Why Girls Do Not Report School-Based Sexual Violence: A Socio-Ecological Analysis in Indonesia

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Abstract

Disclosure of sexual violence against children is often the first step to providing support to the victims. It is also essential for addressing impunity for sexual violence crimes and discouraging future violations. While there has been ample research on Childhood Sexual Abuse (CSA) disclosure, the focus on school-related sexual violence against children and adolescence is largely missing. This paper explores factors that prevent female students from disclosing school-related sexual violence in Indonesia using Bronfenbrenner (1977)'s ecological model. Based on a secondary analysis of the data gathered through four Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) involving high school and undergraduate students, experts, teachers, and lecturers, the factors preventing the disclosure of sexual violence at four levels of the victim's environment were identified. The findings support that nondisclosure of school-related sexual violence is a result of complex interactions between the victims and their environmental contexts.

Keywords: School-related Sexual Violence, Culture of Silence, Child Sex Abuse Disclosure, Ecological Model

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สาเหตุที่เด็กผู้หญิงไม่รายงานความรุนแรงทางเพศในโรงเรียน: การวิเคราะห์ผ่านระบบสังคมนิเวศวิทยาในประเทศอินโดนีเซีย

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บทคัดย่อ

การเปิดเผยความรุนแรงทางเพศที่เกิดขึ้นต่อเยาวชนเป็นจุดเริ่มต้นที่สำคัญในการช่วยเหลือผู้ที่ตกเป็นเหยื่อความรุนแรงทางเพศ นอกจากนี้ การแก้ไขปัญหาของอาชญากรรมทางเพศต้องได้รับความสนใจเป็นพิเศษ เพื่อป้องกันไม่ให้เกิดเหตุการณ์ดังกล่าวขึ้นอีก อย่างไรก็ดี ถึงแม้ว่าจะมีงานวิจัยค่อนข้างมากเกี่ยวกับการเปิดเผยข้อมูลความรุนแรงและทารุณทางเพศต่อเยาวชน แต่ความรุนแรงทางเพศต่อเยาวชนที่เกิดขึ้นในโรงเรียนยังไม่ได้รับความสนใจและศึกษาเท่าที่ควร ดังนั้น งานวิจัยชิ้นนี้จึงมีวัตถุประสงค์ที่จะศึกษาปัจจัยที่ที่ส่งผลให้นักเรียนหญิงเลือกที่จะไม่เปิดเผยข้อมูลความรุนแรงทางเพศที่เกิดขึ้นกับตนเอง โดยใช้ Bronfenbrenner (1977)'s ecological model และข้อมูลจาก Focus Group ในระดับมัธยมปลายและระดับอุดมศึกษา ผู้เชี่ยวชาญ ครูอาจารย์ ทั้งนี้ผลการศึกษาได้ระบุ 4 ปัจจัย ที่บ่งชี้ว่าการไม่เปิดเผยข้อมูลความรุนแรงทางเพศเป็นผลจากการปฏิสัมพันธ์ที่ซับซ้อนระหว่างผู้ที่ตกเป็นเหยื่อความรุนแรงทางเพศและสภาวะแวดล้อมรอบตัว

คำสำคัญ: ความรุนแรงทางเพศในโรงเรียน วัฒนธรรมแห่งความเงียบ การเปิดเผยการทารุณกรรมทางเพศในเด็ก รูปแบบนิเวศวิทยา

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Introduction

Sexual violence against children is pervasive yet widely underreported. UNICEF (2014) estimates that around 120 million girls (one in 10) under the age of 20 worldwide have experienced sexual violence. Sexual violence against children can occur in multiple settings, including at home, school, public spaces, or online. School-based violence against children, which includes sexual violence, is a global issue that impacts millions of children, families and communities worldwide and transcends social, cultural, and economic boundaries (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016). Most children who experience sexual violence are girls (Pedroso & Leite, 2022). Due to the stigma surrounding sexual violence, cases of sexual violence often go unreported (Davis et al., 2013; Wismayantia, 2019). Underreporting is particularly high in societies where social and gender norms make it difficult for victims to report or recognize violence (UNESCO & UN Women, 2016).

School-based violence can have detrimental effects on the health and well-being of victims. Studies on sexual violence against children identify numerous long-term adverse outcomes on victims, including depression, anxiety, substance abuse, behaviour problems, and adult revictimization (Davis et al., 2013). In order to reduce the risk of these adverse outcomes, timely access to support and resources, such as mental health counselling and judicial support, is needed. Therefore, the high prevalence of nondisclosure or delayed disclosure of sexual violence may mean an increased risk of adverse outcomes for the victims and further victimization (Alaggia et al., 2017). Furthermore, silence on abuse on the part of the victims builds the confidence of the perpetrators and strengthens their impunity, further increasing the incidence of sexual violence against children.

