeper; any income is supplementary to her husband's
- There is evidence of increased focus on equal rights for women, but these do not supplant traditional gender roles
- Parents see themselves as having a role in guiding their children to choose the best spouse

Dealing with conflicting expectations

- In cases of conflicting expectations with parents, most adolescents choose to be quiet and not directly oppose their parents' will, but some will try to negotiate by communicating their needs or desires

3.1.1 Parental expectations regarding education

Parents say they have the same aspirations for girls and boys. Parents want both boys and girls to continue to higher education in order to improve employment prospects, to be financially independent and to have a better life in the future.

The GEAS baseline study found that both boys and girls have strong ambitions to complete higher education: 83.6% of all respondents expect to complete a graduate degree at university. However, more girls than boys expect to complete higher education (90.8% girls v 75.5% boys), and 92.0% of girls say their parents expect them to complete university, compared with 77.5% of boys. In this subsection we present findings from the Youth Voices Research which give some background to these GEAS findings and illustrate how and why parental expectations differ between boys and girls in relation to education.

Strikingly, in the Youth Voices Research, parents consistently said that their expectations of their children's education level did not vary between boys and girls, who were both expected to continue to higher education, either to universities or occupational academies.

> *"I think the same. My parents, and my parents-in-law never distinguish between boys and girls. We just want our children to be better than us. I would never differentiate my children (in terms of higher education)."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar, Bali)

Higher education is preferred for both boys and girls as it is seen as a way to make it easier to get a "proper" job and therefore to have a better life for their own families in the future, to be economically independent and not burden the parents.

> *"My father has high education and he insists that on his daughters; the four of us, must have high education (to get jobs and good income); we should not depend on our husbands. We can give to our parents easily if we have [our] own income."* (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung, Sumatra)

> *"We now have occupational academies ... they have compulsory work period (ikatan dinas) so that male students can support their families and have higher education."* (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Most boys and girls reflected similar sentiments, that parents want the best for their children.

> *"Parents want the best for us. Higher education is a must"* (Boys' and girls' class discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Reflecting later findings regarding voice (see section 3.3), most boys and girls stated that their parents always direct them on which schools to choose and which major to take.

> *"I was told to get to vocational school, but I rejected it since I want to be a doctor."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

Parents also often have different opinions to adolescents regarding educational interests after graduating junior high school, such as when the adolescents would like to continue to vocational high school, or when the parents suggest their children to go to vocational schools while they would rather continue to university for the sake of their dreams.

"I was prevented from choosing a vocational school before. I selected SMK 3 (vocational high school) but I was told that it was not really good. I was told that if I studied there, what am I gonna be when I grow up?" "Same here, when I wanted to choose Kokar (vocational high school), parents said that will be difficult to find jobs, I will only get jobs as art teacher or shrimp seller." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

Underlying gendered aspirations encourage boys to complete education sooner, so they can start work and become family breadwinners

However, despite initial assertions that parents want the same for girls and boys, the data also indicated underlying gendered aspirations, supporting the GEAS findings that more girls than boys said their parents expected them to finish university. Some parents stated that, as the main family breadwinner, for boys it is more important to be ready for a job than to have a high education level.

"Everybody wants to be successful, but boys tend to choose working after graduating from vocational high school. Girls have higher dreams." (Parents' group discussion, Semarang, Central Java)

Some adolescents, especially boys, also stated that they would choose vocational high school instead of university so they could work as soon as possible. This reflects GEAS findings where 10% of boys compared to 3% girls expected vocational education to be their highest level of education.

"… [graduate from high school] get a job, since we want to help our parents" (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)

Both parents and adolescents see it as important for boys to work as soon as possible, or to work while studying, so they can be financially independent and ease their parents' economic burden, and even contribute to the family finances.

"Boys nowadays believe that they want to be independent, they want to study while working. They want to help their parents' economic conditions. If the parents are less fortunate, they feel the need to support their younger siblings … So, for boys now, education is second for them, that's what I observe … Perhaps they think like this 'why do I have to study so high if I can't get jobs?' or 'I have to finish high school. (then get a job). Save the money, then continue the study.' They want to help their parents first ..." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

"Boys … want to go to work as quickly as possible. Boys already understand their responsibility in the family." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Some boys are explicitly told by their parents that education is secondary to work aspirations.

"… parents take me everywhere (to their social links), and my father said that education is number two. Social network is more important. I want to be an entrepreneur. I don't think I can be one without good social networks. Whatever I will sell, I need friends to buy them ..." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

Boys are seen as less mature and less serious about their education, while girls are seen as having less extracurricular activities so more time for studying.

Feedback from adolescent girls presented a slightly different reasoning for boys being less interested in higher education. Girls argued that while they grow more mature and think about their future and they know what they want, boys are considered less serious or indifferent and tend to go with the flow of their circle of friends and neglect higher education. Parents reflected similar views. Adolescent girls also described themselves as placing educational goals higher in response to peer pressure and suggestions that girls are weak.

> *"Boys usually still want to play around. Boys sometimes view girls as weak and that makes me want to have higher education, like, boys often underestimate our physique, saying girls are weak, girls are this and that, we don't like being told things like that."* (Girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

On the other hand, boys expressed beliefs that they are stronger than girls and perceive that girls' desire to continue their higher education to be influenced by lack of activities the girls have right now rather than "just" studying, so that they have more spare time and need to fill up the time with studying through higher education. Boys claim that they tend to have more responsibilities, hobbies and extracurricular activities to sharpen their skills and have sports achievement for the school and, therefore, they do not feel the need to expend extra energy on higher education.

"[Girls'] brains are mostly empty, bone head. Boys have many hobbies, many things to do, so we have more in our brains. Girls rarely have many hobbies, perhaps only cooking, while boys have many." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

3.1.2 Parental expectations regarding occupation

This sub-section discusses the aspirations of parents towards their children's occupation and the expectation of the adolescents, exploring how and why parental expectations differ between boys and girls in relation to work.

GEAS baseline data shows that 30% of adolescent boys hope to have their first job when they are 20 years old compared to 25% of adolescent girls. This finding is in line with the statements of most parents and adolescents in the qualitative study declaring that there is a greater expectation on men to work, in relation to their role as leader and backbone of their family's economy.

Boys are seen as family leaders and breadwinners, so are expected to find work sooner. Pressure is exacerbated in cultures of patrilineal inheritance.

> *"Men are breadwinners and the backbone of the family. Women are housewives."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)

> *"For me, men should work. Women can work before they are married. When they marry, it is up to the husband to allow or to stop them from working. If they have home businesses or anything, it is not a problem. Working can be done from home while taking care of the family."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

In Bali and Lampung, as in several areas of Indonesia, boys are under increased pressure to provide for their families due to patrilineal laws and customs which place sons as the sole receivers of inheritance from their parents. Under these customs, girls are generally not allowed to inherit money or other property, or in some cases only a little. This seems to place on sons, as seen in Bali, ethical and moral demands as the lineage bearers (*purusa*) who are expected to take over from their fathers in maintaining holy sites and worshipping rituals in their respective families (*sanggah merajan*), and to provide financial support, including in the commencement of traditional and religious ceremonies, when their fathers are no longer able to do their duties in their old age.

> *"...not having sons may result in worry. Since* purusa *is taken care by men. When we have sons,*

they can take care of …the sanggah merajan *[maintaining holy sites and worshipping rituals]."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

"For me, success and happiness are to have a job and be able to support my parents financially." (Adolescent boys' and girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Women's main role is to take care of their husband, children and household and they are not expected to work after marriage.

Women are no longer obliged to work when they marry, since their main duties as wives and mothers are taking care of their husbands, children, and household. Girls said they believed that if they desired it and were allowed by their husbands, they would still be able to work from home while taking care of the home by running online businesses to supplement the family's income.

"Usually, after getting married, men will become breadwinners. If men are not around, then women should work. It is usually like that." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

Increasingly, women want to or are expected to work to provide or avoid financial dependence on their husbands, however women's income is only supplementary to their main duties at home. Equal rights for women do not displace traditional gender roles.

Some parents insist that their daughters should also be able to work after getting married so that they are not fully dependent on their husbands.

"This is from my experience, I work. I don't have to depend on the man as the family leader. A mother also has a role here. Economy is getting more difficult nowadays. We must be balanced. If we want our children to have high education, the mothers must also be able to earn money." (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

"… based on my parents' experience, when mothers don't work, they depend on the husbands to provide for them. They then wish for the daughters to be able to earn money as well so that when the husbands experience something bad, they have their own income." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

A similar view was expressed by several adolescent girls who considered that having a career before and after getting married remained important so that they could be independent and not economically dependent on the husband; at least, they would be able to provide for their personal necessities.

"(I want to be a) doctor. I want to be a specialist. I want to be a doctor since I see doctors have interesting jobs. I must be able to support myself. I must be able to buy my own make up and underwear." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

"[I want to get married at 25-27 so I] can earn money. We can help our parents. Basically, financially stable. [Though my husband tells me to stop, I will continue] my career since I don't want to be anyone's burden. Though my husband is financially stable, I don't want [to be a housewife]. It is a hard work. If there is no domestic assistant, and I live in a big house. I must take care of everything. That will be tiring." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Semarang)

Women are also expected to work, so that they are not financially dependent on their husbands. However, most parents also believe that women's

income would only be supplementary for the family and that their main duties remain at home.
We heard often from both parents and adolescents that women have the same rights as men, but that this did not displace the "nature" of traditional gender roles.

> *"For me, in this era, there is no gender difference between men and women. Women also have rights to be [public] leaders, to be successful, just like men. But I also remember not to forget my nature. I still need to learn how to cook. Cooking needs learning. I must be able to do it. Women must be able to cook. So, when the girls are in junior high school, I often ask them to join me when I cook, do house chores, etc. They must be able to do it. I don't want them to have difficulty when they are expected to perform those tasks. When they have career, they must not forget their nature as women. Everything must be in balance."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Hence there is a shift in gender norms related to the roles of men and women in supporting their families. Occupation becomes the manifestation of the spirit of equality for those who believe men and women share the same rights and obligations in the family economy, as well as for the financial and prosperity of women's lives. However, the patriarchal cultural construction overshadowing the gender roles in the community mostly still holds sway and has influenced the life values held by most of the subjects of this study. This can be seen in the way men are positioned as the main breadwinner for the family and women, with their double burden as secondary breadwinners and homemakers, are still responsible for taking care of the husband, children, and household chores.

Most parents would like their children to work in the formal sector, particularly the civil service, a role seen to offer social and financial stability. Adolescents have broader work aspirations.

Many parents wish their children to work in the formal or government sector. Becoming civil servants (Aparatur Sipil Negara, ASN) often becomes a benchmark of social and financial stability.

> *"Almost all of my family members work in formal institutions. I believe that anybody [would who] wants to be better, mostly, I guess. I mean that people want to have high education, they want to work in a formal institution, etc. They want to be economically better."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

> *"After graduating from senior high school, my father wants me to join special education so that I can become military personnel."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Semarang)

Young people, on the other hand, have more varied aspirations. Many are interested in the careers they see currently booming, especially through social media, such as Youtuber, game athlete, or chef.

> *"I'd love that [to be like Ata Halilintar - famous Indonesian Youtuber], I think … or gamers … I can get money, from endorsement."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Some parents support their children's aspirations to work in jobs using internet technology.

> *"Nowadays, following the current technology, adolescents tend to … desire to do instant stuff in big cities ... They try to get money by becoming Youtubers ... I follow technological development, for example Halilintar [Instagram star & Youtuber] who is 24 years old. He now earns a fantastic amount of money, in the billions every day. This can become references to our children ... Using a camera, for example like what we have in the smartphone, they can earn more money, much more than any formal works."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

> *"For me, it would depend on my children to decide, the most important is like this: let's say they become a Youtuber or whatever, what's important is their future."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Other young people are interested in a broader range of professions.

> *"I would like to be the president. I am dreaming of becoming a president. I want to be in politics. Actually, I want to be politician, historian, and businessman. I love to read. Hopefully I can do all these."* (Boys' and girls' adolescent group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

> *"I want to be a teacher. I have academic and non-academic abilities. I just want to use them."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

3.1.3 Parental expectations regarding marriage and having children

The GEAS found that 95% adolescents intend to get married at age 21 or older: half plan to delay marriage until they are 21-25 years, 44.6% until after the age of 25. A third of respondents (30.4%) intend to have their first child between the age of 21 and 25, two-thirds (65.0%) plan to wait until they are over 25 years old. Three-quarters (76.2%) of respondents want only one or two children (71.5% of boys versus 80.8% of girls). Both boys and girls feel they have little say in when and whom to marry. Only 14.2% boys and 11.1% girls feel able to influence decisions about when they will marry, and 15.1% boys and 12.5% girls about who they will marry. The following subsection explores parental aspirations for their children regarding marriage and having children, exploring how and why these expectations differ between boys and girls.

Parents expect both boys and girls to get married after finishing education and getting jobs. Boys are expected to be financially stable before marriage in order to provide for their family.

