Intervening Religious and Cultural Based Violence Against Children in Indonesia
A Theoretical Analysis

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Abstract

This research is a case-study based primarily on theory and pre-existing documents describing the history and the current situation in regards to violence against children in Indonesia. The theory of intervention is analysed against the context of Indonesia with an aim to find which of the selected intervention approaches – the systems approach, the human ecology approach, the lifecycle approach and the community based approach – are considered most appropriate, in terms of minimal obstacles or barriers, for recommendation to be implemented by religious leaders to eliminate violence against children. Furthermore, this research finds which types of violence against children – those with religious motivation or those with cultural motivation – each of these four intervention approaches are best suited for. The study finds that the former two approaches are lesser recommended for religious leaders on their own to lead, and that the latter two are better able to provide the necessary social programming. While conditions apply, each of the approaches are capable of intervening violence motivated by both religious and cultural norms.

Keywords: Violence against children, Religion, Culture, Indonesia, Theory of Intervention, Systems approach, Human Ecology approach, Lifecycle approach, Community Based approach
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Chapter 1: Introduction

Today Indonesia finds itself under rapid development. As the country becomes more and more democratic as of 1998, the last few decades have have witnessed other difficulties. In 1997 the Asian financial crisis pursued, bringing Indonesia's economy into turmoil. Merely years later, in 2004, the land that is nicknamed the ring of fire, due to it being prone to natural disasters, was hit by a devastating tsunami. This was immediately followed by hundreds of millions of dollars in international aid being received, impacting society in ways that were unexpected. With all of this, the new democracy noticed the rights of one minority in particular being infringed upon: children. While efforts to resolve this problem have begun, the public – international – eye has cast itself on Indonesia, and has not looked elsewhere ever since.

On the 25th anniversary of the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 2014, The Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) agreed to consider the impact and implications of cultural and religious practices on children's rights, in relation to the CRC, in South East Asia. Although some religious and cultural practices contribute to the protection of children's rights, others can undermine them by discriminating against girls, exploiting children, and/or allowing violence against them (UNICEF, East Asia and Pacific). ASEAN is made up of ten member states, including Indonesia, and are all ratified to the CRC.

For reasons of time and size of this research, only Indonesia has been chosen for this case-study. Indonesia has in recent years placed a certain amount of emphasis on the elimination of violence against children. With a rather high prevalence of violence against children at current, and with society built on a close relationship between culture and religion throughout, Indonesia is an ideal starting point for such a research.

The CRC is composed of four categories covering: the guiding principles, survival and development rights, protection rights, and participation rights. This research emphasises most on the protection rights that include protection from all forms of child abuse, however, due to the general relationship between these categories, this research also touches on these other categories wherever found necessary. Child abuse or violence is recognised by UNICEF as both physical or mental violence, and includes sexual abuse and exploitation, armed violence, trafficking, child labour, gender-based violence, bullying, child marriage, and other harmful practices (UNICEF, Child protection from violence, exploitation and abuse), with children's protection from violence secured under article 19.
of the CRC. Given that ASEAN's announcement is in relation to the CRC, this definition of violence against children will be used in this research.

Several psychological studies have been made that show that violence against children affects their general well-being and puts children at risk for preventable consequences both in health and in lifestyle choices (Gershoff 2008; Smith 2012; amongst others). Violence against children thus has a negative effect not only on the individual child, but also on the society in which they take part throughout their lives.

The impact and implication of cultural and religious practices, as stated in the announcement made by ASEAN, for the purpose of this research is interpreted as covering two areas: how such practices by parents, communities, religious institutions, and governments alike can contribute to the overall protection of children's rights, and; how existing cultural and religious practices harm children's rights. In considering the impact and implication of cultural and religious practices, an intervention to eliminate violence against children is assumed. The intervention thus acts as a catalyst for social change which would be done, in this case, by changing social norms and the human behaviours that support these norms. Whereas a social norm in this regard may be considered as any existing acceptance of violence against children, social change would then be acquired through an intervention to eliminate violence against children and its acceptance, by changing social norms which influences and is influenced by human behaviour.

On the assumption that social change is possible in the context of violence against children, the theory of intervention is introduced. The theory of intervention involves people acting in order to cause a change in a desired direction. In this matter, the desired direction is the elimination of violence against children. As social change is a social process, collective action is needed between those conducting the intervention and those who are expected to carry out the changes. In Indonesia, religious leaders – defined as someone who is regarded as an authority on religious law – are at often times in a good position to influence their religious community. Thus where the religious leaders are involved in leading an intervention, an effective working relationship amongst the collective action is assumed possible. Achieving this objective requires the development and implementation of strategies, that can be continually monitored. (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.5)

While it is not only religious leaders who are able to carry out interventions to eliminate violence against children, they are a group who have been recognised by ASEAN as possible contributors to
potential intervening action. They can also be considered appropriate actors to lead interventions due to the, in part, religious nature of ASEAN's consideration.

The theory of intervention suggests that social change is possible, although there are several approaches that can be taken to arrive at the desired results within an intervention. In this research four of those intervention approaches will be studied, and the barriers or obstacles will be sought, in order to find which approach(es) might be best for use by religious leaders, in the elimination of violence against children in Indonesia. These approaches are: 1) the systems approach; 2) the human ecology approach; 3) the lifecycle approach, and; 4) the community based approach. Given the nature of the problem of violence against children, and social change in general, the three systemic spheres, the micro-level, the meso-level and the macro-level, are all taken into consideration within the intervention approaches in question, where appropriate.

Scope

Cultural and religious practices that are in general harmful to children's rights are considered. For the purposes of this research, the term violence against children consists of acts that harm the health, education, and/or safety, broadly defined, of a child. The specific acts of cultural and/or religious violence considered in this research include child marriage, corporal punishment, and female genital mutilation. As there are 5 recognised religions in Indonesia, it should be mentioned that it is Christianity and Islam that are given the most attention in this research, as the two make up the largest religious population categories in Indonesia.

This research is a case-study based primarily on theory and pre-existing documents describing the history and the current situation in regards to violence against children in Indonesia. As I was able to travel to Indonesia for three months while conducting this research, small observations of the, primarily Javanese, society in general are included wherever found relevant.

The research questions are therefore: 1) In terms of minimal obstacles and out of the following intervention approaches: the systems approach, the human ecology approach, the lifecycle approach, and the community based approach; which approach(es) is/are considered most appropriate for recommendation for religious leaders to implement, in order to eliminate violence against children? And, 2) Do the recommended intervention approaches differ in terms of acts of violence towards children with religious motivation and violence against children with no religious motivation? If so, how?
**Relevance**

Much of previous research on using intervention systems to change social norms focuses on eliminating or reducing alcohol abuse (See Lombardi et al. 2010; Turner 2008; Patrick 2014; amongst others). Only recently has research on intervention systems to eliminate violence come into focus, and even yet much of this research is based on interpersonal violences conducted by males in domestic partnerships with other males or females (See Crocket 2015; Bell 2015; amongst others). There seems to be very little research on intervention systems to eliminate violence against children, and less-so for intervening on religious practices of this nature. The changing of social norms and behaviours is often a long and slow process regardless of whether religion is involved. The likelihood of encountering obstacles throughout the process can be expected. However, a commitment has been made by the members of ASEAN, with subsequent efforts of implementation in Indonesia. Due to the degree of difficulty and the longevity of the process that this commitment is bound to face, I would like to contribute to the research process by seeking intervention systems for recommendation for religious leaders in Indonesia.

**Delimitations**

Throughout much of the time of writing this essay, I was situated in Indonesia for primary reasons that are other from this research. Pre-departure, I was given very little information on my whereabouts, and as such I was unable to do much research into the resources I would be able to use, nor to plan much of my actions related to this research, in advance. Additionally, other than the expected language barrier delimitation, other problems in-country were faced. For instance, my own movement was limited, due to recent terrorist threats on the city in which I stayed: Surabaya, East Java.