Like in other countries, the incidence of sexual violence against children is underreported in Indonesia (Wismayanti et al., 2021). Noer et al. (2021) claim that the available data on violence against women and girls, including sexual violence, in Indonesia is not reliable as various institutions such as the National Commission on Violence Against Women, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection, and the UN Women produce vastly different data. According to a household survey, among children who experienced different forms of online sexual violence in Indonesia, 17% to 56% (depending on the type of violence) did not tell anyone, and those who did were more likely to tell their

peers or siblings rather than a caregiver or trusted adult (ECPAT, INTERPOL, & UNICEF, 2022). In Indonesia, which is essentially a patriarchal society, cultural taboos and stigmatization associated with discussing matters related to sex prevent children from reporting sexual abuse (Wismayanti et al., 2021). Thus, it is likely that incidents of school-based sexual violence against female students go underreported.

Furthermore, research on the prevalence, risk, and protective factors for child sex abuse in Indonesia is limited (Rumble et al., 2018). Knowledge of the factors and the processes involved in the disclosure of sexual violence against children is needed to facilitate appropriate policy interventions to support victims as well as to address barriers to timely disclosures (Alaggia et al., 2017). As sexual violence against children is a complex and multifaceted social phenomenon (McKillop, 2019), the sociological model developed by Bronfenbrenner (1977) may be useful in identifying factors at various dimensions of society preventing the disclosure of sexual violence against children. Against these backdrops, this paper aims to explore factors preventing female students in Indonesia from disclosing school-related sexual violence, using Bronfenbrenner (1977)'s ecological model.

Literature Review

Gender-based Sexual Violence and Culture of Silence

The World Health Organization (WHO) provides a broad definition of sexual violence. WHO & Pan American Health Organization (2012) defines sexual violence as "'any sexual act, attempt to obtain a sexual act, unwanted sexual comments or advances, or acts to traffic or otherwise directed against a person's sexuality using coercion, by any person regardless of their relationship to the victim, in any setting, including but not limited to home and work.". WHO & Pan American Health Organization (2012) further note that coercion can take different forms, including psychological intimidation, blackmail, or threats. Additionally, sexual violence can occur when a victim is unable to give consent, such as when they are intoxicated or mentally ill. Furthermore, sexual violence can take different forms, such as sexual violence by intimate partners, sexual violence against men and boys, childhood sexual abuse, and sexual harassment and violence in schools and at work.

UNESCO and UN Women (2016) define school-related gender-based violence (SRGBV) as "acts or threats of sexual, physical or psychological violence occurring in and around schools, perpetrated as a result of gender norms and stereotypes, and enforced by unequal power dynamics". This definition highlights that SRGBV can occur on the way to or from schools, in communities and neighbourhoods, as well as through social media. Moreover, both children and adults in the school environment can be victims or perpetrators of SRGBV. UNESCO and UN Women (2016) also note that among school children, while boys are more likely to face higher rates of corporal punishment, girls are more likely to face psychological bullying, cyberbullying, sexual violence, and harassment.

In recent years, studies on Child Sexual Abuse (CSA) disclosures have increased. Alaggia et al. (2018) reviewed 33 studies on CSA disclosures conducted between 2000-2016 and found five themes to be considered for practice, and future research- (1) CSA disclosure is an iterative, interactive process as opposed to a discrete event best carried out within a relational setting (2) current disclosure models reflect a sociological focus for understanding the dynamic interaction of individual, familial, contextual, and cultural factors involved in CSA disclosure; (3) age and gender predict CSA disclosure, with younger children and boys showing fewer disclosures; (4) research largely lack a life-course perspective; and (5) while there is more information available on barriers than facilitators of CSA disclosures, studies identify shame, self-blame, and fear as the factors that prevent CSA disclosures.

Hershkowitz et al. (2007) investigated how children disclosed sexual abuse by alleged perpetrators who were not family members and found that the disclosure process varied based on the age of the children, the severity and frequency of abuse, the parents' anticipated reactions, the identities of the suspects, and the techniques they used to maintain secrecy. The study found that among thirty alleged victims of sexual abuse (18 boys and 12 girls), 53 percent of children delayed disclosure for between 1 week to 2 years, less than half came forward to their parents, and over 40 percent did not disclose spontaneously but did so only after they were encouraged. Half of the children said that they felt afraid or ashamed of their parents' responses. While younger children preferred to confide in their parents over siblings or friends, older children tended to avoid discussing their experiences with their parents. The older children were less willing to disclose, possibly because they were more aware of societal norms and taboos. Furthermore,

the children were more likely to keep the abuse a secret or postpone reporting it if the offenders were well-known to them and when they had used "positive" emotional manipulations to seek secrecy. Additionally, children were less likely to disclose abuse when the abuse was more severe.

