

Physical Abuse Cases at Boarding Schools: Phenomena and Its Prevention Model

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Abstract

This research elaborates factors that contribute to physical abuse cases at Boarding Schools, which explained with routine activity theory and power relation theory. Besides, this research also evaluates the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 82 Year 2015 On Prevention and Countermeasures of Violence in Education Unit Environment, and Law No. 18 Year 2019 on Boarding schools. Physical abuse cases that occur at Boarding schools are caused by excessive discipline implementation. Therefore, this encourages and motivates senior boarders or boarding caretaker to commit violence. This research uses qualitative method, with a live interview held at a boarding school which experiencing physical abuse cases causing loss of life. Delphi method is also used to deepen the prevention model and generate education expert insights focusing on the educational development of boarding school. This research is unveiling the extraordinary causes of violence and resulting on validated prevention model by education experts in boarding schools.

Keywords: Routine Activity Theory, Physical Abuse, Boarding school, Prevention Model

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INTRODUCTION

Boarding school cultures and traditions have embedded in Indonesian lives. Boarding school is one Educational Institution authorised by the government. Boarding school is specialised on Islamic Education. Therefore, having a comprehensive understanding on boarding school become an important thing to make this research beneficial for education sector and criminology development.

Boarding school is currently essential in forming a good Islam generation for the nation. For example, in reformation era, many Islamic boarding school figures become central influencers on motivating Indonesian people to proclaim Indonesia's independence. Initially, the boarding school had an open education system, the teaching process was carried out by Islam intellectuals to their students who called boarders. In the early development phase, Islamic boarding school did not use any tiered levels of education and qualifications as other general education. Moreover, Islamic boarding school do not use certificate to indicate the quality of their students' graduation. Islamic boarding school's success is determined by the broader's level compliance. This shifting occurred in the early development of boarding schools as illustrated by Syaikhona Khalil Bangkalan on one of his students named Bahar (Jamaluddin, 2012).

Boarding school system is also written in Law Number 18 Year 2019 which explains that Islamic boarding school education is administered with Islamic curriculum based on yellow scripture or islamic studies using *muallimin* education patterns. Besides, boarding school education aims to (a) form high expertised individuals who implement their religious values and become faithful, devoted, independence



moslem scholars; (b). build strong understanding of Islam living on unity in diversity to generate religious and tolerance generation; and (c). improve people's quality of life to fill the national education needs and social well-being. Data from the Directorate General of Diniyah Education and Boarding School shows that Indonesia has 31.385 Islamic educational institutions with 4,29 million boarders.

Islamic boarding schools are divided into two types, *salafi* boarding schools and *kholafi* boarding schools and modern boarding schools. *Salafi* boarding school originated from Arabic "*As-salafy*" means first generation successor of moslem. The term of *salafi* is transformed and affiliated with Indonesian cultures, thereby, *salafi* education points to traditional boarding school. *Salafi* boarding school system is more opened as the early Islamic boarding school history. *Salafi* boarding school curriculum studies on traditional scriptures which called *kutubut-turots or* yellow scripture. Education system at salafi boarding school adopts informal examination, marking system is based on the evaluation of the head of boarding school also known as "*Kyai*". Also, the discipline principle is not excessively emphasised. Studying awareness becomes the priority, thus, salafi boarding school is more concentrating on the teaching value rather than the parenting values.

Meanwhile, the *Kholafi* boarding school modifies the Salafi system by still referring the yellow scriptures and scientific works of the 19th century moslem scholars. The *kholafi* system mixes the *salafi* elements which studying the yellow scriptures with the general education system. As adapted by (Arifin, 2012), *Khalafi* keeps up with modernicity while maintaining Islamic values and cultures. They learn yellow scripture at the prayer times and discuss about science and technology in science and technology in the rest of the day. Therefore, these make balance between their mundane doctrines and religious paradigms.

In this era, modern Islamic boarding school is well-known for its practical spiritual mental formation and slowly abandoning the classic scriptures. Furthermore, Arabic is taught to improve practical interests of the boarders whilst English is used as their daily conversations. In parenting aspect, modern Islamic boarding school promotes discipline enforcement with class-level qualifications.

Islamic boarding school is not merely an educational Institution, it becomes a circumstance forming a social structure with special life characteristics, this is signed with the existence of its social levels. The top level, boarding school leader called as *kyai*, *ustad*, *ajengan*, *gurunda*, or *Syaikh*. The middle level consists of the teaching staff which called *ustad* or male teacher and *ustazah* or female teacher. At the bottom level, consists of boarders in boarding school. These social structures create distincive problems which causes difficulty and complexity to acces any information about what actually happenes inside the boarding school.

Violence is one example for the distinc problem in Islamic boarding school. Commissioner of Child Protection Commission Retno Listyarti in republika.co.id interview (Tejomukti, 2020) stated that violence cases at Islamic boarding schools were high during 2017-2019, with a very low adjudication rate, excluding the unreported cases. Moreover, searching a valid information associated with violance in Islamic boarding school is complicated. This can be assumed that boarding school management attempts to hide the violance.