Most parents said they would like both sons and daughters to get married after they have finished education and have found work. However, the reasons and expectations are different for men and women. According to both parents and adolescents, men are expected to be financially secure before marrying in order to be able to provide for their family

> *"When men get married, they must provide for their new family. They must prepare houses, etc. I mean, there are stuffs to prepare by men before they get married."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)*"Men should support the family needs. The wives help. When wives work and husbands take care of the house, that is not normal. Husbands must be the breadwinners."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

Parents' aspirations are in line with what most adolescent boys and girls express, and state that the most ideal age to get married is between 25 and 27. Some adolescents want to get married a little later to be at the optimum age to work and achieve financial stability.

> *"I think that I will get married when I am 28. I will be fully mature. I will have a job and hopefully successful. I can save money for my marriage and for my future*. (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

Girls are expected to work before marriage, but when they get married their main role as mother and home keeper. Any income is supplementary to their husband's.

Girls are also expected to work before marriage, but when they get married, their main role is to be a mother and home keeper.

"Women are aware of their nature as a housewife and they know that after they work and earn money, they will eventually get married." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

"For me, [my wife] must be diligent so that they can take care of our home and help our parents." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

"I will get a job before getting married. I prefer to work first since I am not sure whether my husband would allow me to work after I get married. If I get married after I finish university, that means I will not get any work experience." (Adolescents' girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

As outlined in the previous section, some girls want to or are expected to continue working once they are married to avoid being financially dependent on their husbands.

Parents see themselves as having a role in guiding their children to choose the best spouse.

While parents said they would allow their children to choose their spouses, many still want to intervene to ensure and guide their children to select the best spouse. The reason is, they feel obligated to guide their children until they are married. This supports GEAS baseline data showing that in relation to whom the adolescents marry in the future, almost 87% adolescents say that their parents will have a say in that issue.

"I am open about this. I will not directly pick one, but I will say look at the quality of the family, like the Javanese say, look at their lineage, background, etc. It is up to you, but you need to consider those matters; not only the person, you need to know the extended family; as they will influence the household later." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Expectations around marriage are influenced by local customs and beliefs. In Bali, customary tradition dictates that when a woman gets married, she leaves her biological family and completely joins her husband's family, where she is obliged to obey her husband and take care of her parents-in-law. According to some parents, in reality many Balinese women remain more attentive to their own parents especially if they become ill. This often triggers marital conflicts with the husband's extended family, especially if the woman influences her husband to be more attentive to her own parents.

"… men and women, in a marriage ... have almost equal rights. However, in Bali, purusa *is only for men as heirs. Women sometimes leave that obligation [to her husband's family] … it is* purusa *[men] who have the inheritance rights … [while] girls will go to their husband's family. If the parents are sick, who will come and take care of them … should've been the men, right? But it is not like that. The women will come, even from far away, to their parents. Women will tend to dominate the husbands to lean more to her parents. That is where the problem lies. We men then have problems with our own parents."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

All adolescents in this study stated that they only want to marry after finishing their education and securing a job, for economic reasons. Patriarchal gender norms remain the perceptions of the majority, placing men as the leader of the household with freedom in relation to social mobility and their responsibilities as the main family breadwinner. Meanwhile, when women/wives work, they would be acting as only a supplementary breadwinner. Women traditionally bear larger responsibilities to handle domestic matters, taking care of the husband, children, and parents/parents-in-law.

3.1.4 Responses to conflicting expectations

This sub-section illustrates how adolescents respond to and navigate parental expectations regarding education, occupation, and marriage.

Most adolescents choose to be quiet and not directly oppose their parents' will, but some will try to negotiate by communicating their needs or desires.

When parental aspirations are not in line with what the adolescents want, resistance or negotiation will occur. Several attitudes shown by adolescents when they feel that what their parents want is not in line with what they want can be seen below:

- Choosing to be quiet and remain in the room as expressions of disagreement/protest
- Saying yes without any seriousness to do it
- Trying to talk the parents into doing what they want
- Saying yes directly to what the parents suggest or saying yes while trying their best first; when they fail, they will do what the parents suggest

> *"I will try first. If I fail, I will follow my parents' suggestions."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Semarang)

- Children will follow their parents' suggestion if it is related with education: they will do their best to achieve at school. They want to make their parents proud and they hope that their parents will "soften up" later. Regarding future spouse, they will fight for their choices. But if parents disagree, they will follow what their parents want since they think the parents know the best for them. They don't want to be called ungrateful children.

> *"if [my own selected candidate] is good, I will fight for my selection … if my parents disagree with my own choice [of wife]. But if my parents choose for me, I don't think I can go against their will. I will obey them. I don't think it will be good if I do"t have my parents' blessings."* (Boys' and girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

- Voicing aspirations and negotiating choices.

> *"If it is not to our liking, we just have to say it. For example, I want to be a businessman but they want me to be a policeman. I will say no since I don't have the ability to be policeman."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

> *"…we are going to do the job, not them. We must have the desire to do the job otherwise we can't… [if we must follow what our parents want]."* (Boys' and girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

3.2 Parental Connectedness; Parent-Child Relationships and Communication

GEAS data show that only 63% of adolescents state they feel close to their parents and only 50% say that they feel comfortable talking with their parents. Aiming to dig deeper into these findings, the following section explores these research questions:

- How connected do boys and girls feel with their parents?
- What do they talk to them about and what do they not talk to them about?
- Why?

Specifically, we explore the dynamics of relationships and communication between parents and adolescents in relation to themes of gender roles, puberty and sexuality, dating and gadgets and social media as well as strategies taken by adolescents and parents as they navigate conflicts.

Snapshot findings

Parent-child closeness

- Adolescents would like to be friends with their parents, to be able to share their experiences more, and for their parents to respond to their questions without judgment
- Boys and girls generally feel closer to their mothers since they are at home more than fathers
- Some girls feel that they are being treated differently to their male siblings in terms of domestic chores, being given items they wish for, and mobility outside of home
- Strategies to increase closeness include initiating conversations or doing school assignments together

Discussing puberty and sexuality

- Parents and adolescents avoid conversations about puberty and sexuality as they are deemed taboo, unimportant or difficult to talk about; these findings help to explain the low levels of SRH knowledge demonstrated in the GEAS
- When conversations on puberty or sexuality do happen, they are focused on menstruation or wet dreams and often linked to preventing risks like pregnancy or harassment
- Adolescents have mixed views on whether they should learn about puberty in school: some want to learn so they know how to take care of themselves, others feel it is inappropriate or vulgar

Dating

- Most parents prohibit dating until children are in senior school or university and most adolescents agree they are too young to date. However, it is acceptable to have a crush on someone and chat with them, ask for their number, or chat on social media.
- If dating is allowed, it must be healthy dating. Healthy dating can sometimes include holding hands but must not include hugging and kissing which are seen as “intimate sexual behaviors” that could lead to “excessive behaviors” including sexual intercourse.

3.2.1 Parent-child closeness

GEAS data show that only 63% of adolescents stated they feel close to their parents. It revealed gendered patterns in parental connectedness and communication: more girls feel close to their caregiver and believe their caregiver cares about what they think, while more boys than girls feel that their opinions are not heard or considered. The quantitative data suggested that adolescents hardly ever share worries and concerns with their father, and less than half of them share their worries with their mother.

Adolescents would like to be friends with their parents, to be able to share their experiences more, and for their parents to respond to their questions without judgment.

This qualitative study revealed that adolescents wish their parents were able to respond to their questions in a relaxed way without judgment. Ideally adolescents would like their parents to be friends with whom they can comfortably and honestly share stories of their experiences. As reflected in the GEAS data, the qualitative study confirmed that both boys and girls generally feel closer to their mothers since they are at home more than fathers. However, some adolescents feel closer to their fathers because their mothers work while their fathers stay home more.

Boys and girls generally feel closer to their mothers since they are at home more than fathers.

Closeness with parents is marked by the frequency of sharing stories, especially about school and friends, though respondents acknowledged their mothers can be fussier and nosier than fathers, who appear calmer but are stricter.

Some girls feel that they are being treated differently to their male siblings in terms of domestic chores, being given items they wish for, and mobility outside of home.

Though all parents say that boys and girls in the family receive the same upbringing and education, some adolescent girls feel that they are being treated differently to their male siblings in terms of domestic chores, being given items they wish for, and mobility outside of home.

> *"Mom treats me and my older brother differently. I do more chores than he does, he even asks me to do his. When he arrives home rather late, mom never yells at him. He just goes straight to his room. Mom never gets really angry with him."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Semarang)

> *"That is why I am often annoyed. Why can he go far and never gets yelled at? Mom just says 'He is what he is. Don't be like him.' Why mom never gets angry with him is beyond me. She'd say, 'Just let him be'."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Strategies to increase closeness include initiating conversations or doing school assignments together.

Some parents try to approach their children by inviting storytelling at certain times of their day. The time that parents often choose to start conversations with their children is during mealtime after school, at night after studying, or before going to bed. Some mothers try to get adolescents closer to their fathers who are more preoccupied with work outside the house through making them work together on school assignments.

> *"Since I am not working, I do that more. My husband works but he is still attentive. Sometimes I let them get close to their father for some assignments, or anything. Boys should be closer to their father. Though I can do it myself. I still tell them to talk to their fathers. Though I can do it. He needs to know that his father can help him studying."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

3.2.2 Parent-child discussion about puberty and sexuality

Parents and adolescents avoid the topics of puberty and sexuality in their conversations as they are deemed taboo, unimportant or difficult to talk about. This helps to explain the low levels of sexual and reproductive health knowledge found in the GEAS.

The GEAS showed that adolescents rarely discuss issues related to puberty or sexuality with their parents. The qualitative research supports this: almost all parents and adolescents said they very rarely or never discuss puberty, let alone sexuality, as these are taboo, being deemed unimportant or difficult to talk about.

> *"I have never asked any questions about sexuality to my parents. I usually search for it from books."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

Parents say that they don't have the right knowledge to talk to their children about puberty so cannot answer critical questions, or they don't know how to start talking about puberty or sexuality.

> *"I want to ask my son, 'Son, do you have wet dream yet?' That is just so strange. We need to know what wet dream is. We must know that. We need to Google it. What does it mean? What is a wet dream? We are already old."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Discussing these issues is not seen as a priority compared to school and study matters.

> *"If I can be honest as a parent ... parents simply don't have the time or don't even think about asking questions like that ... parents don't have the program. It is just a wishful thinking to ask about puberty and sexuality ..."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

The lack of conversations about sexuality and puberty at home helps to explain the low levels of knowledge in relation to sexual and reproductive health found in the GEAS baseline. For example, the GEAS baseline showed that less than half (44.7%) of adolescents know that a girl can get pregnant the first time she has sexual intercourse, only a third (31.5%) believe that using a condom can protect against pregnancy, and only a third (33.2%) know that a boy or girl can be infected with HIV through their first sexual intercourse.
Parents believe that schoolteachers are more competent to explain matters related with puberty and sexuality.

> *"They have experts to talk positively. They have information sharing. My youngest kid asked, 'Mom, how can it be?' It is different if (when it is given by) the experts, their explanations can easily be understood by the children. It is better if we have that in our curriculum."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

When conversations on puberty or sexuality do happen, they are focused on menstruation or wet dreams and often linked to preventing risks like pregnancy or harassment.

When adolescents do talk about puberty with their parents it is usually in relation to menstruation for girls and wet dreams for boys. GEAS baseline data show that almost all girls who talk about puberty with their parents (90%) talk about menstruation with their mothers. This study found that adolescent girls talk about menstruation with their mothers, female cousins, domestic helpers, or sisters and get advice to take care of themselves

> *"I tell my mother about puberty/menstruation. Mom usually tells what to do. You need to do this and that ..."* (Boys' and girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

For many girls, conversations about menstruation involve warnings about the risks of pregnancy or increased vulnerability to men.

> *"When she got her first period, I asked her about it and explained it to her. I said that it is not taboo or anything. I said, when a girl started to have her period, when there was a sexual intercourse, she could get pregnant. I told her that after having period, there was a high risk of pregnancy."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

> *"I try to explain to her because she starts to have her periods … she is now entering development time. There are things that she must stay away from. When there are men she doesn't know, or anybody trying to do anything, avoid them or report that to the nearest adults, don't allow anybody to touch your hands … she has come of age*. (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

On the other hand, most adolescent boys admit that they are embarrassed talking about puberty with their parents. Some others feel that it is not something important to talk about with others since they believe that it is a part of their privacy. Some adolescents say that they ask their fathers and mothers questions when they have wet dreams or after receiving information from parents, school science teacher, or close friends about such matters indicating the coming of age for a man.

> *"Wet dream for example, I ask my mother"* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

> *"… with my father. He said that when a boy had wet dream, that means he has come of age. It is just like menstruation for girls."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)

Some adolescent girls want to be given room and tolerance when they have menstruation or PMS which can result in bad moods, for example, or they want to be exempted from household chores when they feel tired due to their period.

Opportunities for discussing puberty and sexuality

For parents who do discuss puberty or sexuality with their children, this can be done during daily activities such as bathing.

> *"Yes, starting from simple things ... Though the conversation is not serious. Maybe while taking a shower. With my girl, I let her know things and the consequences. Like that, so you don't have to sit together like that. So, it is while talking."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

Alternatively, parents might start a conversation around the topic of reproductive and sexual health by opposing the taboo from the general public.