Though research explicitly focusing on silence and disclosure of school-based sexual violence is limited, studies on sexual violence against girls in schools identify a range of context-specific findings related to the prevalence as well as preventive policies and strategies. Klien (2007) investigated how normalized masculinity affects violence against girls in schools in the United States and found that sexual violence against girls from male peers and school employees, such as teachers, counsellors, and bus drivers, is rampant in schools, and the complaints by the victims are usually dismissed or trivialized by the school officials. The study also found that the culture of victim blaming in schools and the tendency of social institutions to deny the reality of sexual harassment against girls result in many victims resisting reporting the crimes. To address peer sexual violence against girls in schools, the author recommends implementing school-based prevention programs that focus on breaking normalized masculinity expectations and helping boys express themselves without relying on domination, power, or aggression.

Timmerman (2003) examined the differences between peer sexual harassment and sexual harassment perpetuated by teachers in secondary schools in the Netherlands using the Cultural Model and Power Model, respectively. The Cultural Model assumes that sexual harassment by peers is part of school culture because it is a public phenomenon and it is a daily occurrence, while the Power Model assumes that power hierarchy puts school employees in a position to misuse their authority and that sexual harassment by teachers is restricted to isolated incidents. The study identifies interesting findings. First, unwanted sexual behaviour by peers primarily occurs in classrooms, corridors, school yards, and other public and such behaviours are reported half of the time. Second, sexual harassment by teachers entails more physical forms and a combination of different types of harassment. Thus, students feel less comfortable when sexually harassed by teachers compared to peers and report fewer psychological health problems. Finally, the author claims that many teachers in the study exhibited unprofessional pedagogical behaviors. Hence, the author questions their role as "moral guardians" to prevent school-based sexual harassment of female students. The author suggests that interventions

should instead focus on implementing the ethical agenda of the schools.

There have been some studies that have examined factors associated with non-disclosure of Childhood Sexual Abuse (CSA) in Indonesia. Stark et al. (2012) explored the functioning of current community-based child protection mechanisms in two districts in Aceh, Indonesia and identified issues that need to be addressed for enhancing preventive and response programs for children who experience violence, abuse, and exploitation. The study found that the victims rarely report or seek support primarily due to shame, lack of agency to change their circumstances, as well as the prevalence of rigid local norms that were viewed to conflict with the national and regional legislation (Stark et al., 2012). Another study, Boothby & Stark (2011), found that Indonesia's child protection mechanism fails to identify vulnerable children and children with protection problems due to cultural factors, lack of understanding of what constitutes a child protection concern, lack of awareness of available programs, and apprehension about dealing with the police or judicial system.

Rumble et al. (2018) conducted a systematic review of research into the prevalence of Childhood Sexual Abuse (CSA) in Indonesia and found a significant risk of sexual violence impacting children at home and in schools and a research gap around non-disclosure of CSA in Indonesia. The study reveals that there has been little research on CSA in Indonesia. In addition, only a few research, according to the study, specifically addressed sexual violence in schools. From the review of studies on CSA in Indonesia, the study identified a common theme: children's and adults' unwillingness to disclose sexual violence to family members, peers, or service providers, presumably as a result of feelings of fear and shame, cultural, or societal barriers to formal reporting. According to the study, while the barriers to disclosure of CSA in Indonesia may be similar to those observed in other countries, there is a need for researchers to evaluate whether any specific barriers are more significant in the Indonesian context.

The literature review reveals that non-disclosure of CSA is a significant problem both globally and in Indonesia. Studies on CSA in Indonesia reveal that fear, shame, cultural barriers, as well as institutional and cultural barriers are associated with non-disclosure of CSA. However, a very limited number of studies have focused on the non-disclosure of school-related sexual violence against girls in Indonesia. In addition,

school-related sexual violence against girls does not occur in isolation but within complex and interconnected individual, organizational, and societal contexts. There is a dearth of studies that provide a more comprehensive understanding of multi-level factors associated with non-disclosure of school-related sexual violence against girls in Indonesia. In an effort to fill the research gaps, this study seeks to identify factors associated with non-disclosure of school-related sexual violence against girls that extend across multiple levels of an individual's ecology in Indonesia.

Socioecological Model

The socio-ecological model was first introduced by Bronfenbrenner (1977) to understand the process of child development in light of the dynamic interactions between individuals and environmental settings. The author identifies four overlapping layers of ecological systems that influence child development: microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem. The microsystem consists of a child's immediate surroundings such as family, school, and peers. The mesosystem is created when microsystems interact with each other, for example, interactions between the child's teacher and his parents. The exosystem is the environment the child does not directly interact with but still influences the child's development, such as mass media, government agencies, and informal social networks. Finally, the macrosystem is the outermost layer representing broader economic, social, educational, legal, and political systems. Bronfenbrenner highlights bidirectionality of influence, that is, not only do the environments influence individuals, but the individuals also influence the environments they operate in.