The table below shows children violence rates derived from Child Protection Commission complaints. The data is as follows:

Children in Conflict with the Law as Victims	2019	2020
Physical abuse of children (Persecution, Mobbing, Fights, etc.)	157	249
2 Emotional abuse of children (Threats, Intimidation,	etc.) 32	119
3 Sexual abuse of children (Rape, Molestation)	190	419
4 Children as Victims of Sodomy/Pedophilia	0	20



5 Children as Murder Victims	42	12
6 Children as Victims of Theft Crimes	50	6
7 Children as Traffic Accident Victims	72	21
S Children as Victims of Bladed Weapon Possession	21	12
9 Children as Victims of Abduction	17	20
10 Children as Victims of Abortion	43	11
11 Children as Suicide Victims	11	4
TOTAL	635	893

Data source: Official site Child Protection Commission of Indonesia

The data above categories three types of children towards the law: children as victims, children as suspects, and children as witnesses. It suggests that there are 249 reports on children experiencing physical abuse, 119 reports on children as psychological victims, and 419 reports about sexual abuse victims in 2020, and still increasing.

Violence at Islamic boarding school mainly caused by limited external supervisions, and most adjudications are through 'restorative justice' way, thereby violence at boarding school is rarely recorded and monitored, except that the victims suffered severe injuries, or dies. This makes violence in Islamic boarding school becomes a mystery and need to disclose while looking for applicable solutions to improve the forthcoming Islamic boarding school quality.

Based on those prior introductions, stakeholders agree that committing violences in various aspects are prohibited., especially violence on behalf of discipline enforcement. However, several Islamic boarding schools frankly considered violence as a common thing. In criminology, victims are dominated by boarders, but some boarders do not consider themselves as a victim and do not feel as aggrieved parties for such acts of violence. This research became an important matter when the victims did not feel as a victim at present, however, psychologically shaken and became a suspect at time to come. Big problem is violence at boarding schools become a mystery, and it is hard to be disclosed down to many victims. Consequently, prevention measures become difficult to be carried out. Based on the background, this study aims to explore the phenomenon of physical abuse in boarding schools, analyze its causes, and develop an effective prevention model grounded in relavant theories and legal fremeworks.

METHOD

This research uses qualitative method to yield a deep investigation. Since violance at Islamic boarding school has become a part of hidden culture and esoteric traditions, to outline such unexposed facts, ethnographic research was conducted to uncover factors causing violance.

In addition, the writer arranges the research instruments and proposes several related questions about how the respondents' behaviors, how the respondents' efforts to avoid manipulations, data reduction, triangulation, conclusion and verification. The writer elucidates thoroughly on the offenders' behaviors, phenomenon occured during this conducted research, and condition or characteristic of environment in which research took place.

RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Theory and Concept

Routine Activity Theory

Routine activity theory is initially proposed by Lawrence Cohen and Marcus Felson. This theory



analyses the related phenomenon on crime cases (Cohen & Felson, 1979). Routine activity theory includes 3 (three) premises, which as follows:

- 1. A motivated offender refers to an individual or group who able to do and intends to plan a strategy to commit the crimes.
- 2. A group of suitable targets refers to whom may be the victim or crime target due to certain risks. The potential victims' routine activities will indicate their weakness. Each repeated activity will create its own specific patterns and reveals other weaknesses. Locations, certain routines, characteristics or attributes, lifestyles, environmental conditions, and social interactions may distinguish such vulnerabilities.
- 3. The absence of the eligible guardian for people or objects as protective patron to defend such objects and people against criminal action. In this case, protection may be referred to the neighbors, parents, and other criminal prevention instruments, such as the use of certain technologies (Setyawan & Larasati, 2021).

Routine activity theory often relates to the human ecology theory proposed by Hawley, which is not limited to a territory, even more, community considered as a symbiotic and commensalistic since human activities passing through both space and time. Hawley (1950) identifies three temporal components which defined as a community.

- 1. *Rhythm*, refers to regular periodicity of the observed phenomenon, such as commuting rhythm;
- 2. *Tempo*, refers to phenomenon frequency per unit of time, such as the number of criminal violances per day on a given street; and
- 3. *Timing*, refers to the coordination among different connected activities, such as the coordination between the offender and the victim rhythms (Cohen & Felson: 1979)

Community proves that spatio-temporal affects the patterns of the specific time and place. Spatio-temporal crime vatiation show a routine activity forming predictable and preventable crime. Routine activity theory also related to crime prevention theory. It supports that crimes can be analysed by several probable factors and indicators. Thus makes these factors can be used to overcome the crimes.