Efforts were made to gain contact with local organisations that work with women and children in Surabaya, however, the organisations I found were either no longer running, or I received no reply. Access to information, or local resources in Surabaya turned out to be very limited. Searching for information on the internet was difficult in that the most relevant information I was able to find on any and every topic would, generally be outdated. Furthermore, a variety of websites, including blogs, were blocked Indonesia. Newspapers were also difficult to find – the most reliable vendor were in traffic during red traffic lights. The general physical surroundings in Surabaya were a great
unknown, even to the many locals I encountered.

Along with the other missing information in Indonesia, the country also lacks surveys and general statistics on violence against children. However this is an issue that is in focus right now, thus news concerning new reports from organisations like UNICEF came about sporadically throughout the duration of this research – however such new and relevant reports have not yet been made available to the public.

In terms of theory, I was not able to find much information on the chosen approaches that related to violence against children – and much less that related to Indonesia. Indonesia is in a unique situation given it's history, recent events and size, and thus previous studies that I did find did not seem to relate – they too were dependent on their own unique contexts – or there were little to no references to the barriers that these interventions faced.

**Outline**

Following this introduction, Chapter 2 will outline the method used in this research. This is followed by an outline of the theoretical focus in Chapter 3. The theory of intervention is properly described along with the four intervention approaches chosen for this research: the systems approach, the human ecology approach, the lifecycle approach and the community based approach. Chapter 4 provides insight on children's rights in the context of social change, as well as a description of the current context of children's rights in Indonesia as found through related literature. Chapter 5 then offers an analysis and discussion of the findings. Finally, a summary of the findings is found in Chapter 6.

**Chapter 2: Methodology**

The principle hopes coming into this research was to conduct it as partially theory-based and partially interview-based with quantitative support through surveying. With the delimitations faced prior to arriving in Indonesia, I began with a conceptual review of existing literature and the theoretical aspect of the study. With the time limit for this research in mind, and little information available once I arrived in-country, I finally decided to continue, unfortunately, on my own. As such, this research is a literature based case-study, that involves a theoretical analysis.

Especially as this research is literature-based, having multiple sources of data was important for accuracy. This exploratory case-study acts as a prelude to further research. Of course, the context of
violence against children in Indonesia might change from the time of writing this research to the
time of application to any future research. However, adjustments concerning new barriers or old
barriers and obstacles sought, can always be made. In the meanwhile, attempts to maximise what
can be learned in the allotted time of this research have been made. (Tellis 1997)

The triangulation of data confirms validity, and in this case, investigator triangulation was used – to seek the same results from different investigators (Ibid). Whereas accessing data in English has proven to be difficult, the benefit of this was a need to search in as many different places to gather information. From ministries, to media to NGOs and IGOs, ensuring validity became relatively easy – as did spotting inconsistencies. However, the relationship between sources is also considered. For instance, news from the Jakarta Post, an English news source based in Jakarta that was used to seek recent events in the matter, takes a pro-democracy viewpoint – thus there is no surprise that they might report similar findings to an NGO invested in the cause being written about. The interpretation of events coming from these two sources could potentially differ from that of a ministry or otherwise, depending on their standing on the topic.

With that being said, the type of data collected for this research in large part consists of documentation (previous research, information kits, press releases, ect.) and archival records (legislation and working papers, news articles, previously acquired statistics, ect.). Both types of data are stable in that they allow for repeated review, and they exist prior to the research or are developed throughout externally, and they are generally specific in that they contain names and dates. However some may have been difficult or impossible to retrieve, are biased and/or at times they may contain false information. (Ibid)

Additionally, although in small part, some of my own observations on Indonesian culture are included, and conversations pertaining to my observations with others are also included. The manner in which I recorded the data was through an electronic journal which includes direct quotes and my own responses.

As this case-study is not only literature-based but is also a theoretical analysis, the theory chosen acts as a template to compare the existing documentation against. This aids in developing generalisations that are applicable in real life – a clear necessity in this research's purpose. The application of the case study model, in this research, is to describe the existing context of which the intervention would take place, and to describe the intervention itself. (Ibid)
Methodologically, this research is rather ethnographical in approach, blended with naturalistic inquiry. That is, it is based on description and interpretation, and also on culture and phenomenology – the reality of human experiences. Through outside and unobtrusive observation, the relationship between culture and behaviour are discovered and measured through events. (Gray 2004, p.24-25)

The design of this research has unfolded throughout. Naturalistic inquiry is not designed all too thoroughly prior to a research, as reality is constructed. Naturalistic inquiry tends to raise more questions than answers, and thus any control of outcomes is unlikely. Although understanding can still be achieved. By describing individual cases, inferences of events can be made, yet causality is not necessarily claimed. The complexity of reality is the reason for this. Yet, there is a human component in the research method – observation can take place through unobtrusive measures such as document and content analysis. (Ibid, p.26-27)

As one of ASEAN's commitments sits within the foundation of this research, it should be noted that debating their stance on violence against children is not a purpose within this research. Seemingly within reason, this research is thus being conducted under the assumption that the effects of violence are negative, whether from a moral, a sociological or a psychological point of view.

One of the main characteristics considered for an intervention approach for this case-study, was cultural adaptability. As there is very little research available on the effects of religious practices, particularly Islamic practices on children's rights – as Indonesia is a majority Muslim country – choosing intervention approaches whose biggest barrier is it's lack of cultural adaptability, is not all too helpful. Instead, the approaches with more positive predicted results, are more-so worth considering.

Through a content review of existing documentation and prior events, carefully selected intervention approaches are analysed in search for possible and probable barriers or obstacles. While it is understood that reality is complex and in constant production, the context of the research's focus has been studied and verified through triangulation. A better understanding of the context aids in understanding which considerations need to be taken in an implementation of the theoretical approaches. The application of the approaches is best done, and adapted, to the context in which it is to intervene. While this is not to say that the desired outcomes of the selected
interventions can be ensured, the intervention approaches do act as guidelines, to *encourage* the desired change.

**Chapter 3: Theoretical focus**

Calling for social change to promote a shift in human behaviour is essentially calling for an intervention. In this chapter, a brief overview of the theory of intervention is offered. As “theory provides a helpful basis for designing interventions to change behaviour but offers little guidance on how to do this” (Michie 2008, p.660), four different approaches to intervention are also explored. That is: the systems approach, the human ecology approach, the lifecycle approach and the community based approach. These four approaches are, in this essay, selected to be considered for recommendation for use by religious leaders in Indonesia in the elimination of violence against children. Certainly, there are further approaches that could be considered in future research, such as the empowerment based approach, the child-centred approach, parent-child interaction therapy, cognitive-behavioural or family therapy approaches, to name a few. The four approaches selected differ from one another in the process and in the models they use – some more than others – however they were chosen on the basis that they are all appropriate for community-wide change, and are adaptable across cultures or unique social circumstances.

**Theory of intervention**

What we as humans expect of others, and what they expect of ourselves, is defined by informal understandings. Social norms are our human behaviours that govern our interactions with others. It is by these behaviours and expectations of others that we establish standards of decency and obligation. (Young 2014, p.2)

According to Young there are certain characteristics that social norms have concerning how they are enforced, how they evolve and in how they take form (Ibid, p.5), which are described here. As mentioned previously, social norms are self-enforced within a group and motivated by expectation. This can be demonstrated by acceptable dress codes in different societies. For instance, the hijab – or Muslim headscarf – may be worn, or not worn, to the desire of an individual, their parents or their family. Particularly in the West, wearing the hijab is sometimes seen as conflicting to feminism, with an idea that the wearing of a hijab is an act imposed on a woman by their male counterparts.