> *"... so our communication must be able to open up first ... reproductive problems, dating problems, or sex education, I think it is no longer taboo or obscene now because it is very important at this time. It is now a high risk. Not only relying on the school but also parents. Opposite sex relationship is very risky. For the future, especially sexual diseases, I don't think it's taboo or obscene, because it's for the good of the children."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Some parents try to open communication with adolescents with jokes, for example teasing about whether their child has a crush on someone or not.

> *"My husband is an open person. Sometimes he tells my son this, 'When did you tell her?' 'Last week' 'Did she say yes?' 'Yes'. 'So, are you sitting next to her in school?' 'Of course not. Can't.' We just look at each other."* (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Adolescents have mixed views on whether they should learn about puberty in school. Some want to learn so they know how to take care of themselves, others feel it is inappropriate or vulgar.

Some adolescents feel that discussion about puberty at school is not important since they've already received it from their parents or when they were at the elementary school; however, some others feel that the discussion at school helps them to know how to take care of themselves during puberty. Some adolescents believe that it is not the right moment for them to talk about sexuality since they believe that it is vulgar - discussing reproductive and sexual organs - and say that they can ask their friends or watch movies or the internet when they've grown up if they want to know about it.

To conclude, most parents avoid the topics of puberty and sexuality in conversations with their children, seeing these conversations as taboo or unnecessary or feeling ill equipped to tackle difficult topics. Some young people would like to discuss these topics more with their parents. When parents do talk about these topics it is often in relation to the start of menstruation or wet dreams. For girls, conversations about puberty are often linked with talking about risks of pregnancy or harassment.

3.2.3 Dating from parent and adolescent perspectives

GEAS baseline data show that only 17% of adolescents admit that they are permitted to have boy/girlfriends by their parents. This is supported by YVR2 findings, where most parents prohibit their children to date and will only allow them when the children are in senior high school or university. Almost all adolescent boys and girls accept their parents prohibiting them to date. They believe that they are still too young to start dating. They want to focus on their studies. This data supports GEAS findings that state that only 14% of the adolescents admit that they are currently in a romantic relationship.

"I don't want to have boyfriend. It is a waste of money. It is not beneficial. It will only make me dumb."

"My (school) scores go bad ... I have experienced for dating … well, because I want to know what love is" (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Most parents prohibit dating until children are in senior school or university. Most adolescents agree they are too young to date. However, it is acceptable to have a crush on someone and chat with them, ask for their number, or chat on social media.

Some adolescent boys state that they are reluctant to date since they don't yet earn money themselves and they feel that they will not be ready when the girlfriends ask them for things.

"Since I have no source of income yet, I still live with my parents."

"I don't want my girlfriend to ask something from me."

"Phone credit, dolls, anything [that girlfriends ask for]. When parents prohibit it, I think it is because of their loves. When they don't prohibit, that means they lack attention [to their children]." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)

Some parents expressed concerns that, compared to the way they used to date, the way adolescents nowadays date is too vulgar and goes against the

social norms, such as hugging so tightly when riding motorcycles. They worry that if they allow this to continue, adolescents will try riskier sexual activities. Parents also say adolescents are nowadays more aggressive in their ways of expressing affection to the opposite sex.

> *"Now, girls are just as daring as the boys. Before, we wait for the boys to express their affection to us. Now, I see that usually girls are like that. They are more assertive. They like boys, they will say it. We were different. We wait for the boys to come to us."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

Most parents and adolescents supported the idea that age 12 to13 is not the time for dating; however, it is considered acceptable to have a crush on someone and chat with them, ask for their WhatsApp number, or chat through social media (such as liking postings of the people they have crushes on). Some adolescents believe that this behavior is acceptable from boys and girls, while some other adolescents believe that approaching someone is a part of a boy's active role and the girls say that they are embarrassed to do it. This is influenced by the cultural belief on values and gender role stereotype that it is acceptable for men to be aggressive while women are not supposed to chase men.

> *"I don't think I can try to approach a man first ... people might say that I am shameless. When both like each other, boys may like it when girls try to get close to them. If it is just one of them, it will be awkward."* (Boys' and girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

> *"I feel that it is not right if I express my feeling first. I don't want others to see me as if I don't have any dignity. It will be strange if I do it first. Boys usually express their affection first."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

When describing dating styles which they consider "too much", adolescents gave examples of answering each other's statuses on social media – thereby insinuating a relationship - or posting a profile picture with the boy/girlfriend on social media. They view these behaviors as *bucin* or *budak cinta*, meaning "slave of love" in their slang. This term is associated with the phenomenon of adolescents committing suicide for the attention of their girl/boyfriends in social media. Adolescents know this *budak cinta* term has several levels: low level is stalking wherever the boy/girlfriend goes, medium level is exchanging biodata or IG name or posting the face of the boy/girl they like or using a joint photo as the profile picture, and the severe level is hurting oneself to get the attention from the boy/girlfriend. Often enough, according to their stories, there are friends who do something bad such as smoking or drinking or even hurting themselves to get the attention they want from people they like.

> *"He rolls on the floor because he had taken drugs [in an attempted overdose] … like taking paracetamol[1], mefenamic acid[2] "* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

> *"He had a razor blade and was taken to school clinic. The teachers ask why, and he said that he was heartbroken."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

The GEAS reveals that around half (46%) of adolescents admitted that they had secret girl/boyfriends. This was reflected in the qualitative research in which boys and girls in all three sites reported having secret relationships. Often relationships were kept secret as adolescents knew they were forbidden by parents.

> *"We don't want others to know. When I talk with my parents about having a crush on someone, they say that I should wait until I have a job before I do that."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)

> *"I keep quiet. Anybody support you? Well, I am afraid. I am not allowed to date but I still do it. I keep that as a secret. When mom asks whether I have boyfriend or not, I just say no."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

[1] Paracetamol, also known as acetaminophen and APAP, is a medication used to treat pain and fever. It is typically used for mild to moderate pain relief.

[2] Mefenamic acid is a member of the anthranilic acid derivatives class of NSAID drugs, and is used to treat mild to moderate pain, including menstrual pain, and is sometimes used to prevent migraines associated with menstruation.

In some cases, parents were aware of the hidden relationship but pretended they did not know.

> *"We pretend that we don't know. We can see from the WA chats, from the way they carry themselves, from the way they comb their hair."* (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Some adolescents said that sometimes they want to be like their friends who have boyfriends or girlfriends, but they are afraid of being punished by their parents.

> *"My father won't allow me. When parents were gathered in the school hall, I was embarrassed. My father was asked. 'Do you agree with your kid have a boyfriend?'. My father strongly replied, 'No, I won't allow it. I will punish her if she does that.' That is why I am afraid and I have no boyfriend."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

On the other hand, some parents who had freedom and trust in their teenage years from their parents to have boyfriends or girlfriends at a young age are open and allow their children to do the same to support them in studying.

> *"My parents allowed me, as long as I could be responsible for I did. I allow my two girls in grade 7 to do that as well. I would allow them to have boyfriends to help them in studying and without bad effects on them. But if it gives bad effect, better not. They can think already."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

> *"If my kid wants to date someone, I will emphasize on the function of it, to be motivated. It means, when my kid has a date and have better motivation in studying. That is ok."* (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

If dating is allowed, it must be healthy dating. Healthy dating can sometimes include holding hands but must not include hugging and kissing which are seen as "intimate sexual behaviors" leading to "excessive behaviors" including sexual intercourse.

Some parents do allow "healthy dating" which includes discussion and encouraging one another in learning and achievement but avoids physical contact such as hugging and kissing which are seen as "intimate sexual behaviors" which can lead to "excessive behaviors" such as sexual intercourse.

Although some parents think that holding hands is natural, they warn their children to be careful not to go further than that because affection may encourage riskier sexual behavior. Therefore, providing an understanding on the effects and risks of sexual behavior is important because parents believe that adolescents tend to avoid sexual behaviors - since they are forbidden by their parents - without fully understanding the risks.

> *"[If they ask], 'What does healthy dating look like, Mom?' I like to say, 'Healthy dating is like you chat, you have discussion. If it's just holding hands, it's okay. But if you want to do, sorry,* ma ono *(making out), better not, kid. It has big impact. It is not the time yet. If you have sex, you can get pregnant, and you must marry that person. Are you ready for that?' That's what I do. I explain. Then they say, 'Oh ok. Like this, this, this.' 'You are even too lazy to get up in the morning,' I say."* (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

> *"[Prohibition of parents] is more like sex scenes. The problem is in controlling emotions. The problem is that mom often says that, for example, 'You may date but you are not allowed to get on a motorcycle with a boy.' Well, it depends, if there really isn't anyone to pick me up, it's ok to go home with my boyfriend."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

In conclusion, parents and adolescents were generally agreed that early adolescence is too early to date, and that this should wait until high school or university. Dating at this young age risks damaging academic progress and may lead to "risky sexual behavior". Where dating is allowed, it must be "healthy dating" which prohibits most physical contact for fear of it escalating to sexual intercourse and therefore risking pregnancy.

3.3 Adolescent's voice, freedom and confidence

The GEAS explored the domains of freedom of decision-making, freedom of voice and freedom of movement. The results of the quantitative survey suggested that girls have higher decision-making autonomy than boys; that girls have greater freedom of voice than boys, feeling freer than boys to speak what is on their mind and to ask for help; and that boys have greater freedom of movement than girls. We were particularly surprised at boys scoring lower in some domains, so we sought to explore more deeply through qualitative research, seeking to answer the following research questions:

- Do boys have lower self-confidence, freedom to speak and make decisions?
- Why? What are the contributing factors?
- How do boys and girls respond to this issue from their perspective?

Snapshot findings

Courage to speak up

- Boys and girls asserted that they possess similar courage to speak in public, but they choose to speak up on different topics and in different arenas
- Boys have less interest in speaking up at school because they feel they do not receive as much attention from (particularly female) teachers as girls
- Girls avoid expressing feelings of admiration for boys as it is seen inappropriate, as boys should take the initiative

Decision-making

- Parents and adolescents see girls as more mature and more able to make informed decisions
- Adolescents highly value the advice of parents when making decisions

Freedom of movement

- Adolescents recognized that their parents' restrictions on their mobility are for safety reasons and an expression of their parents' love and concern for them, especially for girls
- Parents restricted the movement of their children in order to protect them from violence, crime, bad relationships, drugs and premature sexual activity; girls are more restricted than boys

Body image

- Adolescents expressed clear, gendered ideals of physical appearances and reported a lack of self-confidence because of their body image, which they saw as not living up to these standards

3.3.1 Courage to speak up

The GEAS presented respondents with seven questions exploring their ability to express their views with peers, family members or at school and their ability to be heard (see box 6). For each of the domains, respondents were presented with a series of statements and asked to select a response from the following: often (4), sometimes (3), rarely (2), and never (1). Responses to all statements were used to calculate an index score out of 4 for each domain. For the freedom of voice measure, based on statements in the adjacent box, girls scored 2.99 out of 4, boys scored 2.76. This suggested that girls have greater freedom of voice than boys, feeling freer than boys to speak what is on their mind and to ask for help. Seeking to explore this discrepancy through qualitative research, we explored this gendered difference.

Boys and girls asserted that they have similar courage to speak in public, but they choose to speak up on different topics and in different arenas

Boys have less interest in speaking up at school because they feel they do not receive as much attention from teachers (in particular, female teachers) as girls

Group discussions with adolescents suggested that boys and girls have similar courage to speak in public, but they choose to speak up on different topics and in different arenas. At home, both boys and girls feel their opinions are heard by parents, so they feel they have similar freedom of expression at home. While at school, boys tend to have less interest in speaking up than girls. Boys tend to skip questions from their teachers requiring a long answer.

> *"I prefer to talk (say) than keep quiet."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)
>
> *"My parents listen to me."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)
>
> *"I don't want to answer [questions in the class] which needs long explanations."* (Adolescent boys' and girls' class discussion, Denpasar)

Boys also have less interest to speak up than girls because they feel they do not receive attention from their teachers (in particular, female teachers). There are more female than male teachers at school. Female teachers, it was said, tend to side with female students rather than boys. Boys asserted that girls receive more attention from teachers because they are more disciplined and diligent than boys. Boys admitted their lack of discipline, but they find it difficult to improve their attitude.

> *"Girls are diligent and patient. Boys are not disciplined. I want to be disciplined, but it is so difficult."* (Adolescent boys' discussion group, Semarang)

Girls were seen as having more knowledge, due to having more discipline, and therefore being faster to respond to questions and hence more likely to win the teacher's attention. Boys speak up in the classroom only when they are interested in the topic, such as issues on reproductive health and sexuality, when they "get loud". But outside the classroom, boys are more talkative when discussing about extra-curricular activities.

Girls avoid expressing feelings of admiration for boys as it is seen as inappropriate, as boys should take the initiative

In terms of romance, boys and girls practice their freedom of expression to their peers in accordance with gender norms. They think boys must take the initiative to express their romantic feelings to girls they like. However, many boys admit that it is difficult for them to do so because they are afraid of not getting a good response from girls.

> *"Expressing feeling is more suitable for men. But it is embarrassing. I am afraid of rejection."* (Adolescent boys' discussion group, Semarang)

On the other hand, girls admitted that they are sometimes very eager to express feelings of admiration for boys but they are discouraged for reasons of appropriateness. So, although in other topics girls appear to be more expressive of their opinions, in terms of romance, they choose to hold back.