For instance, street-crime is mapped based on time and location scene. Street-crime usually occurs at night and located in a quiet place. These two supported factors may be used for setting up the police patrol schedule to concern on. Moreover, this street-crime phenomenon is seasonal, such as students brawling is frequently occured during *Ramadhan*. Prevention might be created by mapping activity patterns shown by offenders, targets, and their environment.

Thereby this theory is directly implemented to analyse each individual, group and habit in Islamic boarding school. Furthermore, this theory is also analyse interaction between staffs and broaders.

Power Relations Theory

Power issue is not merely concerning on possession. Power spreads explicitly and exists in every social relationship. This is not because power has ability to strengthen everything, instead, power is generated from every moment and each relation. Power is omnipresent because it comes from every single life aspect. In Sexual History Vol. 1, Foucault (1990) illustrates that power might be defined as follows:

- a. Power is not gained, used and distributed as a thing that can be seized or lost. However, power is used in various levels in very dynamic relationships.
- b. Power relationship is not hierarchical structured relationships between ruler and some thing ruled.
- c. Power encompasses the upper and lower power.
- d. Power relation is intentional and objective which has its opposition group. Then, resistancy can't be separated from every power relationship (Foucault:1990).



Based on Foucault, power has a direct correlation with knowledge. However, in practical order knowledge is frequently used to perpetuate power. In general terms, power relation is divided into two sections.

- 1. Power to legitimate. In this concept, the power is embedded in individual and hierarchically structured to control objects which legitimated by law. This includes controlling individuals to achieve a common goal. A prominent point of legitimation is group concensus which emerging group compliances towards the law.
- Developing disciplinary power. This concept emphasises self-actualization in disciplining a thing, thereby the power is used to increase individual awareness either physically or mentally to obey the rules.

This theory elaborates the emerging power relationship in social environment of Islamic boarding school which hierarchies are built visibly by a long-ingrained system. Besides, the purpose of deploying strict religious values within boarding school interaction is observed. Hence, emerging power relations are required to be dug using power relations theory.

Social Control Theory

Social control theory is a sociological theory which often applied on children and adolescent crimes. Social control theory was first proposed by Hirschi in 1969. As adapted from Anarta, Fauzi, Rahmadhani, & Santoso (2021), Social control theory is an increasing crime response. Distortion creates problems caused by the lack of supervision in social structure, thereby the values and norms agreed upon social group experienced deviance. Social control is closely related to a social bond.

Cohen & Felson, (1979) explain that Hirschi mentions several social control theory characteristics as follows:

- 1. Ignorance and recultancy towards the rules and social norms and failures on obeying the law
- 2. Deviant behaviors as evidence of social group failures on making people comply with the existing values, norms and rules.
- 3. Each individual must implement positive deeds based on social opinion
- 4. Internal control such as family, home and school environment become important compared to external environment.

Hirschi (1969) describes a social bond as a mutually agreed system to bind a group consists by norms and values. This social bond combined with noble values. Thereby, unability to deal with this social bond will be implied as a social deviance. Social bond composed the four components below:

- 1. Attachment, this element explained as children attachment with their family. The initial hypothesis shows that there are three attachment indicators between children and their parent which bind into a social bond. This social bond creates *virtual supervision*, direct and indirect controls, especially the child feels supervised by their parents in everyday activities. Second, communication between children and their parents, two-way communication that gives opportunity to children and parents for sharing information. Third, validation of a parent affection, children feel win the affection of parents directly either physically or verbally.
- 2. Commitment, Commitment refers to a factor of reasonable conformity recognized and considered by each individual in making decision. In other words, commitment is a cognitive component of social attachment (Anarta, Fauzi, Rahmadhani, & Santoso, 2021). Commitment closely relates with attachment. Commitment binds between children and parents n a social bond. Commitment is important when children and parents agreed specified values and norms, and there will be consequences for disobedience. Values of commitment can be a filter for children before committing deviant crimes.



- 3. *Involvement* refers to described by Hirschi is involvement of youth or child in positive activities in their social life, the greater involvement of children in positive activities, the smaller possibility of children to committing deviations. Instead, when the children accustomed with negative influences, the greater possibility of the children joining a deviant group.
- 4. *Belief* refers to the condition of a person willingly believes in personal things and be willing to follow the rules in specific values and norms. In this matter, Hirschi emphasized belief in relevant values and norms of religion and cultures, and rejected to recognise negative religion values are align with the accepted values of norms. (Hirschi, 2017, p. 18)

Hirschi also defines that previous study has identified an inverse correlation between *attachment* and *commitment*. The closer a person feels attached to those closest to them, the harder for them to break out of their belief system and involved in various mischievous behaviors. Commitment and participation refer to the fact that when a person feels committed to a certain group, such commitment motivates participation in social activities.

As the result, attachment and belief correlate with attachment or greater respect owned by children for parents and other figures. The more conventional children's behavior, the greater possibility of them following the rules set out by authority figures. Instead, the lower the respect of children towards the authority, the greater the possibility of them breaking the rules. (Anarta, Fauzi, Rahmadhani, & Santoso, 2021).