Norms also evolve through interactions between individuals, generally, but not necessarily, without
Continuing with the example of the hijab, the way the hijab is worn, or the materials that they are made of, sometimes change with the evolution of fashion. Another example of the evolution concerning the hijab concerns the emotions held by those wearing it. This can be seen with the online social movement *My Stealthy Freedom* (mystealthyfreedom.net), where women in Iran post photos of themselves without the compulsory – in Iran – hijab.

Finally, norms come in different forms. That is to say that they are context and time dependent. The hijab is mandatory for women to wear in southern communities of Iraq, but not mandatory in other regions or communities in Iraq, even though much of Iraq is of a Muslim majority. Similarly, in some communities, the hijab was once worn but is no longer, or was not worn in the past but is worn now.

If Young's assumptions are correct, which I believe that they are, these characteristics of social norms display that norms are created by humans. Therefore, this tells us that humans are also capable of changing social norms.

The theory of intervention is what guides changes in social arrangements or human behaviour in order to develop new and desired social arrangements and behaviours. Thus, the desired social arrangements that an intervention led by religious leaders – in whole or in part – to eliminate violence against children, seeks, would of course be to achieve a decline in cases of violence against children in a given community or across many communities. This including cases that are and are not reported.

An intervention is a process that requires a plan. A plan involves, amongst many other details, an analysis of the problem within its' own circumstance, and realistic objectives. What can be achieved in an intervention may depend on the resources available, as well as the determination to achieve the objectives by all involved. Naturally, an intervention plan also requires strategy and effective implementation. Having a good understanding of the context in that the problem exists, including the existing conditions and social system, allows for a better planned strategy. The problem itself must also be defined, as well as understood – what is it that allows for the problem to exist? It is not until the problem within its' context is understood, that one can understand what *must* be changed, as well as what *can* and *cannot* be changed. (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.5)

As intervention is a social process, it requires collective action. This suggests that those leading the
intervention must be able to – or readily have – a working relationship with those in the community in which the interventionist is seeking change. This is ultimately important whereas attempts to eliminate a problem will likely be faced by “resistance from those in favour of acceptance” (Zeeuw 2010, p.7), thus trust in the intervention leaders is essential. With the benefit of the community members in mind, the development of the intervention plan involves both the interventionist and the community members whom, as a whole, are expected to construct the new and desired social arrangement and to interact according to the new and desired behaviour. Keeping in mind that change can be difficult for some people, and that many people are involved in the process. Acquiring the desired changes of an intervention, is difficult. (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.5)

The group undergoing the intervention must feel as though their own unique circumstances are understood and respected. Additionally, they must feel as though making this change is beneficial to them. An intervention to change behaviour and norms must be participatory and in an environment where the working relationships are of equality, if they are going to be successful. Those participating will work accordingly so long as they feel understood – this decreasing their doubts in the process and goals of the intervention. (Ibid, p.6)

It should be remembered that intervention work on specific cases differ from one another. Each intervention responds to unique circumstances and the external events that occur throughout cannot, within reason, be predicted. Within social sciences, or more particularly within sociology – a study of social behaviour – law-like generalisations are not necessarily applicable. This is especially so in intervention work on cases, due to their relatively unique situations and conditions. Instead, the nomothetic model can be used, asserting “a probabilistic relationship between causal variables and outcome variables” – that is, a general relationship between previous events and outcomes that are not dependent on time or location. Be that as it may, the techniques that are used in science that develop law-like generalisations may still be used in intervention case-work. The use of such techniques can help us to understand a case. These techniques also help us to select strategies for change. (Ibid, p.6-7; Zeeuw 2010, p.11)

It has been mentioned earlier on that social change does not necessarily have to take a top-down approach. The three systemic levels are thus taken into consideration: the micro-, the meso-, and the macro-levels. Although, in analysing the individual – micro – level it is only natural to find factors from the wider society (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.13). Thus, an understanding of the macro and meso-levels is also valuable. The macro-level in this sense includes religions and nationwide
programs; the meso-level includes communities, families, and government agencies.

Community-wide problems are often developed over long timespans, covering times where choices were available, options were chosen and decisions were made. The micro, meso and macro levels were all likely involved in the making of the problems communities face. This is to say that the present problems were built on the foundation of what is or was acceptable in society, including social norms, values, customs and practices. Interventions are likely to be more effective if the roots of the problem is understood. (Ibid, p.147; Michie 2008, p.661)

With this in mind, intervention is a process that can be approached in many different ways. Social problems are maintained by an existing acceptance of them, but they are also created by people, and thus can be changed by people. In all regards, they require collective solutions. (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.153)

**The systems approach**
The systems approach is a framework that looks at social structures in lieu of a theory explaining human behaviour. By looking at the macro-level, sociologists consider all of society as the focus. The system is thought of as a society composed of interconnected parts, where all of the parts of the society react when one part is changed. The entire system thus behaves according to the needs and goals of the society, even if it is only a small part of the society's needs/goals. It is important to note that while all of the parts of a system relate to one another, some of those parts relate amongst themselves more than others. This is however to say that the entire system acts as an undivided whole instead of as individual parts. While the social system continues to exist as a continuum from the micro to the meso to the macro level, it cannot be understood through the analysis of individual parts, but instead as a whole. (Brown 1978, p.13; Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.28)
There are two types of systems: open systems that interact with their environments by exchanging information, and; closed systems that do not interact with their environments – or interact very little with their environments. Open systems have little or no boundaries, which allows for the exchange of information, and; closed systems have a relatively strong boundary, disallowing the exchange of information. Open systems have a property of equifinality, in regard to their outcomes. That is, different initial states can generate similar outcomes, and similar initial states can generate very different outcomes. This property permits that there are different ways to achieve a desired outcome. Another character that open systems have is that they attempt to maintain a stable state – a system's continued existence and functioning – by adapting to changes in it's environment. In fact, they are constantly adapting, although not in a condition of complete change. Therefore, a stable state of a system is one that is changing in a balanced manner, adapting to it's environment but maintaining it's own components in an ongoing exchange of information. Things that could potentially be detrimental to the system must be processed by the system, and respond to it's environment in an adaptive manner that averts any threat. If the response is non-adaptive or not efficient enough, the system will face disruption and could potentially fail. (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.29)

When an intervention is needed in an undivided social system, it is because a problem is threatening the stability of the society. A successful intervention would thus introduce change to the system in order for few or all parts of the system, such as relationships, beliefs, norms, ect., to adapt (Ibid, p. 33)

*Illustration 1: The Social Systems Model (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.32)*
Social systems are characterised by action and organisation, and they have an ongoing exchange of activity (information) among the system's subjects, ie. people or groups of people, as well as between the system and its environment. The power of the system is only as good as its ability to adapt to all exchanges of information, though, it is through the common values of the systems members that it is strengthened. When this is found in a social system – its members have synergy – people and groups interact more efficiently to attain common goals. This is why organisation plays such a pertinent role as a characteristic; a lack of would influence the likelihood of the members of the system achieving goals. (Brown 1978, p.139; Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.31; Vickery 1974, p.393)

A social system comprises of a focal system (See Illustration 1), which is the area most under threat during change. During political turmoil for instance, the focal system might be the country itself, surrounded by many sub-systems compromised of citizens, organisations, agencies, etc. (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.33). According to Parsons, a social system requires four tendencies. The first is that the social system has a tendency to define and attempt to achieve objectives. If the system is unbalanced, it must improve the conditions of the focal system. The second tendency is that the social system maintains existing patterns and boundaries, and as such interventions must carefully define the focal system in order to avoid confusion. The third tendency is that the social system is composed of complex interrelationships and processes, that is, sometimes the response to a problem is also what causes the problem – a feedback loop. Finally, the fourth tendency is that the social system acts to maintain a steady state – even if that state is dysfunctional. Even within dysfunction, patterns can exist, and changes within can adapt. (Ibid, p.34)

These four tendencies must be understood in an intervention so as to anticipate and predict how the system will act. Understanding the patterns of the system helps with this especially. However there is always the possibility that change will bring the system into a new, unknown state. This, along with its tendency to maintain a steady state, is why, in many cases, the system will react by rejecting or resisting change.