> *"Embarrassing. It's not natural for women to say first."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

3.3.2 Decision-making

The GEAS baseline explored adolescents' decision-making in relation to daily activities, leaving school, marriage and earning money (see adjacent box). Overall, girls scored higher than boys, scoring 2.85 on a composite scale out of 4, while boys scored 2.75. This suggests that overall, girls have higher decision-making autonomy than boys, although girls did score lower in decisions on when and whom to marry.
In this qualitative research, we sought to further understand the GEAS results. We found that adolescents generally feel they have the ability to make their own decisions, but they highly value the advice of parents when making decisions. Respondents expressed an ability to decide when to follow the opinions of parents and when to prioritize their own opinions, including in choosing a partner (dating).

> *"Parental advice is good. Yes, I obey. But for partner; I choose myself. Men must have clear goals."* (Adolescent boys' and girls' class discussion, Semarang)

Adolescents highly value the advice of parents when making decisions

Boys and girls both claimed that they are better at making decisions than their opposite gender.

> *"In my opinion (girl), guys are not good at making decisions. I take the example of our class leader (boy). He can't take decision and manage the class"* (Boys' and girls' class discussion, Denpasar)

> *"No. that is not true. Boys are more mature and capable (in making a decisions)"* (Boys' and girls' class discussion, Denpasar)

Parents and adolescents see girls as more mature and more able to make informed decisions

When asked about why they thought girls had a higher score on decision making, girls stated that they have the ability to think about the consequences of their actions, and this shows their maturity.
The ability of girls to make mature and thoughtful decisions was also expressed by parents.

> *"Girls are more mature than boys. Girls are calmer perhaps because they are more mature than boys."* (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

"Girls are more independent ... they mature faster. They think more mature than boys." (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Parents were also of the view that most boys make decisions by using logical thinking, whereas girls prioritize feelings.

3.3.3 Freedom of movement

The GEAS asked respondents whether they are allowed to do certain activities without adult supervision (see adjacent box). In a composite index score, boys scored 2.54 out of 4, while girls scored 2.38, suggesting boys have greater freedom of movement than girls. This qualitative research sought to understand these results on freedom of movement in more depth.

The qualitative research found that both boys and girls are allowed to go outside the house alone in the afternoon for school-related activities. However, they are prohibited by parents to go somewhere alone at night because of security reasons. If they have to go somewhere at night for schoolwork, they will be accompanied by parents or relatives to ensure safety. Adolescents explained that at age 12 to13, they are too young to go out at night.

"I will ask first [to parents], the kind of activities. If it's positive, it's allowed. If it's negative, it is a big no." (Boys' and girls' class discussion, Denpasar)

"I can't go out at night. I may go out at night when I am an adult: 17 years and over. My parents are worried that we do something wrong or they are afraid that we will have problem because we cannot take care of ourselves yet." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)

"What adolescents shouldn't do is go out at night. They can be accompanied by adult for strong reasons. For example, he has to work late or have extra lessons. But for other reasons like hang outs, is not allowed." (Boys' and girls' class discussion, Denpasar)

Adolescents recognize that restrictions on their mobility from parents are due to safety reasons and an expression of their parents' love and concern for them, especially for girls.

In general, it can be said that adolescents recognize that restrictions on their mobility from parents are due to safety reasons, especially for girls, and they follow that rule. Most adolescents said that they did not feel pressured by the travel restrictions imposed by their parents; they consider this prohibition as an expression of their parents' love and concern for them. Interestingly none of the adolescent respondents expressed a desire to rebel from the restrictions on mobility by their parents.

"The alley where my house is located is very quiet. If I go out at night, I am afraid of being kidnapped or violence." (Boys' and girls' class discussion, Denpasar)

"I am not allowed (to travel) by myself. Well, actually, this is good. It means our parents love us. If they do have any restriction, it means our parents do not care with us." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)

Parents restrict the movement of their children in order to protect them from violence, crime, bad relationships, drugs and premature sexual activity. Girls are more restricted than boys.

On the parents' side, they admitted that they restricted adolescent mobility. But they gave boys a little more freedom than girls.

> *"For boys, I free them a little more than girls. For example, I allow boys to hang out in cafe. But I only allow girls to play with their mobile phone at home."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Parents reported closely monitoring their children's activities, for both out-of-school assignments and social activities.

> *"Sometimes, outside of school my child has a school assignment to watch activities or programs of his friends. It's not that we don't trust. Sometimes my husband spare his time to take my kid there to make sure it's true or not. We have worries."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

> *"When taking children to tutoring, I wait. I leave when more people arrive. Or when children are at a friend's place, for group work. I make sure his friend's house is not empty. Or I suggest that you invite a friend to work at my house. So we can observe them."* (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

> *"When my child goes to the mall. Yes, sometimes I come. So, I am also still in the same mall. He is with his friend. We are together in the same mall though not at the same place in the mall."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

Parents state that they limit the mobility of their children due to their concerns about children's safety and efforts to protect children from unwanted things, such as:

▪ **Protection of adolescent girls from sexual violence**	*"Now there are many cases of rape, acts of violence. That makes us worry. Therefore, if children have school activities, they must be clear about it. There must be a notice from the school."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)
▪ **Protection of adolescents from bad relationships and drugs**	*"I'm particularly worried about promiscuity. For example, now there is a lot of drug trafficking. I am worried."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)
▪ **Protection of adolescents from crime**	*"What can I say? It's hard to control the kids when they are outside. I am worried (hopefully not) about the danger of hypnosis."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)
▪ **Protection from premature adolescent sexual activity**	*"Adolescents are more vulnerable from unwanted things. Even though my child is not dating, I am afraid if there are friends who are already dating, he does it as well. I haven't allowed him to date."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

Body image

The GEAS also found that both boys and girls have insecurities about their developing bodies, but that girls have lower body comfort and pubertal satisfaction than boys. A higher percentage of boys reported feeling too thin and tall, while more girls reported feeling too short and fat. The GEAS also found high levels of guilt for emerging sexual feelings, especially among girls.

Data from the qualitative research explains that adolescents start to care more about their physical appearance during puberty, for example, parents describe the behavior of their children

> *"Boys who had long hair started to trim it tidily. Girls start to use hand-body lotion and put on make-up."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Adolescents expressed clear gendered ideals of physical appearances and reported a lack of self-confidence because of their body image which they saw as not living up to these standards.

Even at this early age of 12 to13, respondents expressed clear, ideal physical appearances and reported a lack of self-confidence because of their body image. Gendered patterns are clear in both girls' and boys' descriptions of their ideal physical appearance. For girls, the perfect body shape is like a "Spanish guitar": not too fat or thin, tall, and curvy, with a bright and clean skin tone, beautiful hair, long legs, hairless, and pointed nose.

> *"Girls perfect body shape is medium size, and their height must be right."* (Girls' and boys' group discussion, Semarang)

Girls speak of making an effort to exercise so they can maintain the ideal body shape.

> *"If I want a good body, like a Spanish guitar, lots of exercises, gym, maintain my diet; I can't be fat, do gymnastics, morning cycling."* (Girls' and boys' class discussion, Denpasar)

Boys describe their perfect body shape as tall, muscular (like a soccer player), and hairy. Boys in Denpasar add big "birds" or a large penis as part of their perfect body shape. This suggests that even at this young age, attractiveness is associated with gender (masculinity) and sexuality. They want to have large genitals because they want to satisfy girls (women).

> *"(I want a) body like an athlete, six-pack, a big dick so that girls are satisfied, muscular, hairy."* (Boys' and girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

Boys who see themselves as having a small penis cite this as a reason for low self-confidence.

> *"I have low self-confidence because my penis is small. Now it is not important. But it will be important since I will need to have kids."* (Boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

Both boys and girls aspire to being "good looking" in order to attract the opposite sex.

> *"Handsome guy is tall and should have many girlfriends. Well-liked by girls."* (Boys' and girls' group discussion, Semarang)

Muslim boys add a religious aspect to the criteria of female beauty, praising women who wear a hijab (head cover for Muslim women) and are humble and religious.

> *"Like Ria Ricis. Beautiful, wear hijab, good in reciting Koran, humble."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Boys also add the element of "intelligence" to their criteria for the ideal female.

> *"But I also like girls who are not beautiful but smart."* (Boys' and girls' class discussion, Bandar Lampung)

These findings illustrate that even at the young age of 12 to13, adolescents have clear ideals for their body shape, which many feel they do not live up to. These ideals are clearly gendered and linked to aspirational gender roles and identities.

3.4 Bullying and violence

One of the most striking findings from the GEAS baseline was the level of experiences of bullying, violence and harassment which many adolescents have experienced. One in six feels threatened at school and more than a quarter feel threatened in their neighborhood; the main threat comes from peers. Two-fifths of adolescents have ever carried a weapon for protection. A concerning number of adolescents have experienced adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), with boys significantly more likely than girls to have experienced five or more ACEs. Experiences of bullying are common; boys are more likely to be bullied, to bully and to witness bullying than girls. Seeking to explore these quantitative findings, we addressed the following research questions:

- How and why do boys and girls experience bullying, violence and adverse childhood experiences?
- Who bullies who, and why?
- How do they cope with these experiences?

Snapshot findings

Bullying and violence at school

- Bullying at school is common
- Motivations for bullying include mocking physical condition (body shape and skin tone), atypical gender behaviors (tomboy, feminine boys, momma's boys) and parents' names; girls also reported fighting over boyfriend issues
- Forms of physical bullying are gendered: boys reported money taken, beating, fighting, stripping and having genitals played with; girls reported "trash talk", pushing, pulling hair, kicking and hitting; girls also receive harassment from boys who touch them, e.g. breast or buttocks
- Peer perpetrators are often those who are bigger or more popular
- Bullying by teachers includes harsh words, throwing pens or tearing students' textbooks, often carried out in classroom and witnessed by other students
- In response to bullying, girls tend to report more quickly, while boys try to hold back emotions and retaliate if physically attacked

Bullying via social media

- Bullying via social media is common, taking the form of reposting photos with harsh words or sending bullying messages or comments; peers are the most common perpetrators, but strangers also bully online
- Adolescents try to resolve the bullying offline when they know the perpetrator

Violence at home

- The most common forms of violence at home were verbal scolding, but some adolescents also mentioned being hit
- Parents explained that violence was sometimes necessary to ensure children understood the rules
- Alcohol was cited as the main trigger for violence
- Adolescent do not have much power to retaliate to violence at home

In the qualitative research, adolescents defined violence as an offensive and uncomfortable act, aimed at insulting and hurting the feelings of others. Actions include the verbal, such as cat-calling, and the non-verbal such as touching private parts of the body (breasts and buttocks). In Bali, violence known as *menggabeng* (Balinese term for negative behavior), includes the actions of humiliating others, hitting, ganging up, hacking other people's social media, mocking other people's physical appearance, sexual violence, harassment, isolating others, persecuting, abusing others, insinuating, and taunting.

> *"Bullying is usually beating, ganging up, teasing, insulting, demeaning, even raping."* (Girls' and boys' class discussion, Denpasar)

3.4.1 Bullying and violence at school

The GEAS baseline found that 17.1% of students have felt unsafe or threatened at school in the past year, with boys (19.6%) more likely to report this than girls (15.0%). Respondents reported these threats as coming from peers (76.6%), teachers or other adults (16.4%), and other sources (24.1%). The qualitative research supported these findings, suggesting that adolescents consider bullying and violence common at school, adding that it affects their well-being. Adolescents concluded that reasons of violence at school are diverse, ranging from joking between friends, showing dislike for people being bullied, to showing off strength.

Bullying at school is common. Motivations for bullying include mocking physical appearance (body shape and skin tone), atypical gender behaviors (tomboy, feminine boys, momma's boys) and parents' names. Girls also reported fighting over boyfriend issues.

a. Verbal violence

Verbal violence and bullying often responds to victims' physical appearance (body shape and skin tone) and atypical gender behaviors (tomboy, feminine boys, momma's boys).

▪ **Mocking physical appearance: adolescent with creased, dirty, dark skin, the shape and posture of the body, too fat, or too thin, short are vulnerable to becoming a victim.**	*"Kids with dark complexion are usually bullied. Kids with fair complexion will be called handsome or pretty even before they know what the face is like. Even though the hairstyle is like a storm."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung) *"I am mocked. They call me shorty and tiny."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

▪ **Mocking behavior: alay (tacky), tomboy girls, feminine looking boys; non-smoking boys; whiny and weak boys, momma's boys; adolescents who have dirty**	*"habits (likes playing with/holding their own genitals):* *"The crybaby gets bullied" (Adolescent boy's group discussion, Semarang)* *"If you look weak, you will definitely be bullied." (Girls' and boys' class discussion, Bandar Lampung)* *"Because of believing so much to be beautiful, but actually not beautiful, bullied. Ordered to get snacks." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Semarang)*

Violence to adolescents who cross their traditional gender identity (i.e. feminine boys and masculine girls) is closely related to adolescents' understanding of gender stereotypes. Approximately 18% of adolescents agreed with ridiculing boys or girls who behave like the opposite sex. More boys reported agreeing with taunting girls who behave like boys or boys behaving like girls (22% of boys versus 14% of girls, GEAS, 2019: 46). Adolescents think that peers who behave differently from gendered expectations deserve punishment for their "uncommon" behavior.