Development of Boarding School Education in Indonesia

Boarding school has a long history. Islam development is inseparable from Boarding School influence where people study about Islam. Through this education, internalization process is passed down from each generation and affect the diversity (Susilo & Wulansari, 2020, p. 85). Furthermore, boarding schools become a unified forum among Islamic communities. Boarding schools in Indonesia are not merely Educational Institutions but Unifying institutions of Moslems.

Islamic boarding school has already existed prior to Indonesian independence. Concept of teaching is offered in the form of *halaqoh* or face-to-face method among boarders and teachers or Islamic intellectuals. *Halaqoh* method is considered effective in building relationships between teachers and boarders. Currently Islamic boarding schools have transformed into several types.

Globally, boarding school is divided into two categories, including modern boarding schools and conventional boarding schools. However, in term of subject, boarding school is divided into three categories. First, boarding schools teaching yellow scriptures (precedent scriptures discussing *fiqh*, *nahwu*, *aqeedah*, *Tarikh*, and other islamic materials). Second, the boarding schools concerning on *Thafeez Qur'an*, these boarding schools refers to educational institution deeply elaborate and memorising the Qur'an. Third, boarding schools combining islamic and general subject.

As adapted by (Said, 2011, p. 184), in the perspective of Madjid, Islamic boarding school is combination between islamic values and Indonesian cultures. In his opinion, there are institutions similar with boarding school over Dutch East Indies era, thereby, Islam only continue or in Cak Nur words, only islamizes the existing educational institutions. Although, it does not mean minimizing the role of Islam in pioneering education in Indonesia (Madjid, 1997, p. 3)

Correlation of Child Abuses in Boarding School Education

Concept of violence against children is divided into two focuses: violence and children. Violence according to *World Health Organization* (WHO) is the use of physical strengths or power intentionally, that threatens or toward oneself, others, or group or community, resulting or potential causing injury, death, psychological disorders, developmental disorders or losses.

Repeated violance involving physical abuse on victims known as bullying. In Indonesia, the Children Protection Commission of Indonesia (KPAI) stated that reported bullying case is about 87,6 %



where the number of male victims is more than female. Violence is defined by World Health Organization (WHO) as the intention use of physical power, that threatens individual, others group or community, resulting potential injury, death, psychological disorder, and growth disorders.

Meanwhile, a child refers to a person under 18 (eighteen) years old, including children in the womb, while children are included as vulnerable social group member. Children are lack of experiences, hence children need supervisions. However, some adults who expected to be the "supervisors and protectors" sometimes commit violence against children instead of protecting them affecting them physically and psychologically even claiming lives.

Concept of Violence Prevention in Criminological Perspective

Dermawan (2001) stated that there are several important points of crime prevention efforts as follows:

- Observing factors disabling the development of situational approaches on crime prevention research and policies in the past and contribute to its effects in recent years.
- Comparing relative powers from each approach with approach more traditional on crime prevention.
- Identify aspects where situational crime prevention has generated new perspectives on crime problems and potential response thereunto.
- Discussing the evidence validity underpinning situational crime prevention strategy.
- Giving recommendation to the further research that enable crime prevention method by improving evaluation methods and expanding the limits of study beyond applied crime prevention problems.

Meanwhile, (Jamaluddin & Prayuti, 2022, p. 167) Multiple prevention models can be included in the rules or policies to prevent sexual crimes at boarding school education among others; First, strengthen the role of state, central and local governments, and communities to prevent sexual crimes especially at boarding school, this means all parties are responsible to take preventive measures against sexual crime within a boarding school environment, through monitoring and evaluation on boarding schools in Indonesia. (Purba, A. Wahyurudhanto, & Erwin, 2021). Granting of operational permit by government through the ministry of religious affairs to boarding schools must be in a stringent manner and performs supervision by giving requirements in favor of policy on sexual crimefighting against women. Second, drafting regulations on boarding school obligations to provide Sexual Crime Complaint Services at each boarding school institution. This is an endeavor to accommodate complaints of male boarders or female boarders who suffer bad treatment in the form of sexual crimes. In complaint services must provide facilities such as psychologists and other health personnel integrating with government both central and local governments. Third, enforce regulation on national curriculum in which applying for a sexual education course, this is intended to students able to comprehend on sexuality. (Harahap, 2017)

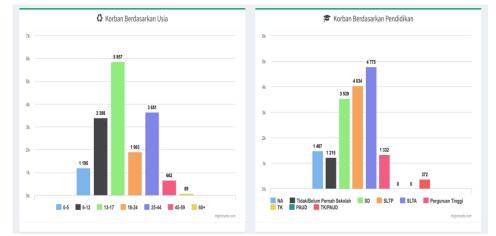
From two models above emphasized by (Dermawan, 2001) and (Jamaluddin & Prayuti, 2022) there are advantages and disadvantages of each other. Model described by (Dermawan, 2001) has advantages in mitigating motivating factors of crimes. In another sense, crime prevention must be applied prior to crime occurring. Meanwhile, prevention methods described by (Jamaluddin & Prayuti, 2022) prefer to emphasize the sanction having deterrent effects thereby a person who has not committed a crime reconsiders it. Concept of crime prevention is intended to analyze updated models in preventing the occurrence of violence at Boarding Schools.