Initially conceptualized to study human development, Bronfenbrenner (1977)'s socioecological model has a wide range of applications. The model allows sociologists to investigate gender as an organizing principle and how individuals are both restricted by and defy the constraints of social structures (Michell et al., 2018). The model indicates that the flow of influence is from the structural to the individual, but that individual action can also influence change at the community and ultimately societal levels (John et al., 2017). While it has been used extensively in psychology to study child development, it has also been adapted to research various topics in sociology, such as mental health (Adu & Oudshoorn, 2020), health policy (Shtarkshall et al., 2009), pedagogy (Ivankova & Plano Clark, 2018; Swick & Williams, 2006; Michell et al., 2018), and gender-based violence

(e.g., Mootz et al., 2017; Levendosky & Graham-Bermann, 2001). It has also been used to study sexual violence in schools. For example, Skarbek et al. (2009) used Bronfenbrenner's ecological model to examine sexual violence against children with disabilities in education and identify preventive strategies to be implemented at the four levels of the ecological environment.

Methodology

This study is a secondary analysis of qualitative data obtained from a prior project. The study draws on the data gathered in 2020 as part of the second phase of the project titled 'Elimination of Gender Stereotypes and Sexist Language in Education Materials in Primary and Secondary Levels in ASEAN' to identify factors that inhibit female students from speaking about school-related sexual violence committed against them in Indonesia. The project was commissioned by Thailand's Department of Women's Affairs and Family Development of the Ministry of Social Development and Human Security and implemented by the Center for Philanthropy and Civil Society (CPCS), National Institute of Development Administration (NIDA), Thailand (Vichit-Vadakan et al., 2021a). While the second phase of the project sought to understand a wide range of gender issues in schools in ASEAN Member States, this study examines the project's data on sexual violence against female students in primary, secondary, and high schools in Indonesia collected through four Focus Group Discussions (FDGs) involving high school and undergraduate students, schoolteachers, lecturers, and experts. The credibility of the data was ensured through peer debriefing among the project researchers as well as project committee members consisting of educationalists and gender experts.

In order to collect the data, a gender expert from Indonesia was appointed as a consultant, who identified the FDG participants and conducted and transcribed the FGDs. Participants were selected using purposive sampling, targeting students and educators from both public and private schools as well as Islamic schools, and gender experts. There was a total of four focus groups. High school and college students made up Group 1's seven members, while eight teachers and lecturers made up Group 2, four gender experts made up Group 3, and four more gender experts made up Group 4.

The study used the ecological model developed by Bronfenbrenner (1977) as a framework for analyzing the data on sexual violence against female students in Indonesia. First, the ecological model's four layers of an individual's environment were modified to fit the environments surrounding a victim of school-related sexual violence against girls. Then, a thematic data analysis approach was utilized without employing specific coding techniques. In the first step of the thematic analysis, the transcripts of the FGDs related to sexual violence against female students in Indonesia were read several times to get a deeper understanding of the participants' viewpoints. Then, the transcripts were examined inductively, allowing for the understanding of the prevalence of school-related sexual violence against girls and the identification of the factors associated with the non-disclosure of such incidents. Finally, the identified factors associated with the non-disclosure of sexual violence incidents were grouped into four pre-determined levels of influence within the ecological framework.

Findings

Prevalence of Sexual Violence Against Female Students

The findings from the FGDs indicate that sexual violence against girls is common in schools. The research participants indicated that such incidents occur in both public and private schools and at all levels of school education and are vastly underreported. Many research participants shared media-reported incidents of sexual violence, which were more severe in nature, such as rape. Some research participants also shared cases of sexual violence based on their personal experiences or the experiences of those around them. Some of the incidents that were shared include girls getting harassed by targeting their bodies when riding a bike, boys peeking at the colour of the girls' underwear using a sharpener with a mirror, and female students being groped by male teachers. A research participant shared an incident of sexual violence that occurred in the classroom:

"There was a case of a girl being made a rolling trophy. So, the friends in her class, who were boys…flaunted notes of cash and said, 'this is the 5,000 or 10,000, whoever can force a kiss or hold her breasts will win the money. And it really happened, until finally the girl felt very traumatized and did not

dare to go to school. After a long absence, she dared to report this to her school's guidance counsellor…Thank God, the teacher tried to handle the case by inviting her parents, bringing in the perpetrators, and expelling the students who committed the sexual violence."

While the school leadership appears supportive in responding to this incident of sexual harassment upon knowledge, the incident demonstrates a lack of knowledge about sexual harassment on the part of the perpetrators, as well as other students who did not report the incident. This incident also demonstrates the mental health impacts of sexual violence on the victims and that victims' suffering is prolonged and possibly heightened when such incidents are not disclosed.

Factors Preventing Victims from Reporting Sexual Violence Incidents

For this study, Bronfenbrenner's ecological model was adapted and used as a theoretical framework to identify and examine the multi-level factors that prevent victims of school-related sexual violence against girls from reporting incidents of sexual violence. The microsystem is the victim's immediate environment representing the victim's interpersonal relationships with the school communities, including teachers, peers, school administrators, and parents. The mesosystem is the school system that represents the connections between the school communities. The exosystem represents judicial structures, local policies and local media that affect the victim's and her family's decision to report sexual violence incidents. Finally, the macrosystem represents the larger societal norms and public policies that discourage reporting of sexual violence incidents.