> "My friend in elementary school was bullied because she looked like a boy and was often treated as slave, kicked, dragged" (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

▪ **Mocking parent's names** Boys often call their friends using their friend's parent's name for fun. Some of them said they did not mind being called by their parent's name, as long as it does not aim to insult or mock. However, when the call becomes insulting and mocking, the adolescent whose parent's name is mocked becomes upset and feels bullied; and they usually fight back to their peers who bully them.	*"Calling peers using parents name is common."* (Boys' discussion group, Bandar Lampung) *"If I am called by my parents' name, I won't be offended because those are my parents' names. But it is annoying when it becomes mocking to my parents."* (Girls' discussion group discussion, Denpasar)

Forms of physical bullying are gendered

Boys reported money taken, beating, fighting, stripping and having genitals played with

Girls reported "trash talk", pushing, pulling hair, kicking and hitting

Girls also reported harassment from boys who touched private body parts, e.g. breast or buttocks

b. Non-verbal violence

Patterns of physical and non-verbal violence seem to be clearly gendered. Boys reported taking money, beating or fighting, and sexual harassment such as stripping naked or playing with friend's genitals.

Girls meanwhile reported "trash talk", lashing out in anger (usually motivated by boyfriend issues), pushing, pulling hair, kicking and hitting each other. Girls also reported receiving harassment from boys in the form of their private body parts such as breast or buttocks being touched by boys .

"*Boys touch girls' breasts or buttocks because they (boys) can't resist sex drive. It is too strong.*" (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)

c. Perpetrators

- **Peers**

Peer perpetrators are often those who are bigger or more popular

The GEAS baseline suggested that peers are the most common source of bullying and violence in school, with 76% of those who had felt threated reporting peers as the source. Adolescent boys and girls could become both perpetrators and victims of violence. GEAS research results show that 16.9% of adolescent boys and 8.4% of adolescent girls become the perpetrators of physical violence. Some 16.6% of boys and 6.1% of girls bully and threaten their peers. The perpetrators usually have distinctive characteristics, for example, their physique is bigger than their peers, they are arrogant because they feel superior to their peers, or they have many friends. They tend to harass the peers who they dislike and who seem powerless. And not only boys; girls also become perpetrators of violence.

"Usually, those who bully, are bigger than us and arrogant. While actually it only takes one hit to shut them up." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

"The seniors. They are the seniors. They've been in the school longer." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)

"When I was in elementary school, I have girl friend who bully and spat on boys. She then expelled from school." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

- **Teachers**

Bullying by teachers includes harsh words, throwing pens or tearing students' textbooks, often carried out in the classroom and witnessed by other students

Of the GEAS respondents who felt threated at school, 16.4% said they felt threatened by teachers. The qualitative research suggested that teachers usually bullied students they considered to be lagging behind and undisciplined. They are guilty of verbal and non-verbal violence, such as using harsh words, throwing pens or tearing students' textbooks. The action are sometimes carried out in the classroom and witnessed by other students.

"Once when our class was without a teacher, there was another teacher who said: this is an outcast class. The teacher kept mocking us even when the school was finished." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

"The teacher spoke loudly, yelled at him and tore out his book. The teacher was so angry. He was treated like that [by the teacher] in each session. Once, the teacher also thrown a book at him." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

"The teacher was so mad that he throws markers and eraser at us. We were expelled from the room. But when we were about to go out, the teacher got furious and told us to sit down." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Semarang)

"Guru itu bicara dengan lantang, meneriaki dia dan menyobek bukunya. Gurunya sangat marah. Murid itu diperlakukan seperti ini [oleh guru tersebut] di setiap kelas. Suatu waktu, guru itu pernah melempar buku ke murid tersebut." (Diskusi kelompok remaja perempuan, Denpasar)

"Guru itu murka sekali sampai dia melempar spidol dan penghapus ke kami. Kami dikeluarkan dari ruang kelas. Tapi pada saat kami mau keluar, guru itu marah dan menyuruh kami untuk duduk." (Kelompok diskusi remaja perempuan, Semarang)

d. Responses to bullying

In response to bullying, girls tend to report more quickly, while boys try to hold back emotions and retaliate if physically attached

Adolescents who experience violence at school cope with and respond in passive and active ways. Passive responses include crying, holding back tears, and keeping quiet. This response is common among adolescents who feel they have no power to retaliate. Active responses include fighting back verbally or physically or complaining to the teacher. Boys usually try to hold back their emotions to verbal violence from classmates. But if they are physically attacked, they retaliate immediately.

- **Ignoring**

  Some adolescents prefer to ignore verbal violence because they think it is not worth to response.

  "Just ignore. It will go away." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

- **Report to teachers**

  Boys seldom report violence at school to teachers. They think reporting the case to teacher would worsen their self-image and exacerbate the incident. Besides, their peers will consider them weak, and they will become regular targets of violence.

  "Girls directly report to teacher. They are crybaby. Boys usually keep it to themselves. If it goes too far, they will report it or fight back." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

  In addition, to avoid a bigger problem, boys tend not to report violence to the teacher and keep silent when they become the victim, related to their concept of masculinity in gender (that men can't be "whiny").

  "We [boys] are taught not to be whiny, to not bother. Otherwise parents can fight parents. Problems shouldn't reach parents." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

  Meanwhile, girls tend to report violence to their teacher. However, they would stop reporting when the response they get from the teacher is disappointing. In some cases, instead of supporting the girls who become the victim of violence, teachers blame them.

  "We have been teased by boys and report to the teachers. They say, 'You should cover your body' while we actually don't do anything." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

  "If we tell the teacher, we are blamed, like we are being made to fight each other." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

- **Report to seniors**

  "They went to the seniors. They said that they were beaten up. Senior were going to help the next day." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

- **Retaliate**

  Girls also respond to physical violence with retaliation. In some cases, girls involved in physically fighting with their female peers or boys and get injured. It means that boys and girls do respond to non-verbal violence in similar ways.

  "I hit [the boy who teased me] to shut him up." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

  "He asked me to come forward to read book. Suddenly he hit me. I hit back. Then I returned to my chair. He hit a table." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Parents give their children advice on how to respond to violence at school:

a. Ignore it if the violence level is low.

"*I said to my child, avoid anything that happens, just consider them as crazy people talking nonsense. Just ignore them*." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

"I always say to my children that if he ignores whatever others say, as long as they don't hurt you, they will stop eventually. As long as they don't touch you, ignore them." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

"You don't need to look for trouble. If someone challenges you to a fight, ignore them though you want to give them your best shot. I told him to remember what I said." (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

"I advise them. Don't get too close to that kid. That's all. Avoid them." (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

b. Report to authorities (teachers at school and parents at home) if the violence is serious and threatening.

"If you feel unease, tell your classroom teacher, at home to parents. Let them know. If your classroom teacher can't do anything, inform the parents. Parents will speak to classroom teacher. If that still hasn't resolved it, parents might intervene." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Parents report to teachers when they children experience violence. However, if they are not satisfied with the teacher's response, they may decide to solve the problem with the perpetrator's parents.

"Yesterday my son had an accident. He accidentally bumped into a senior in the canteen. He is now scared. I want to meet this boy. The school belongs to everybody. Perhaps my kid has done something wrong but don't pull the hair. Yesterday I looked for the parents or the perpetrator." (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

"Once, my child looked depressed. I kept asking softly the reason. But my kid doesn't want to say anything. Then I talked to the teacher and asked for the [information of any violence that my kid experience]. It is now ok." (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

c. Instilling confidence in children.

"For me, I instill confidence." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Parents also suggested teachers should work together with them in eradicating violence at school. Parents said they do not know what happens to their children at school, if their children become perpetrators or victims of violence. On the other hand, teachers do not know what situation at home may have led adolescents to develop aggressive behavior and become perpetrators at school. Therefore, parents and teachers should communicate and find ways to prevent children from being victims or perpetrators of violence at school.

"... But please, teachers, if there is violence and bullying, inform us. Especially if for example my child does it. We don't know what he does at school. For bullying and all things at school

are beyond our control as parents." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Parents also give advice to their children when they witness violence and bullying at school.

a. Advise children to reflect on the event and not to commit the same.

"So, any type of bully is not good. Well, for example, now your friend is like that. Remember, that is not good. Well, for example, now we don't have to go too far. Imagine if we experience that. It won't be nice nor comfortable. Think if that happens to us." (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

b. Report to the authorities.

c.

"First, he must protect himself. So, if there is an incident like that he has to report to BK [teacher] which will handle it later. Or report to us [parents]." (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

Solutions proposed by adolescents to overcome these problems in schools include:

1. Punishments/penalties for perpetrators. School keeps a score for perpetrators: a score of 30 is warning; when the score is 60, parents will be summoned; a score of 90 and above means expulsion from school.
2. Teachers should monitor bullying-prone places in schools.
3. Bullies, with their parents' names written on paper and stuck to their back, receive social punishment.

To conclude, adolescents commonly experience violence at school. Some become victims and others become perpetrators. Not only peers, but teachers can become the perpetrators of violence at school. Parents advise their children to respond to violence by reporting it to the school authorities. But adolescents have their own choices of response. They respond passively to low level of violence and retaliate to high levels of violence (non-verbal or physical). This means, adolescents have some ability to respond to violence at school.

3.4.2 Bullying via social media

Bullying via social media is common, taking the form of reposting photos with harsh words or sending bullying messages or comments; peers are the most common perpetrators, but strangers also bully online.

GEAS results showed that most adolescents (90.9%) have access to social media. 68.1% of adolescents send messages to their friends on a daily basis (74.5% of girls versus 60.7% of boys). Almost a third (29.3%) spend more than two hours per day on social media (25.8% boys versus 32.5% girls).

In group discussions, adolescents (especially girls) like to display their best profile photos on their social media account. Often, they edited the photos to make themselves look more beautiful, before they uploaded to their account. However, in many cases, edited profile photos are a source of bullying.

Violence on social media includes

- The profile photo is given a sticker and harsh words are written on it
- A victim is photographed candidly by a friend, then the photo is zoomed and made to a sticker with mocking words and circulated via social media
- Photos on social media are tagged by friends and are abused
- Status on social media is commented on in harsh words by friends
- Social media accounts are hacked and are rewritten with harsh words

a. Perpetrators of violence on social media

- **Peers**

As with offline violence, peers become the most common perpetrators in cyber violence. A student explained that she was even contacted by a female senior via WhatsApp and threatened because she posted a photo of herself with a boy.

> *"I have been yelled at by a senior for taking a photo together with a handsome senior. Then I posted on instastory [Instagram story]. The person chatted me. I was threatened softly."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

- **Strangers**

> *"I opened Instagram: I have a DM (direct message). I can't read the sender's name since the letters are weird. His profile is an athlete's profile. He mocks my parents' names and my name. I ask but he gets angry. He said that I have skipped school and even stolen something. I'm confused. Luckily, I have a neighbor who is good at IT. When I check, I don't know who (that account) belongs to; but he knows my parents."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

b. Reasons for violence on social media

Adolescents said the reason the perpetrators carried out violence and bullying on social media is because they cannot do it in person. In addition, doing violence in social media will have a bigger negative effect on the target, as they intended. Victims of social media violence acknowledge that cyber bullying does bring bigger negative effects because it spreads quickly and easy in the cyberworld, which means more people know about it.

> *"They [the perpetrator] like to spread such embarrassing stuffs online. Like ugly photos are spread publicly quickly. They also write harsh words to the account owner and the account owner is tagged."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

c. Responses to violence on social media

Bullying cases in social media are also often resolved offline. The victim of the bullying often knows the perpetrator. Therefore, the victim can respond it by going to the perpetrators in person and asking them to delete the words written on their private account. Adolescents think that cyber bullying is most difficult to handle when perpetrators use fake accounts which are difficult to trace.

Adolescents try to resolve the case offline when they know the perpetrator

3.4.3 Violence at home

The GEAS indicated that besides feeling threatened at school, 27.1% of boys and 26.2% of girls said they felt threatened in their home environment. However, only 26.2% of adolescents have people they can contact when they feel threatened. Of these, 38.5% of adolescent girls have someone to contact when they feel threatened. In adolescent boys, only 33.6% of them have such contacts. Because they often feel threatened, the majority of adolescent boys (43.2%) have carried a weapon for protection, and 38.8% of adolescent girls do the same (GEAS, 2019).

The GEAS also explored adverse childhood experiences (ACEs), which are potentially traumatic events experienced in childhood which can have lasting effects on health and wellbeing. These experiences range from physical, emotional, or sexual abuse to parental divorce or the incarceration of a parent or guardian. A fifth (20.8%) of students experienced five or more ACEs indicating very significant trauma exposure; half (45.4%) have experienced three or more ACEs, indicating significant trauma exposure. Boys significantly more often reported five or more ACEs compared to girls

The qualitative research sought to explore some of the reasons underlying these figures. Referral to psychosocial support was offered in cases where traumatic experiences were mentioned.