**The human ecology approach**

The human ecology approach is rather similar to the systems approach – and it makes much use of it. *Normality*, once defined and understood, is the basis of the system. If the system is drawn away from normality, restoration is needed to regain stability of the system. The ecosystem – the *self nourishing* and *other nourishing* aspects of interrelationships – is a key concept in ecology. Like
with the systems approach, the exchange of information between internal and external forces causes disruption or movement to the stability of the relationship. Thus, a steady state is strived for – though it is only a temporary state. (Ibid, p.37)

Differing from the systems approach is that it lacks a focal system because all of the levels and components of the system are interrelated. The Human Ecology Model (See Illustration 2) displays just that. Like a layered cake, sliced into pieces, all things are considered. With this, interventions ought to be handled in multiple levels – all of which are meant to be understood as best as possible, making use of their components – “a range of skills, perspectives, and understandings [must] be brought together in management collaborations”. (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.37; Dyball & Newell 2015, p.11)

It is necessary to understand how a system operates if there will be an attempt to restore the system to normality. Facilitating change through an intervention therefore suggests manipulating forces to regain balance – and working against the forces that inhibit balance (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p. 39). Changes to norms, for instance, can be made, although the idea of the systems approach is carried forward – the other parts of the system will change accordingly. If the operation of the system is understood correctly, balance will be retained if each part of the system is manipulated to reach the desired result of the system as a whole.

Illustration 2: The Human Ecology Model (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.38)

In practice, the manipulation of the parts of the systems has much to do with coping. Social units
(be it from the micro, meso or macro level) must cope with current and future – anticipated – changes. Coping skills can be refined. Particularly if the risks are low, coping will happen relatively easily. On the other hand, if the risks are high, protective instincts will occur, leading to problems and imbalance in the system. The relationships between the parts of the system must remain strong if the intervention efforts are to be successful; strong enough to bring the effects of the risks into normality through adaptation or coping. (Ibid, p.42)

The concept of adaptation is not unusual and exists in much of history. As adaptation is the successful result of coping in a social grouping, we can learn from history to understand the factors that encourage or threaten normality (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.43; Dyball & Newell 2015, p.113). History will also show us the difficulty of introducing change into a system. A rather clear example is colonialism, where changes were implemented in a given space, however the integrity of many were violated. In many cases, normality, where all parts of the system were able to cope with the given changes, was only attained with independence, a point in time where further change was rejected, and adaptation to recent changes proceeded.

The lifecycle approach
Even though the individual lives of people differ from one another, there are certain aspects that all people have in common. That is, according to Lidz: their lives will end; they have biological needs; they mature and decline – unless their lives are ended early; adaptation is vital in order to integrate with others; they have a certain dependence on each other, and; they must experience change. (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p. 44)

There are three types of transitions within a lifecycle. One can transition by a time period, such as with age. One can also transition by a role change, such as within an employment or in becoming a parent. Finally one can transition by an event, either personal or societal/political – examples range from marriage to a shift from communism to democracy, as examples, or the start and end of war. The three transitions are often very much related to one another. Across societies, the age at which such transitions should occur differ, and at times occur as part of a ritual. This includes at which age one should marry, begin working, become a parent and/or undergo many other life events. Sometimes these changes are dependent on puberty, which is not one set age in any society. However, within a society, there are generally age groups that are decided as to be appropriate for such transitions – that is, within a society there exist social norms around such topics. Changes within social norms thus change the expectations of when certain transitions in life should occur.
The responses from members of the society also change when one chooses to act against social norms, for instance, with an early pregnancy, or a decision not to marry. (Ibid, p. 45)

Spierer developed a model, the so-called “Watermelon Model” (see Illustration 3) in 1977 as a tool to examine weaknesses in an individual, family, or another social unit in a historical perspective. Each slice of the melon represents a cross-section of life at a particular point in time. Further, it considers the experiences that influence one's life up until that moment. Considering the longitudinal successes, achievements, and coping styles in problem-solving, predictions of future behaviour can be made. The patterns of the past contribute to current successes – and problems – in one's life, or in a societal timeline. Although it should be noted that not all societies die. Many merge or reinvent themselves. (Ibid, p. 49)

**Illustration 3: Spierer's so-called "Watermelon Model" (Bruhn & Rebach 2007 p.48)**

Within a family, the stage of the lifecycle holds relevance during a time of change, as some family members experience difficulty and as such stress levels are elevated. It is then the examination of past discontent or discomfort that is of much relevance whereas discontent and discomfort are typically catalysts for change. However, as change occurs, there may be a loss of security, and as an unknown is approaching, a common reaction is fear and anxiety – sentiments that encourage social units to desire old patterns in lieu of change. Change should thus be planned according to the patterns of the past, in order to ensure it's success. Predictability is welcome within change, and it brings comfort in those affected by the change. This is to say that those leading change, ought to be responsible in providing hope and opportunity, so as to bring comfort. The alternative of continuing with old patterns should appear as less appealing and less beneficial than the planned change. (Ibid,
The community based approach

In interventions, community based problems may require community based problem-solving. By assisting a community to plan, develop and implement a community based intervention, the community based approach can be used. This approach, in addition to solving current problems, builds a foundation of strength amongst the community members to create a structure and process for problem-solving that could aid in preventing future problems. (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.59; Merkel & D’Afflitti 2003)

Generally, the police are involved in a community based approach. The police work with community organisations to solve local problems, by educating the community about hazards and how to reduce possibilities of becoming a victim. This essentially entails a training on how to become more responsible for an individuals' own safety. The idea is that a community who can provide their own safety, will reduce the likelihood of harm or hazard in the community, and create a community of problem-solvers. Community wide problems are often complex, which means problem-solving requires more than a single person, program, or organisation. It requires all of the community. (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p.59-60)

The community based approach uses a model that “proposes that three outcomes are important as communities strengthen their capacities to solve problems: individual empowerment, bridging social ties, and synergy”. Individual empowerment, lessens a dependency on others to provide them with safety, while developing an inner confidence. However individual empowerment, especially as a group effort, builds a stronger network of people. This network of people have a common goal, and are readily collaborating to achieve it. (Ibid, p.60)

Problem-solving at the community level as an intervention approach is advantageous whereas the intervention can be tailored to local environments, and makes use of existing programs and services by connecting them. It encourages interaction within a community, it strengthens communication within the community, and by involving all community members who are interested in a common outcome, they become enabled within their own community. (Ibid, p.61; Levy 2004, p.191)
Chapter 4: Children's rights, social change and religion in Indonesia

In some places, a community or society-wide actualisation of introducing or protecting children's rights may require a change in human behaviour and social norms. At often times, these behaviours and social norms have roots in cultural and religious contexts and are dependent on the unique social environments in which they exist. This chapter aims to understand social change in line with children's rights, while considering the social, cultural and religious contexts of today's society – as applicable to Indonesia. The chapter continues with an overview of the country background in the context of which children's rights and religion exists, covering a brief history detailing Indonesia's position in this sphere within ASEAN.