There may be a variety of interpersonal reasons why sexual assault victims choose not to come forward, such as shame, fear of being blamed, fear of not being believed, or fear of social rejection (WHO & Pan American Health Organization, 2012). However, these feelings stem from a variety of factors and processes in both the victim's immediate and larger social environments. Based on the analysis of data from the FGDs, the factors that prevent girls from disclosing school-related sexual violence are mapped using Bronfenbrenner's ecological model and discussed in the following sections.

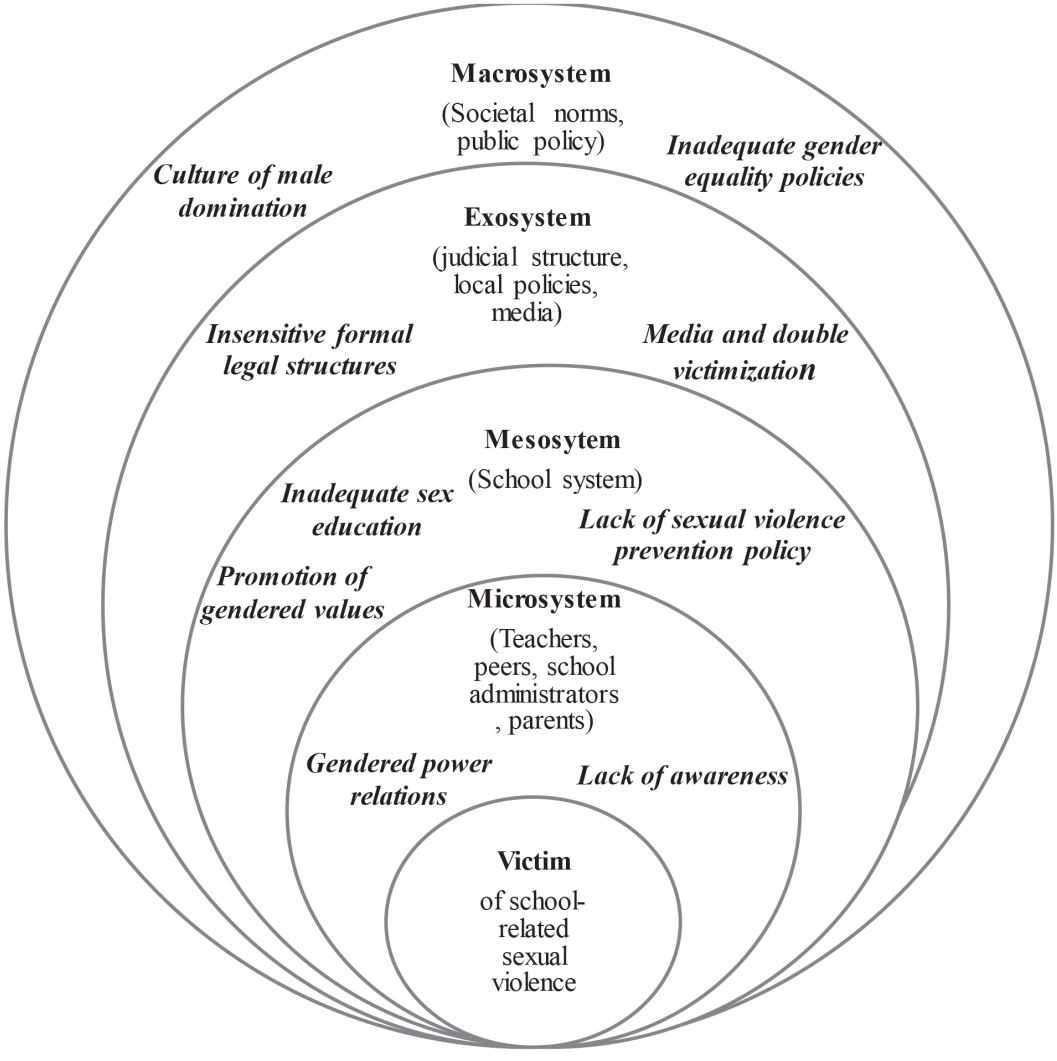


Figure 1: Factors Influencing Victims' Nondisclosure of School-related Sexual Violence**.** Adapted from "Toward an Experimental Ecology of Human Development," by U. Bronfenbrenner, 1977, *American Psychologist, 32*(7), 514-515.