Adolescents mentioned the following forms of violence at home, the most common were being scolded with harsh words and loud voice and compared to siblings, other cousins or adolescents, which were mentioned in all three sites. Some adolescents also mentioned physical violence such as being hit, by hand, wood, or other objects (e.g. sandals) and being humiliated in front of friends by being called lazy.

a. Reasons for violence at home

- **Temperamental family**

  Violence often occurs in families with temperamental characters. Adolescents who have such families choose not to tell their families anything to avoid misunderstandings that lead to violence.

The most common forms of violence at home were verbal scolding, but some adolescents also mentioned being hit. Alcohol was cited as a main trigger for violence.

> *"My family is heavy-handed. They speak in loud voice. They are temperamental. So, for example, if I tell a story, we may have a fight."* (Girls' and boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

- **Alcoholism**

  The problem of alcoholism in the family and neighborhood is one of the triggers for violence. Some adolescents say that they are victims of violence by drunk parents or relatives; or witnessing acts of violence by them on other family members at home.

> *"In* lebaran *(Islamic holiday), my uncle was drunk in front of the house with his friends. When I passed by, I was cornered. I screamed for help from my dad."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

GEAS research results showed that 11.4% of adolescents have witnessed their mothers being threatened or beaten (GEAS, 2019). In group discussions, some adolescents told us that they had witnessed their father getting drunk and hurting the siblings, mother, or witnessing neighbors who were fighting, or witnessing relatives (aunts who were abused).

> *"Once Dad came home late at night. Mom went looking for him. When he arrived, he was drunk and angry. He strangled Mom."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

- **Education**

  Parents in all three sites stated that they tried to avoid physical violence in educating children at home and tried to prioritize discussions with children. However, some said they are often "forced" to use violence against their children because they do not heed their words, or even talk back and fight. They claim to use violence with the aim of children understanding and learning from their mistakes.

> *"I scold my kids softly. If they repeat the same mistake, I will be harsher. People say that violence is not allowed, but if the child has gone too far, maybe that is the only way we could use. I always consider the levels of mistakes."* (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)
>
> *"We will also see the levels. First, I will talk to them nicely. If that happens again, I will be harsher."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Parents are aware of the impact of violence on children, such as trauma or children keeping their distance. They try to minimize violence at home. In addition to causing trauma, parents also assume that violence at home can encourage children to be permissive to acts of violence.

> *"Children commit violence perhaps because they imitate it. Then when he is faced with the same situation, he will commit violence too,*

because that is considered as something that he can do in that situation." (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

Parents realize that communication is more important than violence when educating children. They believe that children really want parents to love them. They believe that hugs and affection will be more effective in educating than violence.

"Every child has a sense of tresna *[affection] for his parents. Even though they are scolded, it was a sign that their parents love them*." (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

"Even if for example parents believe that their children are wrong, we still hug them so that they know that they are protected. Psychologically, they know that they are safe." (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

b. Responses to violence

Witnessing continuous violence in the surrounding environment by adults makes adolescents accept and internalize violence and this affects their mental health. Witnessing violence can have an impact on adolescents, they claim to be disturbed by it.

"That's not good. Like, getting drunk is a bad example." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)

Generally, adolescents reported not having much power to retaliate to violence at home. When experiencing the violence, the response of adolescent boys and girls varies. Girls usually cry, are afraid, and shut themselves up in a room. Adolescent boys do not fight back and keep quiet when receiving physical violence. However, they stated that if their mother nagged them, they would sometimes cry.

3.5 Mental health

The GEAS found that overall, respondents showed high levels of worry and sadness. Half (50.3%) said they worry with no good reason, a third (31.4%) said they are so unhappy they cannot sleep and night and a fifth (19.7%) said they have thought about harming themselves. For all these items, boys scored higher than boys. Through this qualitative research, we sought to explore these findings in more depth, seeking to answer the following research question:

- Why do boys and girls feel worried, unhappy or sad?
- How do boys and girls experience these differently?
- What pressures are boys and girls under?
- How do they cope with these?

Snapshot findings

Sources of worry and stress

- Pressure from school is a major factor in adolescents' stress and worry; they have heavy workloads and little time to relax.
- Conflict with friends and parents is also cited as a main reason for stress and worry

Coping mechanisms

- Adolescents rarely share their stress and sadness with their parents
- Online entertainment using smartphones is the most popular way for adolescent to get rid of sadness, followed by sharing it with their close friends
- Boys try not to cry while girls get upset more easily
- Only a few parents provide their children with strategies to manage their mental health; these parents teach adolescents how to deal with bullying and harassment, ranging from passivity (ignoring) to the most aggressive way (replying or reporting to the teacher)
- However, teachers are not actually considered by adolescents as effective actors in dealing with bullying in schools, because teachers also become actors of bullying and violence, and are often less sensitive to these cases at school

3.5.1 School pressure

Pressure from school is a major factor in adolescents' stress and worry. They have heavy workloads and little time to relax.

The qualitative research demonstrated that pressure from school is a major factor in adolescents' stress and worry. All adolescent, boys and girls, mentioned school as their source of sadness and pressure because of:

- Plenty of school assignments and homework
- Homework are done but not always checked by the teacher
- Fear of getting scolded by parents because of bad grades
- School subjects are boring
- Fear of failure in a test at school
- Often scolded by a teacher for fighting with a schoolmate (boys):

  "Fighting. If we are wrong, that remains in our mind. For example, we play pranks. The next day, we are called to BK office. That will be a big headache." (Boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

- Being blamed by teacher when arguing/disputing with girls (boys):

  "Yes, girls are always right, never wrong, because there are many female teachers." (Boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

All adolescent stated they are unhappy with their school assignments. It is too much and they feel exhausted. They even have the assignments to finish during the weekends and holidays. They feel they do not have time to rest and relax at all.

Parents are aware of their children's school burden, as they often find their children doing school assignments while on vacation. Parents suggested that school and teacher reconsider the students' burden as it may lead their child to depression. Also, parents are concerned about teacher's attitudes, which they think sometimes are too strict and make their children depressed.

"... There should not be 'killer teacher' anymore. Teacher should prioritize communication with students. When there is group assignment, teachers should be able to provide guidance so that each student can do their assignment well." (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Parents also expressed dislike of their children's heavy school assignments and they disagreed with the idea of full-day school.

"I do not agree, because it will burden my kids. They are tired already and get bored. Coming home at 4pm already sickens him, not to mention 6pm." (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

While some parents often asked their children to help them with household chores, some parents, knowing their children's burden in school, free their children from the duty.

"My daughter entered medical school ... She is still very young and I observe she has a lot of burden. I often worry if she will succeed her study. So, I do not want to add her another burden at home. I free her from all household chores." (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Conflict with friends and parents is also cited as a main reason for stress and worry

3.5.2 Pressure from peers and friendship

Adolescents are emotionally attached to their peers. Any issue that interferes their social relations with friends will cause sadness. Some friendship issues that cause sadness among adolescents are:

- Being bullied by a friend (boys and girls)
- Having hostile friends (boys and girls)
- Have no friends to share (girls)
- Losing online game (boys)
- Fighting with friends (boys and girls)
- Broken heart (girls)
- Separation from friends (boys and girls)

Adolescents who are unable to fight and overcome these friendship problems become very sad and depressed, while sadness due to a breakup only appears occasionally in discussions, possibly because the number of adolescents who are dating is still low.

Sadness due to breakups is mostly expressed by girls rather than boys. In the boys' group discussions, sadness from losing online games is more often reported than breakup from relationship with girl. While boys are too focused on online game, they will always associate their sadness and happiness with winning or losing the game.

3.5.3 Pressure from parents

Parents' attitudes and behavior become a source of sadness for adolescent. Parental attitudes and behavior that make adolescents sad include:

▪ Parents scolding adolescents (for various reasons)	"*The saddest is when getting yelled at by parents using harsh words*." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)
▪ Parents comparing adolescents to their peers	"*I am most offended when being compared to others.*" (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)
▪ Parents' divorce	*"My* parents *are divorced. It makes me sad"* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Semarang)
▪ Parents forbidding adolescents from playing with smartphone	*"I'm sad when my parents take my smartphones away."* (Boy's class discussion, Semarang)
▪ Parents prohibiting adolescents from playing outside the house	*"I am not allowed to play outside. My parents told me to study all the time. This makes me sad."* (Boy's class discussion, Semarang)
▪ Parents telling adolescents to do household chores (usually among girls)	*"I feel sad, when parents often told me to do dishes when I just arrived home from school, and still tired."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)
▪ Parents getting angry because of bad grades	*"I'm sad if the test scores are bad. I don't want to repeat the year. Mom will be mad at me."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)
▪ Parents yelling at adolescents (because adolescents are lazy)	*"My parents often called me lazy. Actually I'm not lazy. I just still tired from school. But Mom insisted me to help her (with household chores)."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)

▪ Parents doing physical violence to adolescents when they return home late at night	*"I was once hit by my father for returning home late at night."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)
▪ Parents not loving adolescents	*"Sometimes I like to think, why am I always wrong. My parents don't love me."* (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Denpasar)
▪ Parents treating an adolescent differently to their sibling	*"If my younger sister asked for something to my parents, she will get it. But if I ask for similar things, my parents seldom grant it. My parents treat me differently from my sibling. I feel sad."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Denpasar)
▪ Parents not giving an adolescent a daily allowance	*"No daily allowance makes me sad. I can't buy snacks."* (Male student's group discussion, Semarang)
▪ Parents are sick/passed away	*"I was sad when my father had a stroke then passed away."* (Adolescent boys group discussion, Denpasar)

Parents realized their children experience pressure from various sources and feel sad:

> "*I think children feel sad and depressed because they experience a lot of pressure, from friends, from school and from many sources*" (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

But parents also admitted their contribution to their children sadness. They often expect too much from their children in school and when their children could not reach the expectation, they feel sad:

> "*Maybe we, parents expect too high. When children could not achieve it [our expectation], they get depressed and sad."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Parents are also aware of their habit of comparing their children with their siblings and peers. They admitted it can cause depression and sadness to their children sometimes, even though they don't mean it that way. Their objective of comparing adolescents with siblings or others is to motivate adolescents:

> *"I often do that (comparing). I told him: I want to motivate you to be good. But he still won't accept."* (Parents' group discussion, Denpasar)

3.5.4 Getting sad for no reason

moody and sad when seeing a baby crying or seeing someone else gets hurt. Boys, on the other hand, seldom spoke of experiencing similar situations. This finding is very similar to GEAS research results stating that 50.3% of adolescents often feel anxious without a cause (GEAS, 2019).

Parents admit that their children often get sad without knowing the exact source. According to them, it is because adolescents are still psychologically unstable. Some parents mention lack of understanding life and its religious aspects as the source of this.

> *"I think adolescent are not yet mature and their communication skill is not sufficient enough. It is hard for them to express their feelings. They are different from college students who are able to communicate their feelings better.*" (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

> *"In my view, kids are under a lot of pressure. When they think there is no solution, they may commit suicide.*" (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

> *"In my opinion, if children are religious enough, they will not committed suicide when they have problem. Adolescent should be taught about religion so they will have strong mental health."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

Parent's strategy to help their children overcome sadness:

> *"Parents should maintain communication with children. We can be their friends so they will share their daily problem with us. It will help them relieve stress and prevent sadness."* (Parents' group discussion, Semarang)

To conclude, the parent can be the source of adolescent sadness because of their attitude and behavior. Adolescents feel sad when their parent gives them a lot of pressure or lacks expressions of love and caring.

3.5.5 Strategies to deal with worry, disappointment and sadness

Adolescents rarely share their stress and sadness with their parents, particularly when the source of their sadness is parent. However, they have their own strategies to deal with their mental health. They prefer to share their sadness with their peers and attempt to overcome sadness by doing activities with them that make them happy. This sub section discusses adolescents' strategies to maintain their mental health.

Adolescents rarely share their stress and sadness with their parents, particularly when the source of their sadness is parent.

Online entertainment using smartphones is the most popular way for adolescents to get rid of sadness, followed by sharing it with their close friends. Boys try not to cry, while girls get upset more easily.

GEAS results suggest that adolescents rarely tell their parents about their sadness. If they have to tell their parents, 41.6% of adolescents talk to their mothers and only 2.6% to their fathers. Most adolescents share their sadness with their peers (38.6%). The discussions with adolescents in the three sites show that, when their source of sadness is violence and bullying from their peers, girls share with parents and ask for help, but boys do not. Boys prevent their parents becoming involved in their problems with peers.

Entertaining themselves using smartphones is the most popular way for adolescents to get rid of sadness. Boys use smartphones to play online games while girls use them surf on social media. However, if the phones are taken away by parents and they can't use them, they will sleep or do activities outside the house with friends (sports, traveling, playing).

> *"If you're sad, just stay in the room, hold my smartphone or sleep"* (Adolescent boys group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

The second most popular way to get rid of sadness among adolescents is to tell their friends. Girls tend to share their sadness not just with one friend but with several; adolescent boys only tell one of their closest friends:

> *"Confide but only to close friends (boys). Not to everyone. I don't want everyone to know."* (Adolescent boy's class discussion, Semarang - Central Java)

The discussion with adolescents exposed different preferences between boys and girls in their strategies to overcome sadness. Boys tend to divert their attention to other activities that make them happy, either alone or with friends. Very few boys allow themselves to be carried away by grief and cry or hurt themselves. Only a few boys said they cried because they were too sad:

> *"Trying not to cry. But have also cried. But not ashamed to cry. Just so so."* (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Semarang)

Girls tend to be carried away by sadness and are prone to self-harming. Some of them have witnessed their female peers hurt themselves because they are too sad, mostly because of a break up with their boyfriend or a problem with their parents.