Children's rights and social change

On a large-scale, positive changes in the lives of children in terms of their rights, is dependent on a broader context of change. Local policy and practice along with cultural and institutional contexts play a significant role in the changes that impact the wellbeing of a child. With this, changes affecting children's rights take place at a slow but regular pace. (Johnson 2010, p. 1077)

Children's rights, like human rights, can face difficulty adapting to local contexts. When a community understands human rights as a top-down political commitment, local norms often take precedence of demand whenever rights and norms are in conflict with each other. However, human rights can also exist as a local expression of values – and social change can bring a community from the former context to the latter. (Stoecklin et al. 2014, p.22)

For social change to take place in the realm of children's rights, a framework for children's rights needs to be enforced in the society in question. Furthermore, the society's social norms must also allow for the framework to endure. Both of these qualities are needed in society in order for children to enjoy their rights effectively and consistently. Having a framework for children's rights does not mean that there will be social change – the opportunities, capacities and practice need to be present. (Ibid, p.26, 28)

Legislation is of course important, although it is not the only method to advance human and children's rights. In part because universal human rights instruments are written with very general language, rights can be difficult to translate into legislation. Thus the creation and implementation of other instruments can be more useful to achieve social change. Implementing children's rights is then a matter of public policy and social programming. (Ibid, p.35)
It is often thought that a major difference between children and adults is the frailty of children. However being frail is a part of the human condition and therefore children are not the only ones who are frail, but adults are too. Wherever children depend on their parents to act in their – the child's – best interest, it is always a possibility that the parents are unable or might withdraw from their responsibilities towards their child or children. With this in mind it should be considered that the CRC represents a tendency of expectation for parents to protect their children, as well as an emancipatory tendency. This suggests that the development of a child is only done with the support and guidance of parents. The protectionist tendency seems to outweigh the emancipatory tendency in the CRC, and thus the responsibility is emphasised on adults and the state. (Ibid, p.68)

The preamble of the CRC states that the family is a natural way of growing up and that it is the environment for development and well-being (emphasis added). A closer examination of the family is then necessary. In many societies across the globe, including in Indonesia, the status of women in the family, as well as in the community, is in a subordinate position than their husbands or men in general. As the CRC is not neutral towards many existing lifestyles of adults (Ibid, p.225), this consideration leads to a different character to the relationship between parent and child in many societies, because when adding cultural conservatism to the mix, the adult male's authority often prevails (Ibid, p.226).

The aforementioned statement in the preamble is where a significant difference lays between children's rights and human rights. Even if it were that both parents represent equal responsibility for their child, the family responsibility aspect of children's rights inadvertently reduces the public responsibility for children. The state – or the public – therefore has an indirect responsibility for the welfare of the child. Instead, the public's role is in-line with supporting and building the capacities of the parents, in order to fulfil their obligations towards the child.

The process of social change in terms of children's rights is rather complicated on its own due to cultural relativism and a more complicated system of responsibility. Although a cultural context may be intertwined with religion, as it is in Indonesia, the relationship between religion and human or children's rights is yet worth exploration.

The relationship between human rights and religion is believed to be closely linked. “The most influential declarations concerning human rights were founded on belief in the dignity of human life
that, in origin, was based on a religious conception of the creation of the human race” (Nathan 2009, p.157). This is not to say that human rights have not advanced independently of religion, instead, it is to say that rights and religion cannot be separated completely. On this note, it is worth mentioning that many Christians, Muslims and Jews consider human rights as a way of life that is God-centred – which means that over half of humankind views human rights in a religious context (Ibid, p.164).

Today we find that there are several ways to interpret the many religions, including the five religions that are officially recognised in Indonesia. Those religions are: Christianity, Islam, Buddhism, Hinduism and Confucianism. Amongst these interpretations there are strong voices for and against human rights. Both religion and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights concern the totality of life. Islam in particular is in accord of the Declaration whereas they both claim universality and that the rights and freedoms within them should be accepted and made effective everywhere, with concern to human welfare, prosperity and happiness. However they differ in that the safeguards to achieve these rights and freedoms are described in Islam, whereas in the Declaration, the language is made very general. Furthermore, Islam is concerned with both this life and the life hereafter, and the Declaration is only concerned with this life. This difference is vital because if and where there are conflicts between Islam and the Declaration, it seems rational to give Islam priority – assuming the person(s) facing this conflict believes in an afterlife – and with the further reasoning that Islam is much older than the Declaration. (Ibid, p. 163-165)

The relationship between Human Rights and Christianity is found to be similar to that of Human Rights and Islam. A large number of Christian and other religious litigation groups are dedicated to the defence of rights across the globe. However many Christian scholars, such as Stanley Haurewas, also argue that the language of rights is inconsistent with Christian faith and practice. Haurewas worries about rights that entitle individuals to act in socially unbounded ways, as a result of abstract language concerning moral commitments. Furthermore he finds that the character that rights have when placed alongside the moral norms of Christian teachings, is much weaker. Even though rights refer to moral values and relationships, their character is one of claims – one that thins one's moral character. (Jr. 2015, p.375-376)

Religion and human rights also differ in that human rights is enforced on more of a political and legal sphere, whereas religion is enforced on individuals, communities and institutions – and sometimes politically and legally. Although, religious traditions bring people in communities
together through shared beliefs and practices – when these communities work together towards a common goal, there is a higher possibility of change (Nathan 2009, p.166). Such change can impact both of these spheres.

The road to social change in the sphere of children's rights is long and complicated. Like human rights, they require a framework and a willingness from a community to enforce such a framework, and more difficulties are faced when considering current cultural relativism and the roles of responsibility within the community in focus. In some contexts, such as that in Indonesia, religion must also be considered alongside the existing social and cultural norms of the community. As we have seen, religion and human rights, and thus children's rights, sometimes work hand-in-hand, and at other times are found in conflict with one another.

**Children's rights and religion in Indonesia: A country background**

The concept of an ASEAN human rights mechanism was introduced as early as 1995, although with the presence of hesitancy amongst the member states for the mechanism, a decade later Malaysia, backed by Indonesia, proposed that such a mechanism would only be for the member countries who felt they were ready for it. Towards the end of 2007, the ASEAN Charter was adopted, and it included an article for the establishment of an ASEAN human rights body what was to become the ASEAN Intergovernmental Commission on Human Rights (AICHR). The Charter entered into force upon ratification towards the end of 2008.

In Indonesian civil law, an accepted standard of children's rights is as it is set out in the CRC, which was ratified by Indonesia in 1990, and applies to children below the age of 18. Additionally, Indonesian Law No. 23 on Child Protection was issued in 2002, and more recently violence against children has become a part of the National Medium Term Development Plan for 2015-2019 – along with a strategy for implementation between 2016-2020. Constitutionally Indonesia is a secular state, although approximately 87% of the population identifies as Muslim, and the province of Aceh follows Sharia – Islamic – law as a result of the Free Aceh Movement. Although, it has been known that there exist policies concerning the protection of children that entail a presence of Islamic terms and vaguely suggest Islamic values (Formen 2014). Below civic law exists an Islamic judicial system, that presides over family law cases, as will be explored later. In Islamic law, a child is considered a noble person under the responsibility of its parents, who “must be treated humanely and given education, teaching, the skills of akhlakulkarimah [nobel behaviour], so that the child will someday be responsible in promoting themselves to meet the needs of [a] favourable future”. In
Islamic law, a child is a child until they are mature enough to marry and maintain property – which is accepted as roughly the age of 12 for boys and the age of 9 for girls in Indonesia. (Jauhari & Hum 2015)

In the eventual development of the AICHR, eventually established in 2009, it was primarily Indonesia who encouraged a more liberal human rights body that would include a form of enforcement. Although this is not what eventually became of the human rights body, Indonesia did enjoy a small victory in that the Terms of Reference for the body will be automatically reviewed in five years. (Munroe 2009, p.17)

The review of the AICHR Terms of Reference did take place in 2014, however the results were never made available to the public.