Microsystem

Gendered power relations

Unequal power relations between adults and children, as well as females and males, were identified as factors that explain the prevalence of sexual violence against girls in schools, as well as the silence on the part of victims. According to multiple research participants, victims may be intimated or too afraid to speak up against someone in

a position of authority over them, such as teachers and Islamic school clerics. One of the gender experts from the study shared her own experience with sexual violence from a male teacher in junior high school in the late 1980s. The teacher grabbed her breast in private, and when she reported the incident to the school counsellor, they responded with, "it is you who is too emotional." Because of the trivialization of the incident by the counsellor, she did not speak about the incident with anyone for some time. After a while, she began to gather more information about such incidents and found that more than 300 students had already been the victims of the same teacher. Many students then came forward, and the teacher was fired. However, she mentions that the entire process was not easy for her and other victims:

> *"In the end, the teacher was fired, but it took a very long process to prove it and the process was very painful because they didn't position the victims in a position that seemed respectful, even though we were the victims."*

This remark suggests the tendency to treat victims based on the perceived status of the victims by the school administration. In addition, the fact that many victims remained silent until one student came forward shows the role of power disparities in their silence. While this incident occurred in the late 1980s, the research participants noted that similar incidents have occurred in Indonesian schools more recently.

Power disparities between females and males were found to influence female students' decision to report sexual violence from male peers. The research participants noted that both females and males are socialized to accept male domination and objectification of the female body, which not only empowers boys to commit sexual harassment against girls but also enables victims to tolerate harassment quietly. Moreover, when boys engage in sexual harassment, it is often not taken seriously as it is considered acceptable masculine behaviour.

Lack of awareness

The lack of awareness of sexual violence among school communities may be influenced by factors at higher levels of the environment, such as lack of sex education for students or lack of teacher training. However, the influence of these factors plays out in the microsystem, an individual's immediate environment. The FDGs suggest that school

communities, including students, teachers, school administrators, and parents, may not be aware of what sexual violence entails and how to respond to acts of sexual violence, or they may have misconceptions about them. While the school communities may be aware of the biological aspects of sex, they generally lack knowledge about the social dimensions of sexual relationships such as consent. As a result, acts of sexual violence may not be recognized by the victims or those who witness or are aware of such incidents. Even when they are aware of what sexual violence entails, they may lack the necessary skills to deal with such incidents or they may be reluctant to report them due to fear. On this front, an expert participant noted:

"Women sometimes do not realize that the autonomy of their body exists in them, and this is because they have not been taught from childhood since it is considered taboo. When they are (sexually) harassed, they will be reluctant to report the incident. Sometimes in a state of urgency (such as in the case of groping of breasts), not everyone can react immediately. They just keep quiet and become frozen due to shock."

Mesosystem

Inadequate sex education

Sex education that takes into account the issues of control and consent in sexual relationships, the concept of women's desire, and the social and ethical dimension of sex supports the development of healthy sexuality in children and young people and helps in addressing sexual violence and gender inequities (Stromquist, 2007). However, these topics are not included in the school curriculum in Indonesia as suggested by multiple expert participants, who noted:

"*Although the government officially stated that sex education has been accommodated in the education curriculum, namely the 2013 curriculum, I think it is still inadequate.....So far, what has been conveyed about gender equality and sex education, were only limited issues, and there are many other issues that have not been included because of the culture factor."*

"What I have observed is that lessons such as biology have included concepts of sex education, for example, the anatomy and function of the reproductive organs are there. Then, religious studies, especially Islam, have also included such concepts. Maybe it is also necessary to include sex education topics in social science lessons. Prevention of sexual violence requires inclusion of topics such as which parts of the body are allowed to be touched, which manners are appropriate when men and women interact, what is appropriate and inappropriate in terms of touching."

"Usually, when the men do their Friday prayers, the women have Keputrian (women's lessons), but we don't really talk about gender or encourage women. So usually, it is like a discussion about women and sensitive things, such as a discussion about menstruation".

The FGDs show that although sex and reproductive health education have been accommodated in Indonesian schools to some extent, it primarily concentrates on teaching anatomy as a component of biology lessons and raising the reproductive health literacy of only female students through religious lessons. Sex education does not include a broad range of topics, such as consent and healthy relationships, contraception, and sexual harassment and abuse. In addition, cultural barriers prevent free discussions on sex and reproductive health issues. A gender expert noted that removing cultural barriers to sex education requires creative approaches, for example, modifying language and communication patterns that are comfortable for the instructors and students or employing informal approaches such as conveying information through group discussion or extracurricular activities, which are largely missing in Indonesian schools. As a result, students may hold false information about sex, sexuality, and issues of consent, which may indirectly influence the prevalence and nondisclosure of incidents of sexual violence.

Lack of comprehensive sexual violence prevention policy

A comprehensive school violence prevention policy is needed to build trust and confidence among the victims of sexual violence to report violations. A comprehensive

violence prevention policy consists of three key aspects: 1) *a well-written policy* with definitions of all forms of violence, clear guidance to victims to report violations and seek support services, and possible consequences for the perpetrators, 2) *preventive strategies* including creating safe physical spaces, developing code of conduct for school staff, providing life skills training to students to prevent or respond to violence, and bystander intervention among others, and 3) *response and support services* consisting of safe and easily-accessible incident reporting mechanism, confidentiality policy, and counselling and support services (Vichit-Vadakan et al., 2021b). However, the FGDs show that comprehensive school violence prevention policies are generally lacking in Indonesian schools. On this front, two expert participants noted:

"If we talk about cases of sexual violence in educational institutions,
the caveat is that there are no rules that serve as
the basis for handling sexual violence in educational environments."