Physical Abuse Phenomenon in Educational Institutions

Violent cases at educational institutions remain a serious problem not resolved, this case is deemed a taboo to be discussed in public sphere. Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child

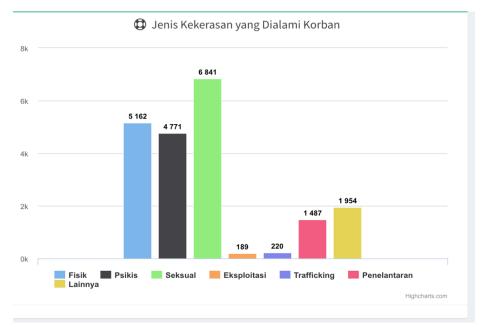


Protection releases data related to violence come to pass to educational institutions. Data is *real-time* and will be entered on January 2023.



Data source: SIMFONI-PPA, Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection **Figure 4.1.** Violence Diagram per Age and Education Stage

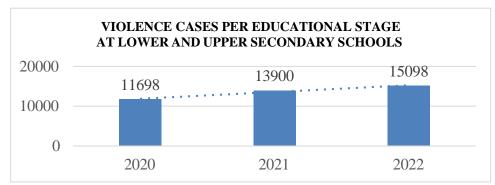
Available data above suggest that victims of violent cases from January 2023 to August 2023 about 16.775 persons. And based on age, vulnerable 13-17 years of age ranked first totalling 5.857 victims. This is related to education stage, at Secondary education level totalling 4.034 cases at Junior High Schools and 4.775 cases at Senior High Schools. In addition, data from SIMFONI-PPA suggest that types of violence during January 2023 to August 2023.



Data source: SIMFONI-PPA, Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection **Figure 4.2.** Diagram on Types of Violence per January - August 2023

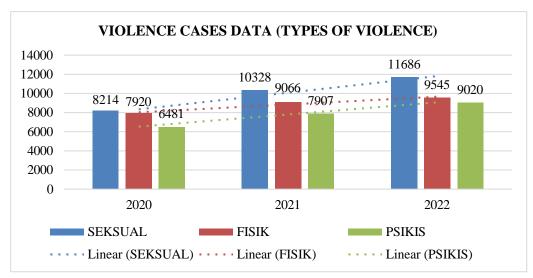
There were seven types of violence from January to August 2023, the highest cases were sexual abuse cases about 6.841 cases, and the lowest cases were exploitation cases about 189 cases. Physical abuse cases take second position next to sexual abuse cases. In rates, physical abuse cases are significant violent cases. To deepen analysis, the following are data comparisons on violent cases, types of violence, and victims of violence age ratios from 2020 to 2023.





Data source: SIMFONI-PPA, Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (2022) **Figure 4.3.** Violence Cases Diagram per Educational Stage (2020-2022)

Available data above suggests on the increasing violence rate for 19% from 2020 to 2021 and 9% on 2021 to 2022. This case occurred in lower and upper secondary schools. This data including violance cases in Boarding schools.



Data Source: SIMFONI-PPA, Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection **Figure 4.4.** Diagram of Violence Cases by Type (2020-2022)

The data presented above indicates the types of violent cases in Indonesia between 2020 and 2022. Sexual abuse consistently ranks as the most prevalent form of violence, with cases increasing annually. This upward trend suggests that existing control and prevention measures have not been effectively implemented. Although it is evident that various forms of violence can occur simultaneously, the present study focuses specifically on cases of physical abuse within Boarding School Educational Institutions.

Data and Facts of Child Abuses at Boarding Schools

The Adolescent Life Experience National Survey, released by the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of the Republic of Indonesia in 2021, revealed that 14 out of every 100 male children experienced physical abuse, while 11 out of every 100 female children faced similar abuse. This data was collected from a sample of children aged 13 to 17 years. Specifically, 13.08% of violent incidents involved physical contact, such as hitting and kicking. The perpetrators of physical abuse were predominantly peers or older individuals within the same peer group as the victims. Consequently, environments outside the home, particularly institutional settings, become vulnerable



spaces for violence against children and adolescents. Given that the majority of boarding school students are aged 13 to 17, this data helps to illustrate the scale of violence that may occur within these institutions.