Indonesia is currently leading a regional study on the implementation of the CRC in the ASEAN member states. Simultaneously, the development of the ASEAN Guideline for a Non-Violent Approach to Nurturing, Care, and Development of Children is in progress. The status of this study and guidelines, as on-going, allows us to assume a general idea that the implementation of children's rights in the ASEAN region is understood as being needed, in lieu of already being actualised. (Press Release of the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and Protection of the Rights of Women and Children, 22 October 2015)

This is supported by Indonesia's involvement in the establishment of the AICHR. The involvement displays their position within the concept of human rights, and today, this position remains visible to the public eye. Indonesia has been acting boldly in accordance; the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection issued a press release dated December 10, 2015, on the governmental need to involve the whole community to protect women and children, beginning with a statement that violence continues to occur towards women and children in Indonesia, and continues with subsequent statements requiring governments to engage with the community and all stakeholders in the empowerment, the prevention and the protection of women and children from violence. (For more details see: Press Release No. 157 / PR KPP-PA / 12/2015)

Religious leaders across the country have been reacting to the state's call for change. For instance, in July 2015, the Catholic Church and the Protestant church in the province of East Nusa Tenggara – one of the poorest provinces in the country – have called religious institutions across the country
to take action to end violence against children (UCA News). UNICEF has partnered with the largest Muslim organisation in Indonesia, Nahdatul Ulama, who has 40 million followers, to train local religious leaders on nutrition and health for pregnant women and their children (UNICEF Indonesia). Religious institutions in Indonesia have taken similar action in the past, at times rather successfully. In 1968, Muhammadiyah, an Islamic organisation in Indonesia, issued a fatwa – a ruling on a point of Islamic law – to allow birth control in emergency cases. Within the next three years, the fatwa grew to allow family planning under Islamic law in general. Around a decade later, fertility rates dropped along with child mortality, and maternal health improved (UCA News). Religious leaders also influence civic law, with a more recent example of Christian, Muslim and Buddhist leaders urging the Indonesian government to ratify the 1951 UN Convention relating to the Status of Refugees, with the Muslim leader seeking to accept Rohingya children – a Muslim minority deprived of the right to citizenship in Myanmar – into the country (Asia News).

Despite such efforts, violence against children remains a major issue in Indonesia. According to UNICEF Indonesia, 40% of children from the ages 13-15 years have reported being attacked within the last year; 26% of children reported corporal punishment in their home; 50% report being bullied at school, and in relation; 45% of young Indonesian women and girls believe that a partner is justified in domestic abuse under certain circumstances (UNICEF Indonesia). Correlating to roughly 4.1 million children in Indonesia being victims of violence within this age group last year.

In the case of child marriage, there has been little to no progress made in recent years. In June 2015, the Indonesian Constitutional Court, Mahkama Konstitusi, rejected a petition filed by the Women's Health Foundation along with a coalition, for a judicial review of Law No. 1 of the 1974 Marriage law, under a request to raise the age of marriage of girls to the age of 18. Currently, the minimum marriageable age is 16 years for females, and 19 years for males. Law No. 23 of 2002 on child protection defines a child as being a person below the age of 18 years, thus making child marriage, during the ages of 16 and 17 for females, legal. The hearing debate consisted of health practitioners including gynaecologists, psychologists and paediatricians, the Indonesian Hindu Religious
Council, amongst others supporting the petition, and on the other end the debate consisted of the Indonesian Ulema Council, Indonesia's top clerical body who advises the Muslim community on contemporary issues, along with Indonesia's two largest Muslim organisations, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiya, who suggested the court rejects the petition. The court eventually did reject the petition in an 8-1 ruling, where the judge in minority was the sole female on the panel, on the grounds that there are no guarantees that increasing the minimum age of marriage would alleviate health problems or minimise other social problems. (Library of Congress 2015; The Jakarta Post 03/12/2014; International Business Times 25/06/2015)

Within Islamic law there is no set age limit for marriage, however the age of puberty or sexual and social maturity is often used (Schröter 2013, p.125). With this being said, the Islamic court in Indonesia is able to issue an exemption to the legal minimum marriageable age on a case by case basis, allowing girls younger than 16 and boys younger than 19, to marry. The regulation for the current system of the Islamic court was passed in 1957, using their competence in marriage, divorce, and inheritance amongst other related topics. The organisation has been positioned under the Ministry of Religion since 1989, and although subordinate to the civil court, it has only gained legal jurisdiction from that time (Cribb 1992, p.240).

According to Girls Not Brides, a partnership of more than 550 civil society organisations worldwide committed to ending child marriage, and UNICEF, one in every 5 girls is married before the age of 18 in Indonesia, that is, 17% of women between 20-24 years old who were married before they turned 18 years old in the year of 2015 (girlsnotbrides.org).

Whereas the commitment that ASEAN has made in considering the impact and implication of cultural and religious practices, is with regard to the CRC, it is important to note that the CRC does not explicitly address child marriage, however it does address several of the consequences of child marriage, such as Article 19: the right to protection from violence; Article 24: the right to health, including traditional practices prejudicial to the health of children; Article 28: the right to education and equal opportunity, and amongst others; Article 34: the right to protection from sexual exploitation and abuse (CRC). The CRC Committee has clearly indicated child marriage in its reports displaying it's consideration as an abuse (World Policy Analysis Factsheet Nov. 2014).

Violence against children is an issue that has in recent years been in focus in Indonesia. Religion and culture has been acknowledged as being contributors to this issue, both in a positive and a
negative light, through the ASEAN commitment of November 2014. While the cultural and religious practices listed above are not the only acts considered to be violence against children, the examples provide a general context for the topic in Indonesia.

Chapter 5: Discussion

We have now found that positive changes in the lives of children in Indonesia is likely dependent on a broader context of change. Through both policy and practice in Indonesia, the change required to protect children's rights is occurring at a slow but continuing pace.

The commitment that ASEAN made in November 2014, to take into consideration the impact and implications of cultural and religious practices on children's rights, was not the first of steps towards change in Indonesia. It was, amongst a few others, Indonesia who displayed interest and initiated the discussion of a human rights mechanism for ASEAN. This achievement led further to the ASEAN Commission on the Promotion and the Protection of the Rights of Women and Children (ACWC) for the regional system. It is of course unclear what triggered this approach from Indonesia, whether it was a bottom-up approach from the micro or meso-level, or something otherwise. Whatever it may be, in 2014 ASEAN highlighted a now top-down political commitment. Furthermore, it highlighted the conflict between local social norms and children's rights. This is not to say that local social norms cannot be in alignment with human rights – where they are not already, social change can bring social norms to be just that: an expression of human rights.

The ACWC on the regional level and Law No. 23 of 2002 on Child Protection along with Law No. 35 of 2014 amending the law on child protection, and violence against children being addressed in the National Medium Term Development Plan for 2015-2019, on the national level, are all a part of a framework that is put in place to enforce children's rights. Although implementing such frameworks are only successful if the local social norms allow for it. Thus relatively high statistics reporting violence against children in Indonesia, despite the legislative efforts, may be seen as a sign that barriers are being faced nationwide, in the efforts to eradicate violence against children. Without the opportunities, capacities and practices, children's rights abuses will likely continue to occur. Thus, such frameworks might initiate social change, but further tools might be valuable in order to change behaviours and norms. The implementation of children's rights in Indonesia, as with other places around the world, would have a higher possible success rate if it were a combination of efforts between public policy and social programming.
In Indonesia it is required of all citizens to register their own religion – out of a selection of five: Islam, Christianity, Hinduism, Buddhism and Confucianism. Atheism, according to the locals who I have met during my time on the island of Java, is in part not understood or otherwise it is frowned upon, although it does happen that those who do not identify with one of the five recognised religions will choose the religion that the majority of their community or friends identify with. The majority of the population of Indonesia, 87.2%, identify as Muslim, followed by 9.9% identifying as Christian, with the other religions amounting to the other 2.9% (Index mundi, “Indonesia Demographics Profile 2014”).