"If girls reported cases of sexual violence, instead of getting justice,
they would be blamed for the incidents and re-victimized. Hence,
many of them do not report such incidents."

Due to the lack of comprehensive sexual violence school policy, school communities generally do not have adequate knowledge and skills or appropriate behaviors to support sexual violence prevention or facilitate reporting of sexual violence incidents. The lack of a comprehensive sexual violence policy in schools may also mean a lack of a clear confidentiality policy, which is necessary to address the victims' and their families' fear of stigma and judgement. As a result, victims and their families may be reluctant to disclose sexual violence incidents. Moreover, according to one of the expert participants, when victims report incidents of sexual violence, they might be at the receiving end of psychological violence and discrimination from the school personnel. For example, according to the participant, when victims attempt to report sexual violence incidents or if unwanted pregnancies occur as a result of rape, they may not be permitted to sit for exams or they may even be expelled from schools for damaging the school's reputation. In addition, less severe forms of sexual violence against girls from their male peers are usually dismissed as minor mischief.

Promotion of gendered values in schools

Dissemination of gendered values in educational practices promotes the cultures of male domination, female subordination, and impunity of male perpetrators, which fuel the culture of silence associated with sexual violence incidents. According to the research participants, gender stereotypes and bias are rampant in teaching practices, extracurricular activities, and instructional materials. Unspoken conventions dictate that leaders must be boys, especially in Islamic and public schools, which promote the culture of male superiority. While girls are expected to display positive behaviors, it is acceptable for boys to be rowdy, lazy, and impolite, which could lead to the trivialization of sexual harassment of girls. Boys who are seen to be acting 'feminine' are called 'sissy' or 'gay'. Girls are expected to exhibit certain behaviors considered feminine in society, such as sitting gracefully, being compassionate, and dressing neatly and modestly. Sexualization and objectification of the female body are also prevalent in schools, as remarked by one of the expert research participants:

"When a female's body is viewed as a sexual object, whatever is inside the woman or what the woman is wearing must be covered up because it will lead to lust. And, when (sexual) violence occurs, it is the female who is wrong because of the stereotype that the woman's body is an object."

Furthermore, according to the FGDs, traditional gender roles are promoted through character education and Islamic education. For example, female Islamic schools have Keputrian (Women's lessons) aimed at teaching traditionally feminine skills such as cooking, sewing, folding napkins, and embroidery to students from grades 7 through 12. Instructional materials such as textbooks also reinforce traditional gender norms. While some teacher education programs include gender sensitivity topics, others do not. Thus, many teachers are not aware of gender sensitivity issues and may unconsciously reinforce gender-biased messages in classrooms. It is then the duty of the school administration to counter unconscious gender biases teachers hold. However, according to the research participants, most schools do not focus on teacher gender sensitivity training.

Exosystem

Insensitive formal legal structures

Although the judicial process of reporting incidents of sexual violence against children has improved in recent years, the stigma associated with sexual violence and the cultures of victim-blaming and the immunity of perpetrators remain, preventing the majority of cases from being reported. One of the gender experts identified the marriage between the culture of rape and the culture of acceptance as one of the root causes of sexual violence against women in Indonesia. These two cultures normalize inappropriate behaviors such as snapping a bra strap or groping breasts as normal mischief, which may encourage perpetrators to commit such and more serious sexual violence acts. Other gender experts stressed the risk of double victimization of girls when they report sexual violence incidents. For example, the victims themselves may be at the receiving end of the blame, or their complaints may not be taken seriously. To shed light on the prevalence of victim-blaming culture, a gender expert noted that even government programs for sexual violence prevention may include aspects that promote victim-blaming culture, for example conducting training on how to wear hijabs beautifully and fashionably so that women are not prone to sexual violence.

Media and double victimization

Traditional media can play an influential role in exposing sexual violence incidents, calling out weaknesses of the formal processes, as well as shaping discourse and public perception of sexual violence. However, the research findings suggest that national and local media, including print media, broadcast news, and electronic media, are not necessarily sensitive to the issue of gender-based violence. According to some research participants, many journalists hold traditional gender ideologies and are not particularly at ease with the gender equality movement in Indonesia. Thus, their reporting on sexual violence may reinforce the cultures of victim-blaming and impunity of perpetrators. Likewise, though social media offers a powerful means for victims of sexual violence to speak up and be heard, it can also be a source of sexual harassment. According to the research participants, social media is widely used to propagate gender stereotypes and norms of masculinity and even to victimize the victims of sexual violence further. In addition, both traditional media and social media's insensitivity in protecting the privacy

of victims of sexual violence can contribute to their stress and trauma and even encourage their revictimization. According to a research participant, there have been cases where victims of sexual violence faced sexual violence again as a result of media reports on them. Thus, the media can play a significant role in victims' nondisclosure decisions by weakening their morale, stripping of their confidence and dignity, or instilling fear, stress, and anxiety, which may immobilize the victims from taking action.