In 2022, several cases of violence in boarding schools gained significant public attention, particularly due to the severity of the incidents, which resulted in fatalities. One notable case occurred at Darussalam Gontor Boarding School, where a 17-year-old student, identified by the initials AM, died as a result of physical abuse inflicted by two senior students. Initially, the boarding school management attempted to conceal the incident, claiming it had been resolved amicably. However, the victim's parents later involved a prominent lawyer, Hotman Paris, bringing the case to public attention. This led to legal action by the Ponorogo District Police, and the two perpetrators were expelled and returned to their parents.

Another significant case took place at Darul Qur'an Lantaburo Boarding School in Tangerang, where 12 students were involved in mobbing that resulted in the death of a fellow student. The case was investigated by the Tangerang City Police, with five of the perpetrators detained and the others returned to their parents. Lastly, a violent altercation occurred at Daar El Qolam Boarding School on August 7, 2022, where a student died after being rushed to the hospital due to injuries sustained in a fight. The conflict was reportedly motivated by bullying.

These cases attracted widespread public attention, particularly in the age of rapid information dissemination, where such incidents quickly become known nationwide. However, violence in boarding schools is often concealed by school management, as it is perceived as a disgraceful occurrence within educational institutions. This reluctance to openly address such cases is further compounded by the sensitive association of many boarding schools with religious education, making discussions of violence a taboo subject within the broader community.

Physical Abuse Prevention Model at Boarding Schools

The phenomenon of violence occurring at boarding schools represents a form of social deviance within these institutions. Given the previously identified factors, it is essential to establish and implement effective prevention measures in boarding schools. The theoretical framework used to evaluate the prevention model is social control theory, first proposed by Travis Hirschi. Hirschi (2017) argues that there are four key components of social control theory.

- 1. Attachment, social attachment, particularly during adolescence, can be divided into three categories: attachment to parents, attachment to peers, and attachment to the school environment. Through these attachments, adolescents internalize values and social norms. In the context of boarding school education, students live away from their parents for extended periods, which weakens the transmission of family values and morals. Instead, students form significant attachments to their peers and the school environment. This dynamic can lead to the spread and reinforcement of values that may become ingrained as part of the school's culture, even when such values include violence under the guise of discipline.
 - To strengthen the bond between students and their parents, boarding schools should facilitate proactive communication by providing adequate channels for intimate interactions between students and their families. Boarding school management should also provide regular updates on parenting and educational development, while allowing parents more opportunities to visit their children. In some boarding schools, visitation times are restricted, limiting parental contact. (You may want to clarify the sentence regarding visitation limitations—what specific effect does this have on violence prevention?)
- 2. *Commitment*, commitment within the boarding school setting refers to adherence to the values, norms, and rules established by the institution. The rules enforced at boarding schools are typically designed to foster character development, with discipline as one of the core objectives.



When students fail to internalize these commitments as part of their social bonds, deviance may occur, leading to instances of violence.

Commitment to the established regulations and values is crucial in preventing deviant behavior. However, this commitment should not be limited to the students; boarding school management must also demonstrate commitment by actively supervising and controlling the environment in which parenting and education take place. (You may wish to elaborate more on how management's commitment specifically impacts student behavior.)

- 3. Involvement, Hirschi (2002) emphasizes the importance of involvement in structured, conventional activities, such as work, study, exercise, and social interaction. In boarding school life, daily, weekly, and monthly activities are typically scheduled in accordance with the school's curriculum at the beginning of the academic year.
 Involving students in positive and constructive activities, such as extracurricular programs, religious practices, and other educational activities, can help prevent violent behavior. When students are engaged in meaningful activities, there is less idle time, reducing the likelihood of violent incidents. (This point is clear, but you could further explain how specific activities may
- 4. *Belief*, In the context of boarding schools, belief in the noble values instilled by the institution plays a crucial role. Each year, two key sets of values are emphasized: the school's motto and the Five Souls of Boarding School. The motto includes principles such as Virtue, Physical Fitness, Knowledge, and Critical Thinking. The Five Souls represent Sincerity, Simplicity, Independence, Brotherhood, and Freedom.

deter violence more effectively than others.)

When these values are genuinely embraced and applied by both the students and the school management, the potential for violence can be significantly reduced. A strong belief in these values serves as a benchmark for success in the parenting and educational process within the boarding school environment.

In the theoretical framework, crime prevention is divided into three essential components. The first component is primary prevention, which is designed to identify the physical and social environmental conditions that create opportunities for or contribute to the occurrence of criminal actions. Through such analysis, supervision models and strategies can be developed to enhance security (Lab, 2020, p. 27). The second component is secondary prevention, which focuses on individuals, locations, and situations that exhibit a high potential for deviant behavior. Secondary prevention involves interventions in situations and individuals demonstrating a propensity for criminal behavior. Like primary prevention, the emphasis here is on preventing crime before it occurs. Once criminal acts have taken place, any interventions fall within the realm of tertiary prevention (Lab, 2020, p. 180). The third component, tertiary prevention, is concerned with reducing recidivism among offenders. It emphasizes measures designed to prevent confirmed offenders from harming the social community. While tertiary prevention focuses on individuals who have previously exhibited deviant behavior, prediction remains a crucial aspect of this approach. Specifically, the prediction in tertiary prevention aims at forecasting recidivism rather than initial offenses (Lab, 2020, p. 271).