With such a large Muslim population, the notion that it is more rational to give Islam priority over human or children's rights whenever the two conflict with one another – as Islam concerns both this life and thereafter – becomes a notion with a major impact on society. Thus we can understand the intricate relationship between religion and social norms in Indonesia. With that, we can understand how the consideration of raising the minimum marital age, for example, is to large extent a religious issue. Similar notions between practices and rights exist within Christianity. Whereas the documents outlining children's rights often use abstract language and outlines rights as something to be claimed, religious teachings of morality outweigh the former – as moral character outweighs a character of claims. It is worth noting that the 9.9% of the population that identify as Christian, equates to over 25 million people in Indonesia – a very large population that is more than capable of impacting local social norms on religious grounds. Thus, as another example, acts such as corporal punishment, often interpreted as acceptable within Christianity (Proverbs 13:24, 22:15, 23:12-14, 29:15 The New King James Version), might be considered as acceptable in society. The priority of religion over human rights increases when considering that religion is more enforced on individuals than on the political sphere – even where religion is sometimes visible in Indonesian politics – whereas human rights is enforced more on the political and legal sphere than on the individual. However, naturally, religion also brings people together in Indonesia – a country that has improved drastically in democracy in the last few decades – and as such common goals within religious groupings bring a higher possibility of change.

An intervention to eradicate violence against children in Indonesia is certainly a process that requires a plan. In chapter 4, we discussed the context of children's rights in Indonesia including the ultimate goal that is set out to be achieved – the eradication of violence against children. From this we have come to a generalised idea of what must be changed, as well as what can and cannot be
Clearly, what must be changed is the prevalence of violence against children in Indonesia. Violence comes in many different shapes and forms, and therefore so do these necessary changes. While the framework for children's rights is in place, social programming can be initiated or improved. This also takes into consideration social programming for other related issues that could indirectly affect the protection of children. For instance, programmes for new parents might not necessarily touch on issues concerning violence against children, however what is covered in these programmes might impact and lessen the likelihood of parents committing abuses towards their children later in their lives. Another way of seeing change could be through larger measures, an example within Islam being the issuance of a fatwa. As we saw earlier, an issuance of a fatwa in 1968 eventually led to the allowing of family planning in Indonesia. Finally, there are certain things that cannot be changed. Even if the civil court in Indonesia raised the minimum age for marriage, the religious court would still have the jurisdiction to grant underage marriage. Unless if the religious courts were revoked this jurisdiction with the raised minimum age – which to date looks to be like an unlikely scenario anytime in the near future – child marriage would still, technically, be allowed if under distinct conditions. On a similar note, no matter how successful an intervention may be, even if it was nationwide, there is simply no way to ensure that every child will be protected from violence, given that children's rights are in most part the responsibility of parents. Some degree of violence will very likely always be present, as it is everywhere else around the world.

Culture and religion are rather closely related in Indonesia. “In many sectors of life, religion is present. Regardless of any judgement about the implications of this situation, this is a fact to be accepted” (Bagir 2015, p.99). While this is a complex concept and difficult to explain, the daily lives of Indonesians visibly differ across different communities that practice different religions, where religion often plays a part of their daily routines. Whether it be the range of modesty in clothing, the roles of women and men, what children do after school on a daily basis, calls to prayer setting the individuals' agenda for the day, or general attitudes towards the environment, amongst others, religion and culture are intertwined across the country.

As such, religious leaders are in a good position in society for intervention work. Interventions consist of collective action. Intervention leaders and the members of the communities involved would best work together if they trust one another, as well as trust in the changes that they are working to achieve. Religious leaders are also suitable to lead an intervention whereas they
understand the circumstances in which their communities exist, and as such, how to respect those circumstances while leading the way for change. This also helps community members to feel safe in a time of change. Finally, with changes to religiously-motivated behaviours, the participation of religious leaders could be considered vital.

If trusting the intervention leaders and the change is not enough, the success rate for achieving the intervention goals would typically increase if the community members feel as though the change is beneficial for them. With this, in the beginning stages of an intervention, it ought to be made clear what the effects of eradicating violence against children would be, for the children, their families and community. This could be done by highlighting the effects of individuals who have suffered from abuse as children, amongst other ways.

According to the Indonesian Ministry of Health, 10-12% of children who have suffered from violence suffer from physical or mental disorders. While it may be that more boy children suffer from corporal punishment, as a form of violence, as traditionally they are meant to be considered as tougher than girls, the girls also suffer from violence – all forms of violence – not only as children but also later in life. In 2006 there were 3 million cases of violence, 2.27 million of which were female victims. Of these women, 69.5% suffer from trauma, 9% suffer from depression and stress, and 4.6% had physical injuries. All forms of violence impact the health of individuals and injury could potentially lead to impacting social rights such as the right to reproduce. (Ysuran 2012, p.306, 307)

In relation to religious interpretation, the Indonesian Development Planning Agency (Bappenas) has identified that traditional values justifies parents to treat their children as property – as they (the parents) see to be appropriate. This is despite the fact that the Government of Indonesia acknowledged early marriage as a form of violence against children in the 2008 Indonesian Universal Periodic Review with discrimination as a main trigger – that is children, especially girls, are more prone to become victims of early marriage. Of course, there are other triggers for violence against children including poverty and when settling court cases involving children's rights, corruption and bribery. (Ibid, p.306)

Indonesia is a large country consisting of over 17.5 thousand islands. It is thus easy to understand that children in different communities or islands might face different kinds of violence – and the manner in which violence against children is accepted or rejected on a wider scale within the
community also differs. It is nearly certain that the prevalence of violence towards children differ from location to location – and therefore interventions to resolve the issue might also need to differ from one to another, either in terms of the intervention approach, or within the planning of each individual intervention if using the same intervention approach across the country.

As the fight countering violence against children crosses and affects the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels, responses in Indonesia have crossed all three. At the macro-level, initiatives have been taken by ASEAN, some of which were lead by Indonesia as seen earlier on. On the nationwide level, we find that violence against children is addressed in the more recent National Medium Term Development Plan for 2015-2019 – along with a strategy for implementation between 2016-2020. Also at the macro-level, action within religion can be identified. As we saw earlier, religion was very much-so involved in the implementation of planned parenthood in Indonesia. A call for action, to counter violence against children, by religious leaders has the potential of making an impact across a large geographic territory – that is, across communities or regions. Such action from one religion also has the potential of influencing other religions. Across Indonesia, a country with a large Muslim population, prayers from the mosques are played through loudspeakers and easily heard anywhere where the population is mostly Muslim. Even though the prayers played on the loud speaker are only meant to be the call to prayer and last 5-15 minutes in duration – on many occasions are prayers heard for hours at a time in combinations of Arabic, Bahasa, and local languages. Words to encourage the protection of the dignity of the child, during one such prayer, for instance, could therefore be heard by members of all religions within the area.

At the meso-level, community action, family action, and action initiated by government agencies amongst others are considered. Ministries within the Indonesian government have launched campaigns to end violence against children, such as that of #ENDViolence against Children, a campaign launched by the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection and the Ministry of Communications and Information Technology in partnership with UNICEF, in late 2013. Other government agencies such as LP3A, the Foundation for Studies and Empowerment of Women and Children, hosts workshops explaining regulation to community members. Change being initiated in the meso-level also includes non-governmental commitments. It is often communities who must connect national policies or government programmes to ensure the policy and programme's success (Stark 2012, p.229). This level, the meso-level, is closely intertwined with both the macro- and micro- levels. Governmental ministries and agencies have the capacity to develop nation-wide programming. Similarly, community-wide programmes or familial...
action has a strong attachment to the individual.

With concern to corporal punishment in particular, in the home or at school, individuals play a large role in eradicating violence against children. While the outcomes and affects of violence on children can be taught to parents, teachers, or anyone in care of a child at any given time – as well as alternative methods of disciplining children – the change of behaviour necessary to act differently with a child, in the moment, is for the individual at the micro-level to develop and implement.