> *"I saw some cut their arms. She said they feel desperate. But I think she just wanted some sensation. She wanted her ex-boyfriend pay attention to them. She used scissors to hurt themselves*." (Adolescent girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

> *"There is a friend (self-harming). I prevented her from hurting herself, but she said she doesn't want to live anymore because her parents don't care about her anymore. Her parents often get angry to her. At home, she feels that nobody loves her."* (Adolescent boys' and girls' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Among adolescents, self-harming is considered as "over acting". Adolescent negative comments on other adolescents who commit suicide due to mental stress illustrate the ability of adolescents to control emotions properly. They choose to channel emotions in other normative ways.

> "*Committed suicide because of broken heart? Like the one who jumping off a tall tower is really a waste. Over acting*" (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

> *"Love of slave climb a tower and then wanted to jump off just because they are heartbroken. That too corny ... They just looking for sensation*." (Adolescent boys' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

Parents observe that boys and girls have different characteristics so that their strategies and abilities in dealing with sadness are also different. Parents observe that girls can control sadness more than boys.

> *"If they can't reach the dreams, they will be sad. Girls can go through this quickly. Boys take longer.*" (Parents' group discussion, Bandar Lampung)

To conclude, adolescents have some positive strategies for dealing with sadness. Only very few of them mentioned tantrums, consuming drugs and alcohol, or hurting themselves as the strategy. Committing suicide seen as "corny" rather than a good strategy to respond to sadness. These respondents know when they need to seek help and when they feel they can handle it by themselves.

CHAPTER IV

Conclusion and Recommendations

4.1 Conclusion and discussion

The period of adolescence (aged 10 to19) is one of the most critical periods of human development, as health and well-being at this age have lifelong consequences for health trajectories in later life (Blum et al., 2014). The baseline of the Global Early Adolescent Study (GEAS) (Wilopo et al., 2019) provided insights on a number of key issues currently faced by young people in Indonesia, including their experience of violence, mental health and future aspirations. We saw clear gendered differences in several outcomes, suggesting that gender norms disadvantage both boys and girls in different ways. Through this Youth Voices Research (YVR) we have gained deeper insights to the finding of the GEAS baseline, understanding in more detail how the norms and values related to gender, sexuality, power and violence impact on young people's lives and future aspirations. The following concluding chapter draws together three overarching findings about how social and gender norms influence the experiences of young Indonesians and sets out recommendations for how comprehensive sexuality education could mitigate negative experiences and contribute to better health and well-being in the longer term.

1. **Deeply embedded gender norms disadvantage both boys and girls in different ways**

   The YVR showed that patriarchal gender norms are deeply embedded across all three sites, and that at age 13, expectations and assumptions related to these norms have far-reaching consequences for both boys and girls, albeit in different ways.

   At age 13, **boys'** aspirations for education are limited as they are expected to enter work as soon as possible to become a provider for their family. This impacts their engagement in education and how seriously they are taken in class by teachers. Boys are expected to be tough and are encouraged not to cry when they face mental distress. **Girls'** future role as wife, mother and homemaker is assumed by both adolescents and parents. Girls have higher aspirations for education – in order to prepare them for marriage – but lower aspirations for work, as after marriage work becomes secondary to fulfilling their duties at home. Girls have more decision-making freedom than boys, as they are seen as more mature and more able to make informed

decisions compared to boys. However, girls are more restricted in movement than boys, in order to protect them.

In 2020 and 2021, we will carry out further measurements of the longitudinal GEAS study, which will allow us to study how these gendered differences develop and how they influence health trajectories; it is likely that some of these factors are up-stream antecedents of sexual and other developmental risks.

Implication: *Need for programming to address harmful gender norms from an early age, at multiple levels*

The need to address harmful gender norms and gender inequality has been raised by many scholars and organizations and is recognized in the United Nations Sustainable Development Goal #5 on gender equality. Achieving SDG5 is also vital to achieving the other SDGs (Blum et al., 2019). We echo the need for interventions that focus on addressing harmful gender norms via both individual level attitudes as well as community and institutionalized norms. The data from the GEAS and this YVR illustrate that gender inequality harms both boys and girls from a young age in distinct but equally profound manners, and that starting at 15 or later, as many youth SRHR programs do, is too late. Comprehensive sexuality education is one kind of intervention that can help to address harmful gender norms.

2. **Taboos around sexuality lead to low SRH knowledge which puts adolescents at risk of abuse and low self-confidence**

   Taboos around sexuality mean that young people do not discuss sexual and reproductive health issues with their parents, contributing to very low levels of SRH knowledge. Such low knowledge can put young people at risk as they have less understanding of their own bodies and boundaries and may not understand what is happening to them. Taboos around sexuality can also contribute to negative feelings about developing bodies and emerging sexual and romantic feelings.

Implication: *Comprehensive sexuality education can improve knowledge and understanding and help protect adolescents*

Comprehensive sexuality education can provide accurate information to help adolescents to better understand their bodies and boundaries. As sex and sexuality are demystified, stigma can be reduced and young people can feel more comfortable with themselves and their developing bodies, improving mental health and self-esteem. This improved understanding can also help to reduce young people's risk of abuse (Boonstra 2011; UNFPA, 2015).

3. **Bullying at school is common, perpetrators include peers and teachers and some parents support the use of violence at home**

   GEAS illustrated that experiences of violence are common, that many children feel unsafe at school, and that while much bullying comes from peers, teachers are also perpetrators. The YVR provides depth to these findings, showing how bullying is common and often linked to gender norms. We found that teacher bullying is common and that this has an impact on young people's mental health and discourages boys from speaking up in class. We know from ongoing implementation research as part of Explore4Action that teachers see the need to address bullying, but that they find it very challenging to do so. The YVR also indicated that some parents support violence at home, and that adolescents feel they have little power to combat experiences of violence at home. This is particularly worrying as we know that experience of violence in childhood can increase the risk of later experiences of violence as both

perpetrator and victim (Mahendra et al. 2019, Ramaiya, forthcoming .) Findings on experiences of violence in school and at home seem linked to broader (and not always negative) norms of strict respect to elders and children having little power and agency in relation to adults (Ramaiya, forthcoming).

Implication: *Need for interventions to reduce bullying, improve non-violent conflict resolution and to critically assess norms relating to violence and adult-child power dynamics*

All the schools involved in E4A have a child-friendly school policy, but it is clear that this policy alone is insufficient to create a safe school environment. There is a need for interventions that improve skills for non-violent conflict resolution, targeting both adolescents as well as teachers and ideally the wider community including parents. These interventions can also foster critical thinking among teachers and parents on norms related to child-adult power dynamics, the acceptability of different forms of violence, and possible consequences for later life.

4.2 Recommendations

The implications of these overarching findings all point to recommendations for interventions targeted at adolescents, teachers, parents and the wider community which address harmful norms and taboos relating to gender, sexuality, power and violence. The following sets out recommendations on how increased access to **comprehensive sexuality education** (CSE) from a young age can help to mitigate the challenges and problems identified in this research.

1. **Comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) should be available to all adolescents in Indonesia from a young age**

   Using a rights-based and gender transformative approach, comprehensive sexuality education (CSE) seeks to equip young people with the knowledge, skills, attitudes and values they need to determine and enjoy their sexuality – physically and emotionally, individually and in relationships (IPPF, 2010). "Sexuality" is approached holistically and within the context of emotional and social development, incorporating not only sexual and reproductive health but also gender, relationships, diversity, violence and rights. CSE can contribute directly to addressing the three findings above related to low SRH knowledge arising from taboos around sexuality, the impact of harmful gender norms, and violence in schools and at home.

   Firstly, CSE can **provide vital SRH knowledge**, which can reduce misinformation, shame and anxiety – leading to improved self-confidence, body comfort and mental health (Boonstra 2011; UNFPA, 2015). Increased knowledge and understanding can improve young people's abilities to make safe and informed choices about their sexual and reproductive health which in turn can help to reduce the risk of abuse and violence

   Secondly, through a gender transformative approach, CSE **can build skills to critically reflect on gender norms and their implications.** CSE which takes a gender transformative approach[1] includes a focus on the following:

   1. Raising awareness about unhealthy, rigid and harmful gender and sexual norms
   2. Questioning the costs (in relation to sexual and reproductive health and rights / sexual and gender-based violence (SGBV)) of adhering to these harmful norms, for people of all genders

Competencies for sexual wellbeing

Through CSE, Rutgers aims to strengthen six "competencies" in order to support adolescents' healthy sexuality development and promote their sexual well-being (physical, emotional, mental and social well-being in relation to sexuality). The six competencies are: sexual literacy; gender equal attitudes; respect for human rights and understanding of consent; critical reflection skills; coping skills and interpersonal skills. These competencies on their own are insufficient to guarantee sexual well-being, as this also depends on the personal, social and economic resources or assets available to them, their (sexual) agency, their partners, and on the influence of institutional structures such as policies, laws and norms. However, strengthening these competencies helps to lay the foundation for healthy and positive sexuality development, and can contribute to adolescent development more broadly. The degree to which the SETARA CSE curriculum can contribute to strengthening these competencies will be measured through the next wave of GEAS, to be gathered in 2020.

[1] For more information on the gender transformative approach see https://www.rutgers.international/what-we-do/gender-transformative-approach/gender-transformative-approach-toolkit

3. **Replacing unhealthy, inequitable gender norms with redefined *healthy, inclusive and positive* gender and sexual norms, for example promoting positive masculinities**

   The gender transformative approach is important for CSE as it contributes to promoting more gender equal attitudes and more equality in relationships, which can positively impact on the reduction of SGBV and well as the promotion of contraception use. This positive impact can especially be achieved if it is combined with interventions that address harmful social norms in the community and that promote availability and accessibility of youth-friendly (health) services and commodities (Igras et al. forthcoming).

   Thirdly, the findings of this research indicated the need for interventions which **reduce bullying, improve non-violent conflict resolution and critically assess norms relating to violence and adult-child power dynamics**. CSE provides tools and opportunities to address these areas. Exploring different types of violence and the norms and dynamics (in particular related to gender and power) underlying them, understanding what is acceptable, how to prevent them and where to seek help are all a critical part of CSE (IPPF, 2010). The YVR indicated that peer bullying often happens online. CSE can also provide skills in media literacy enabling young people to critically assess images and interactions they encounter online including bullying and adult or pornographic material.

   Importantly, if these benefits of CSE are to be realised, **teacher training** is vital to develop the necessary skills and competencies (UNESCO, 2009, 2018). Training topics may include skills in talking about taboo issues related to sexuality, understanding and unpacking personal norms and values, and developing skills in learner-centered, interactive approaches which may be very different from pedagogical approaches previously learned and experienced.

2. **CSE should be implemented as part of a whole-school approach and include interventions for parents**

   The Youth Voices Research demonstrated that social norms and taboos relating to gender, sexuality, power and violence have wide reaching impacts on both boys and girls. These derive from the wider community, and will not be addressed by CSE alone, which is focused on adolescents' individual well-being and development in relation to sexuality. It is therefore vital for CSE to be implemented as part of a wider whole-school approach, and for parents to be included.

   The **Whole School Approach** (WSA) [2] is an implementation model for sustainable and scalable CSE. It works through a participatory approach with a school committee consisting of teachers, students, PTA members and other relevant school stakeholders. It aims to embed sexuality education into the school structure, with the school in the driving seat, and having full ownership of the CSE program. The support of the wider management of the school helps teachers to overcome the stigma of teaching sensitive topics using less "traditional" methods. The WSA also focuses on creating safe environments in the wider school, for example taking a whole-school approach to tackle bullying. The WSA facilitates parent-child communication because parents are sensitized about what their children learn and why, and are provided with answers to their questions about "What is normal development?" and "How can I best support my child?" Children also make an exhibition for parents to show what they learned, which facilitates communication.

   The addition of **interventions for parents** also has the potential to more deeply and comprehensively address the issues raised in this report including lack of communication on SRH topics, harmful gender norms and support for violence in the home. Like CSE for adolescents, interventions for parents can take similarly rights-based, gender transformative approaches and provide

[2] For more information see: https://www.rutgers.international/what-we-do/comprehensive-sexuality-education/whole-school-approach-sexuality-education-step-step

opportunities to critically assess harmful gender norms, provide alternatives for violent or aggressive behavior, and create a safe space for parents to discuss sexual and reproductive health with their children.