From the analysis of social control theory, a prevention model emerges those divides activities into two main patterns: pre-emptive and preventive. The pre-emptive pattern refers to efforts aimed at inculcating moral values that encourage individuals to refrain from engaging in criminal or deviant behavior. In contrast, the preventive pattern consists of concrete follow-up actions to pre-emptive measures. Preventive actions not only work to prevent individuals from committing crimes and deviance but also aim to eliminate the intention to engage in such behaviors.

As adapted by Sutiawati and Mappaselleng (2020), pre-emptive and preventive measures are taken before any repressive action is employed to address crimes. In the context of violent cases, these measures are implemented to reduce crime rates by focusing on the management of environmental and



individual conditions that contribute to criminal actions and violence (Sutiawati & Mappaselleng, 2020, p. 18). Pre-emptive and preventive measures are carried out following a thorough analysis of violances, crimes, and deviant behaviors (Egbertaand & Krasmann, 2020).

Through the analysis of social control theory and the concept of prevention, several relevant and applicable prevention models emerge. To support the theoretical foundation of these models, this study refers to the Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 46 of 2023 on the Prevention and Countermeasures of Violence in Educational Environments (PPKSP). Dermawan (2001) highlights that developing a crime prevention model requires a comprehensive analysis of the causal factors of violence and an evaluation of various research perspectives. The following figure illustrates a model for preventing physical abuse in boarding schools.

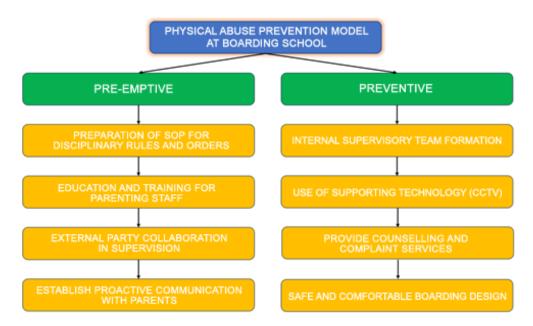


Figure 4.5. Physical Abuse Prevention Model at Boarding Schools

Briefly, the causal factors of violence at boarding schools have been discussed above, and its prevention is divided into two essential parts. The **pre-emptive model** includes four key aspects:

- 1. Preparation of Standard Operating Procedures (SOP) for Disciplinary Rules and Orders at Boarding Schools, to date, many boarding schools have implemented disciplinary operations based on long-standing traditions and culture, often without clear objectives for enforcing discipline. This situation underscores the need for the preparation of SOPs for disciplinary rules and orders at boarding schools, in accordance with the recommendations from the Minister of Education and Culture as outlined in the *Boarding School Book* and Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 46 of 2023 on the *Prevention and Countermeasures of Violence in Educational Environments (PPKSP)*.
- 2. Education and Training for Parenting Staff, to implement a consistent and integrated discipline system, it is essential that parenting staff possess the necessary qualifications. One requirement is certification based on the qualifications of a teacher to serve as parenting staff at boarding schools. Certification and qualification provide legal and academic accountability for the parenting process. Education and training for parenting staff should be based on a parenting curriculum system prepared according to the standards described in the first item.
- 3. Collaboration with External Parties for Supervision, supervision is a critical component of the physical abuse prevention model at boarding schools. This aspect aligns with the routine activity theory proposed by Felson and Cohen. A lack of supervision can be mitigated by increasing



collaboration with external parties. External parties refer to entities outside the boarding school institution, such as the police, the Child Protection Commission, and other social institutions. In the context of preventing violence in boarding schools, the principles of Broken Window Theory can be applied by creating a safe and well-maintained environment to reduce the potential for violent actions. As implemented by Polres Metro Tangerang through the Precision Pioneer Patrol, technology-based supervision, such as CCTV, can help ensure that the environment remains effectively monitored (Polres Metro Tangerang, 2023). For example, Aipda Titus, an investigator from the Criminal Investigation Unit of Ponorogo District Police, stated that "Boarding School 'G' is difficult to communicate with, even before violent cases arose. The school remained closed off to the police and government institutions." Collaboration in supervision with external parties can be achieved by providing access to monitoring processes, evaluations, and patrols by external institutions. This collaboration, however, must respect the internal parenting and teaching systems without intervening in the policy-making process of the boarding school.