Macrosystem

Broader culture of male domination

The root causes of sexual violence against women and girls include traditional societal norms that promote male supremacy, such as the notion that it is the duty of women and girls to keep men's sexual urges at bay or that sexual violence is a sign of masculinity (WHO & Pan American Health Organization, 2012). The results of the FDGs and expert interviews support that the prevalent patriarchal values rooted in Islamic traditions, as well as minority cultures and traditions in the country, influence gender norms and behaviors at the community, organizational, and individual levels. Many research participants observed that the beliefs, values, and traditions of Islam, which is the country's dominant faith, generally promote men's power and authority and women's secondary status in families and society. Muslim women are expected to uphold the standards of modesty and purity and accept men's authority and dominance unquestionably, which may inadvertently promote the culture of acceptance of sexual violence. In Islamic schools, which serve the educational needs of children from Muslim families, girls are groomed in traditional roles to become "good wives", especially in rural areas. Indonesia's minority faiths and traditions, such as Christianity, Hinduism, and Batak tradition, also promote values of male superiority, as indicated by some research participants who highlighted the prevalence of the son preference phenomenon and the patrilineal land tenure system in these traditions.

Unsupportive gender equality policies

The FGDs indicate that while the government has exhibited a commitment to gender equality in different sectors, including education, through various policy and legislative initiatives, such initiatives do not adequately take into account the actual

experiences and needs of women and girls. One of the expert research participants referred to a study conducted in 2016 by the National Commission on Violence Against Women, Indonesia, which found that a total of 421 public policies were discriminatory against women and other minority groups, whereas 359 public policies were conducive to the protection of women and children. There have been some commendable efforts from the Ministry of Education and Culture to reduce gender inequality in educational institutions, for example, the Mendikbud regulation, which provides a legal basis for implementing sexual violence prevention strategies in higher education, was recently drafted. The Ministry has also been active in incorporating the issue of gender inequality in the religious moderation project. Some Islamic campuses are involved in efforts to change discriminatory practices by exploring how Islamic ideas can be anchored in a more pro-gender equality framework. While the efforts to address gender inequality in higher education represent a step forward, similar efforts are needed at all levels of education, including schools.

Discussion/Conclusion

This study attempted to understand why female victims of school-related sexual violence choose to withhold information. The findings support that victims' nondisclosure decisions are influenced by their environmental contexts and interactions within them. In the victim's immediate environment (microsystem), unequal power relations between females and males and between adults and children, along with a lack of awareness regarding sexual violence on the part of school communities, including the victims, were found to impact the victims' nondisclosure decisions. At the mesosystem level, lack of adequate sex education programs, lack of comprehensive violence prevention policy, and lack of awareness of sexual violence among the school communities were found to contribute to the maintenance of the culture of male superiority, impunity, and stigma, preventing victims of sexual violence from speaking up. At the exosystem level, the formal reporting mechanisms were found to lack sensitivity to the needs of the victims and promote victim-blaming culture, and the traditional and social media were found to propagate the culture of male domination and impunity and contribute to further harassment and even revictimization of the victims. Finally, at the macro level, it was found that the country's dominant as well as minority faiths and traditions unintentionally but

inadvertently promoted the cultural and religious norms of male superiority and female subordination. In addition, the existing macro-level gender equality policies did not sufficiently address gender inequality issues. These findings are consistent with Alaggia et al. (2017)'s finding that complex interactions between individuals and their surrounding environments influence the disclosure or silence of CSA.

Disclosure of sexual violence is often the first step to providing support to the victims as they deal with their trauma. Disclosures are also vital for reducing or eliminating incidents of sexual violence as they make actual or potential perpetrators less inclined to commit such crimes. The findings of this study indicate that interventions to encourage victims of school-related sexual violence require an ecological approach that takes into account inhibiting factors at all ecological levels. While changing discriminatory gender norms at the macro level necessitates broader cultural shifts which require both long-term and short-term policies at all levels, focusing on the lower levels, including the judicial system and school ecosystem may bring about immediate outcomes in terms of encouraging reporting of sexual violence incidents. The judicial process should be victim-sensitive, and the victims should be treated with dignity and respect in all interactions with investigative authorities, legal experts, and judicial employees (UNODC, 2019). At the school level, eliminating school-related violence and encouraging sexual abuse disclosure requires a whole-school approach aimed at increasing awareness and skills of school communities, including school administrators, teachers, other staff, students, and parents (Vichit-Vadakan et al., 2021b). Comprehensive school-related violence prevention policy, gender-sensitive teacher education, gender-sensitive school curriculum, and sex education covering the social dimension of sexuality are some key strategies needed to discourage school-related sexual violence and encourage disclosure of abuse. In addition, the study found that cultural barriers influence factors associated with non-disclosure of sexual abuse at all levels of the victim's environment, suggesting the need for culturally-sensitive interventions.

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