Appendices

Appendix 1:

Youth Voices Research Phase II Research Team Profiles

1. **Principal investigator: Prof Siswanto Agus Wilopo, SU., M.Sc, ScD**

   Siswanto Agus Wilopo is a Professor of Population Health and the Director of Center for Reproductive Health (CRH), Faculty of Medicine, Public Health and Nursing, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. He is a medical doctor and received his Master of Science degree from McMaster University, Canada in 1984 and his Doctor of Science degree from the Johns Hopkins School of Public Health in 1990. He is a former Chair of the Indonesia Public Health Physician Association (2011-2015) and the First Chairperson of the Indonesia Demographic Association (IPADI) from 2010-2017. He is also a former Deputy Chairperson of National Family Planning Coordinating Board (BKKBN), Indonesia (2001-2008) and the Deputy Assistant Minister of Population and Environment and Population/ FP from 1991-2000. He is currently working for Indonesia's FP2020 working group on Data and Monitoring Evaluation (a leader on Performance Monitoring Accountability for PMA2020). His research and publications are mainly in area of population health, especially in family planning and reproductive health issues.

2. **Field Manager & Researcher: Anggriyani Wahyu Pinandari, SKM., MPH**

   Anggriyani Wahyu Pinandari is a researcher at the Center for Reproductive Health (CRH), Faculty of Medicine, Public Health and Nursing, Universitas Gadjah Mada, Yogyakarta, Indonesia. She studied public health and received her Master of Public Health degree from Gadjah Mada University. During her masters she took Maternal Child and Reproductive Health as her major with concentration on family and population health. She studied comprehensive sexual and reproductive health education at formal education and the cohort effect on adolescent and young adult premarital sexual intercourse using the data collected through the nationally representative Indonesia Adolescent Reproductive Health Survey. She is a former lecturer at Universitas Lambung Mangkurat, Kalimantan Selatan. She is currently working for CRH and was involved in several projects under Global Commitment FP2020 (PMA2020 and Track20), Landscaping Adolescent Reproductive Study, and Adolescent Mental Health Survey. Her research and publications are mainly in the area of population health, especially in family planning and reproductive health issues.

3. **Qualitative Research Specialist: Fuji Riang Prastowo, SSos., M.Sc**

   Fuji is a lecturer in Sociology at the Universitas Gadjah Mada in Indonesia whose a master's degree from the Department of Anthropology and Development Studies at Radboud University Nijmegen, the Netherlands in 2015. He is a phenomenology-based ethnographer with a focus on multi-sited ethnography (ethnohistory and netnography), anthropology of mobility (diaspora, migration, identity), and development studies (social inclusion, youth, and sexuality). Some of his latest professional positions are Director at Golong Gilig Institute of Nusantara and Diaspora Studies (2015-now), Ethnohistorian/Research Fellow at National Library Board of Singapore (2017-2019), Qualitative Research Specialist in the YVR project of CRH UGM-Rutgers (2018-2019), Consultant at the Asia Foundation (2019), Field Supervisor at SGP-UNDP Project in Semau Island (2018-2020), Research Manager in the ICLD Sweden Project (2020-2021).

4. **Anna Page, BA (hons), MSc**

   Anna Page is a Research, Monitoring and Evaluation Adviser at Rutgers, center of expertise on Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, based in the Netherlands (http://www.rutgers.international/). Anna is the Rutgers lead for the Youth Voices Research, playing a key role in

capacity building for young researchers, advising on and managing the study and co-authoring this report. Anna holds an MSc in International Development Studies from the University of Amsterdam. Anna's previous experience includes leading participatory youth research in Kenya and managing policy, advocacy and research programs tackling social exclusion in the UK, with a focus on service user involvement.

5. **Miranda van Reeuwijk, PhD**

Miranda is a Senior Researcher for Rutgers, center of expertise on Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights, based in the Netherlands (http://www.rutgers.international/). Miranda holds a PhD in Medical Anthropology and her expertise includes research relating to children, adolescents and young people's sexuality, particularly in Africa and Asia. Central to her work is the active participation of children and young people in various levels and stages of (operational) research, intervention development, implementation, and Monitoring & Evaluation.

"I work for Rutgers WPF because I believe it is the best place to link research, policy and practice, to conduct meaningful research of which the results are immediately translated to improvement of SRHR strategies and implementation and that supports NGOs to work effectively, evidence based and demonstrate the important work they do and results they achieve."

1. **Data Manager: Grahasta Dian P, MPH**

Grhasta Dian Perestroika became a lecturer in a midwifery diploma program (D3 Kebidanan) at the General Achmad Yani University (UNJAYA) from 2014 to 2016 after earning a master's degree in health from the Epidemiology Study Program, Applied Health Science Concentration at the UNDIP Postgraduate School. The subjects she has taught include: Midwifery Concepts, Communication and Counseling, Midwifery Care for Postpartum Period. Currently she is pursuing her doctoral degree in the Doctorate Program, FK-KMK UGM with an interest on adolescent reproductive health. During her doctoral study, she has been involved in GEAS, with the supervision from her promotor.

Field Research Team:

a. Bandar Lampung

Field Coordinator: Asnani

Dr. Asnani, M.A was born in Srimenanti Village, Negara Batin Subdistrict, Way Kanan Regency, Lampung Province on March 13, 1985. In 2003, she was a student of the Department of Sociology at the University of Lampung and then graduated in 2007 as the best graduate at university level. In 2010 she became a graduate student in a master's education program and then graduated in 2012. In the same year she applied for a Domestic Postgraduate Education Scholarship (BPPDN) for prospective lecturers and in 2013 officially became a doctoral graduate student in the Study Program of Regional and Rural Development Planning at Faculty of Economics and Management, IPB Unversity then graduated in 2020. Since 2005 until now, she has been researching and serving community empowerment both with universities, ministries, private companies and local and international NGOs. She is lecturer in the Department of Sociology, Faculty of Social and Political Sciences, Lampung University.

Young Researcher:

1. **Bobby**

Bobby Hermanto, is a young researcher with a background in Sociology. He was the best graduate of the undergraduate program of the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP), Lampung University in 2018. During his undergraduate education, aside from being active in student organizational activities, such as the Student Publishing Association, Association of Sociology Student, and Student Executive Board, he also became a Laboratory Assistant for Community Empowerment and Local Wisdom of

FISIP University of Lampung. After graduating, he attended an apprenticeship program at a financial institution as a Staff in the Administration Section before joining as a Young Researcher in the Explore 4Action Program. Bobby is interested in research, education and community service activities. Currently, he is the Explore 4Action Program Officer (PO) at Local IPPF Bandar Lampung.

2. Rizkia Meutia Putri, SP

Rizkia Meutia Putri was born in Bandar Lampung. She completed her undergraduate degree at the Department of Agrotechnology, Faculty of Agriculture, University of Lampung (2013-2017). In 2015, she was elected as the faculty ambassador and carried out activities that were directly involved with the community. Her busy life during college did not dampen her high interest in social activities. She also joined many on-campus and off-campus organizations and communities. The Path of Social Innovation (Janis) is one of the organization she was involved in that fulfilled her passion for children and society's issues. She was invited as a young speaker at the "Voices and Actions of Young People" (2017) organized by Save the Children about the Sustainable Development Goals. In addition, she was a facilitator of the Empowomen social project (2017-2018) which has the full support of the Alumni Grant Scheme (Australian Embassy) which focuses on increasing the capacity of women in Lampung. Previously, she was facilitator for North Lampung district (2018) for "Integration Strategy for the Sustainable Development Goals Program (TPB) to the Region" by the United Nation Development Program (UNDP). She is currently a young researcher for the Explore 4 Action (E4A) program, working in Bandar Lampung since June 2018.

b. Denpasar

Field Coordinator: I Gusti Agung Agus Mahendra, SKM., MPH

I Gusti Agung Agus Mahendra was born in Bali. Since 2009, he has been actively volunteering at KISARA (Kita Sayang Remaja) which is a youth center managed by the Indonesian Family Planning Association (PKBI) Bali. In 2010, he was selected as a youth staff member to be in charge of research and empowerment, then in 2011 was selected as the KISARA coordinator. In addition, in the same year he was selected as the "I am young with Choices" Project Manager, a project that implements comprehensive sexuality education in schools, aims to increase visits to youth-friendly health services, and increase the awareness of program and policy makers on reproductive health issues and teen sexuality. I Gusti Agung Agus Mahendra completed his undergraduate degree in public health at Udayana University in 2012, then obtained his master's degree in public health at Gadjah Mada University in 2017, majoring in Maternal and Child Health - Reproductive Health. Upon graduation, he joined the Center of Public Health Innovation (CPHI) at the Faculty of Medicine, Udayana University as a research staff. In 2018 he joined the Explore4Action project research team, as the coordinator of the Denpasar area researchers. In addition, I Gusti Agung Agus Mahendra is also a lecturer in the Public Health, Technology and Science Study Program at Dhyana Pura University, Bali. His recent organizational activities include: member of the Association of the Public Health Educators, chair of the research division of PKBI Bali.

Young Researcher:

1. Iwan Abdi Suandana, SKM

Iwan Abdi Suandana graduated from Public Health undergraduate degree program, Faculty of Medicine, Udayana University and currently is a young researcher in the Explore 4 Action program for Denpasar region. Before joining the Explore 4 Action program, he was a research assistant in a research project organized by the Department of Community Medicine and Disease Prevention

(IKK-IKP) Faculty of Medicine, Udayana University and Center for Public Health Innovation (CPHI) Faculty of Medicine, Udayana University in 2018. In addition, he was also a volunteer in KISARA PKBI Bali on reproductive health, sexuality and HIV/AIDS.

2. Putri Septyaning Rahayu Ariesta S.Sosio., M.Sosio

Putri Septyaning Rahayu Ariesta was born in Surabaya. Septy obtained her undergraduate degree at the Sociology study program (2010-2015) and master's degree at Airlangga University. Sociology is the opening door for Septy to dig deeper into people's lives through conducting research or doing community services. She also has special interest in gender issues. She has been involved in a number of social researches, including a research project conducted in collaboration between the provincial government and several agencies in East Java Province (2012-2017); a research for Ministry of Research, Technology and Higher Education (2015-2018); and the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (2016). She is currently research assistant at the Center for Gender and Child-LPI Studies at Airlangga University (2015-present), member of the PUSPA Forum for research and women of the East Java Provincial Office of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, and young researcher for the Explore 4Action (E4A) program since June 2018 for the Denpasar City area.

c. Semarang

Field Coordinator: Solia Mince Muzir, S.Sos

Solia Mince Muzir is a Minangnese woman who migrated to Yogyakarta to do her undergraduate study in the Department of Sociology of Religion, Yogyakarta State Islamic University in 2004. Since college, she has actively participated in training, seminars and workshops related to gender and reproductive health issues. Since her introduction to PKBI DIY in 2009, she has begun to focus on the research and services/ assistance on reproductive health for young people. She joined the Explore4Action program as research coordinator for the Semarang Region in Central Java. Previously, she was a facilitator for reproductive health education program for female domestic workers in the Tjoet Njak Dien Grass Institute. She was also involved in humanitarian work in conducting studies on the fulfillment of reproductive health rights of victims of disasters by joining the Gender Working Group of Yogyakarta. Being a R&D staff at the Center for Advocacy for Women, Children and Disabilities, she focuses on conducting research on reproductive health for persons with disabilities. Her work on reproductive health and sexuality that has been published is “Lost Weed”, a Teenage Short Story in “Different and Colored”, Adolescent Sexual and Reproductive Health Education with disabilities; Parental Guidance and Child Assistance with Disabilities.

Young Researcher:

1. Lina Agnesia, S.Sos

Lina Agnesia is a graduate of the Anthropology Study Program (2012-2016), Faculty of Cultural Sciences, Brawijaya University, Malang, Indonesia in 2016. Lina has an interest in the social field, especially on religious and gender issues. Through anthropology, Lina explores qualitative research using ethnographic approaches and life history. Anthropology has led Lina to devote herself to research, especially social research. From 2013 to 2016, Lina was involved as a surveyor and observer in political activities with the MNC Group. In 2016, Lina was involved as a researcher from the Indonesian Human Service Foundation (IIM). In 2017, Lina was involved in several studies in Faculty of Cultural Sciences and Institute for Research and Community Service (LPPM) Universitas Brawijaya, Airlangga University and Bogor Agricultural Institute, and UNICEF CRBP. Lina also served as an administrative apprentice staff in the Anthropology Study Program from 2016-2017. At present, Lina is part of the Explore4Action program as a young researcher in the Semarang area. By raising the issue of reproductive health and sexuality in adolescents

and youth, the Explore4Action program makes Lina increasingly interested in exploring the issue, and sees the phenomenon from a social, religious and gender perspective. She is currently a young researcher for the Explore4Action program since June 2018 for the Semarang City area.

2. Putri Indah Novitasari, SKM

Putri Indah Novitasari is a young person who has been concerned in the world of reproductive health and teen sexuality for the past 5 years. She graduated from the undergraduate Public Health program at Muhammadyah University Semarang (UNIMUS) in 2017. Between February 2014 and October 2017 she volunteered at PKBI Central Java for the PILAR teenage program (Youth Information and Service Center). She was a research assistant in several research projects on Comprehensive Sexual Education (CSE), Comprehensive Sexual Services (CSS), Child Marriage and Maternal and Child Health (MCH) in several institutions such as the UI Gender and Sexuality Study Center, the Women Research Institute, Rutgers WPF Indonesia and ASEAN Regional UNFPA. She is currently a young researcher for the Explore4Action program, since June 2018, for the Semarang City area. The existence of young researchers is an important value in this study in voicing the voices of young children.

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