4. Establishing Proactive Communication with Parents, the participation of parents is crucial in shaping the character of children during their formative years. The values instilled by parents early in life significantly influence a child's development as they progress through different life stages. Therefore, parents play a major role in determining their children's futures (Sunarni & Rosita, 2018, p. 321). Boarders at modern boarding schools are typically aged between 12 and 18, a critical developmental phase during which parental nurturing and education are vital. However, since boarders at boarding schools are removed from direct parental supervision, the process of parenting and education shifts to the boarding school environment. This transition leads to the internalization of values, norms, and morals from the boarding school rather than the parents. To prevent the detachment of students from their parents, a specific program that fosters proactive communication between boarders and parents is necessary. Boarding schools must provide sufficient and feasible means of communication to maintain this connection.

The second program in the violence prevention model at boarding schools involves more specific actions, directly carried out at boarding schools in the form of the following activities:

- 1. Formation of an Internal Supervisory Team, supervision is a key factor in preventing violent cases at boarding schools. In the pre-emptive model, external supervisors are responsible for overseeing parenting programs at a broader level. However, internal supervision is conducted at a more practical level by *Ustads* (boarding parents) and senior boarders, who are assigned as leaders of the student organization. Internal supervision includes routine patrols, the placement of surveillance posts at each boarding facility, and monitoring by security personnel. It is crucial that internal supervision be carried out in alignment with the values of the boarding school. Internal supervisors must receive appropriate education and training, particularly in the areas of inspection and observation, so that effective supervision can help prevent violent incidents.
- 2. Use of Supporting Technology (CCTV), until now, the use of Closed-Circuit Television (CCTV) in boarding schools has often been considered taboo or irrelevant. Some boarding schools believe that the installation of CCTV could hinder the development of self-discipline among students. However, CCTV has played a central role in contemporary policing and crime prevention. Evidence shows that CCTV surveillance is associated with a significant, though modest, reduction in crime (Welsh, Piza, Thomas, & Farrington, 2020, p. 58). Although initially met with resistance when introduced in the United States, the use of CCTV has since been recognized for its effectiveness in reducing crime rates. The installation of CCTV in boarding schools could similarly help reduce the risk of violence, as 24-hour supervision of activities is necessary, and CCTV can enhance both external and internal supervision.



- 3. Provision of Counseling and Complaint Services, counseling services are an important aspect of student development that has not yet been widely implemented in many boarding schools. The current paradigm in boarding schools suggests that parenting programs can accommodate counseling and complaint services. However, combining parenting with counseling may lead to biases in problem-solving. Guidance counseling is a process that helps individuals achieve self-understanding and direction, allowing them to better adapt to school, family, and community life (McLaughlin, Clark, & Chisholm, 2012, p. 12). Counselors must possess core competencies, such as the ability to listen to students' concerns, analyze their problems, and offer solutions. By providing counseling and complaint services, boarding schools offer junior students who are at risk of becoming victims an opportunity to report potential threats or violence.
- 4. Safe and Comfortable Boarding Design, the physical environment of a school or boarding school plays an important role in crime prevention. Currently, boarding school buildings typically consist of a mosque, classrooms, dormitories, and other supporting facilities. The *Boarding School Guide* from the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud) recommends specific sizes for boarding school facilities, including classrooms (±63 m²), staff rooms (±112 m²), student rooms (±36 m²), libraries (±200 m²), and various laboratories, among others. The design of these facilities must support effective supervision. Supervisors' rooms should be located near student dormitories to ensure that supervision can be conducted efficiently.

CONCLUSION

Based on the results of the analysis, it can be concluded that routine activity theory and power relations theory effectively explain the factors contributing to the occurrence of physical abuse cases at boarding schools. Meanwhile, social control theory serves as the foundation for developing a prevention model for physical abuse cases in boarding schools.

First, routine activity theory describes patterns of violence involving potential victims, motivated offenders, and a lack of supervision. Current parenting practices position junior boarders as potential victims, while senior boarders, who are granted authority to enforce discipline, are positioned as potential offenders. Furthermore, inadequate supervision was identified at the two boarding schools that were the focus of this research.

Second, power relations theory highlights the power dynamics between senior and junior boarders, where the enforcement of discipline—motivated by violence—creates a power imbalance. This dynamic results in the conditions necessary for abuse to occur. This theory aligns with the conditions observed at the two boarding schools studied in this research.

Finally, social control theory forms the basis for the development of a prevention model for physical abuse cases in boarding schools. The concept of social bonds, central to social control theory, is not fully implemented in boarding schools. Therefore, strengthening social bonds is essential in the design of the prevention model.

In addition to the theoretical framework, a juridical approach is also integrated into the prevention model, drawing on regulations issued by the government, such as the Boarding School Guidelines from the Ministry of Education and Culture (Kemendikbud), Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 82 of 2015 on the Prevention and Countermeasures of Violence in Educational Environments, and Law No. 18 of 2019 on Boarding Schools. To further enhance the prevention model, the validation process included consultation with experts in Islamic education in Indonesia.



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