Strategies for change are necessary at each of these levels, and can be interconnected throughout the levels. Therefore, the rest of this chapter is dedicated to seeking the barriers or obstacles of the four selected intervention approaches that were explained in chapter 3: the systems approach, the human ecology approach, the lifecycle approach and the community based approach. Each of these approaches may affect each of the systemic levels individually, together, or they may only affect one or two of the systemic levels and not the other(s). This will help us to understand which intervention approach, led by religious leaders, is the most appropriate when considering religiously and non-religiously motivated violence against children.

**The systems approach**
The systems approach keeps in focus the entire structure revolving around violence against children in Indonesia, and not precisely the behaviours of citizens. Although, where there is change within a social system, big or small, the whole system will react. This is more and more evident when changes are made at the macro-level, for instance, the new strategy to eliminate violence against children to be implemented in Indonesia from 2016-2019, although developed in a boardroom, affects further actions of all of the country at each level of politics. Furthermore, due to the impact that the strategy will make throughout it's duration, expected or not, the changes that the system experiences will continue to exist, or develop after 2019.

The need to eliminate violence against children has been established in Indonesia and it's surrounding environment, that is ASEAN and the rest of the world – as shown through the commitment made by ASEAN in November 2014, and through the actions and statements made throughout time by global organisations such as UNICEF. Whereas Indonesia interacts with it's environment, ASEAN and the rest of the socio-political sphere, it can be considered an open system.
While some parts of the Indonesian society are in need of change more than other parts, that is, some islands or regions within the country have higher prevalence rates for violence against children than others, the entire system acts accordingly. That being said, smaller actions in the micro-level or the meso-level continue to exist, however those acts cannot be understood through an analysis of the actions, but instead through an analysis of the effects had on the entire social system. Any success developed on an individual or community level, within this context, is only considered as the lowering of the nation-wide prevalence of violence against children.

Of course, a successful intervention that takes place in a system whose state is most similar to Indonesia, does not necessarily suggest that success would be achieved using the same intervention approach in Indonesia – although success very well could be achieved, it is simply not ensured. The same results apply if the system is defined not as the country but instead as one of the recognised religions, or otherwise. Obstacles and successes can be predicted, but not necessarily assumed. This also means however that there are different ways to achieve the desired outcome. If different islands or religious denominations within Indonesia wish to eliminate violence against children, they do not necessarily need to use the same strategies in order to maintain stability as a whole country/religion.

Naturally, Indonesia as a country has the desire to maintain a stable state. At any time a change in law could be rejected by it's citizens on the grounds of religion, shared values, local cultural norms, etc. Where this is the case, the citizens are more likely to revolt, which in turn is detrimental to the stability of the country. For instance, the proposal to raise the minimum marital age for girls was rejected in court, perceivably, at least in part, due to the disdain by the Indonesian Ulema Council and two of the largest Muslim organisations, Nahdlatul Ulama and Muhammadiya. Hypothetically, if the proposal were approved, the change in law would not alter the behaviour of Indonesian citizens, but instead they would seek approval to marry their underage daughters from the religious courts. Additionally or alternatively, citizens might protest the change through demonstration. In both scenarios, we find that the proposed change affects the stability of Indonesia in a negative way – as parts of the system did not react favourably to the change.

With regard to violence against children in Indonesia, the country is relatively unstable. Violence against children is considered a problem in Indonesia, which threatens the stability of the system – the need for change has been acknowledged. This becomes more apparent when considering the actions taken by activists, as well as when considering the effects on the victims of violence, and their roles in society throughout their lives. Thus, intervention is needed. A successful intervention
would reduce violence against children in the system by introducing change to relationships, beliefs, norms and/or otherwise, even if the entire system only allows for actualised change in a small part of the system.

Around the subject, there is an ongoing exchange of information within Indonesia, amongst its' citizens and associations or groups. That being said, in a national effort to eliminate violence against children, an interaction must take place not only amongst citizens and groups, but also with all affected parties such as organisations and government. Where the elimination of violence against children is the desired outcome, any small victory – where change is implemented in a part of a system and accepted by the rest of the system – strengthens the common values of the Indonesian members of society. As a result, the members of the cause will often act more efficiently to attain the same results in the other parts of the system. The organisation between the members within Indonesia is most valuable in attaining this goal.

Eliminating violence against children in Indonesia as a whole affects many different parts of the system – in some cases the violence might be religiously based, and in others this is not so. The focal system in Indonesia changes according to which act of violence is in question – calling for multiple interventions. For instance, if the act of violence is child marriage, the focal system might be religion – or more specifically Islam. Whereas, if the act of violence is corporal punishment, the focal point could either be religion – more specifically Christianity – or it could be cultural norms. The focal system could also be Indonesia, as a country, itself. Defining what the focal system is is very important within a systems approach intervention, thus it ought to be defined according to the exact context of the situation at hand.

According to the theory, the social system has a tendency to define and attempt to achieve objectives – which characterises most countries not least Indonesia. In the case of Indonesia however, the objective would be to eliminate violence against children. To do this it ought to improve the conditions of the focal system. What this might suggest is that an intervention must convince the focal system that the anticipated changes are beneficial to them – even where the change in question has been rejected by the focal system in the past. The difficulty in this can be seen in the case of female genital mutilation (FGM) in Indonesia. A practice that is considered both religious and cultural – that is, it is rooted in religion but practiced out of norms by members of religious communities that do not recommend FGM and those that do – that has more recently decreased in prevalence over a generation only to rise again a generation later (Feillard 1998). Now
an illegal practice, the prevalence is amongst the highest in the world. If the prevalence of the practice of FGM has decreased and then increased in the timeframe of a single lifetime, the focal system – here defined as religious and cultural norms – has displayed instability with the change. Thus making it rather difficult to improve conditions in the focal system while attaining the elimination of this form of violence.

Unfortunately, this complication repeats itself in the second tendency of social systems: social systems maintain existing patterns and boundaries. This second tendency suggests that an intervention must carefully define the focal system in order to avoid confusion. With the last example of FGM in Indonesia, we can clearly understand why this is important. The instability of the focal system proved itself to be unstable in a time of change – the exact change that a future intervention could and would hope to achieve. Strategy is thus most important.

As we know Indonesia as a system can be broken down into several parts, be that individuals, groups, communities, organisations, governmental departments, religions, ect. All of these parts co-exist and as per the systems approach, their interconnected relationships are rather complex. Because of this, the solution to a problem creating imbalance within the system by one part of the system, might actually cause the problem. Although FGM is banned in Indonesia, the Ministry of health approved guidelines for safe practice after the ban (Budiharsana 2013). Prior to the ban, FGM was widely practiced in hospitals, often as part of birthing packages, or in the home by qualified midwives. After the ban, the practice continued, but finding the right person to conduct the practice came less easily – and sometimes less safe. This being as it is, shows that the solution by the government to make the practice illegal, only made the practice less safe for girls which accentuates the probabilities for the girls to face the negative impacts of FGM more severely.

The last of the tendencies associated with social systems is that they act to maintain a steady state, even if dysfunctional. The case of FGM in Indonesia exemplified this quite clearly. The practice came to a near end for a generation, but came back. The government made the practice illegal yet supplied guidelines for safe practice. The components of the larger system appear to want to keep this practice, even where the country, politically, wants to end the practice. FGM is regarded as the problem at the root of the systems imbalance, yet it's that imbalance that the smaller components of the system appear to accept as a normal state.

By considering these tendencies and the responses that Indonesia has had with the example of
FGM, we are better prepared to predict how the system will act with similar changes. Better-more, looking at other cases of action to counteract violence against children in Indonesia and the responses with regard to these tendencies, will allow us to analyse and understand the patterns that the system generally emits. Of course, there is always the possibility that the results of the next interventions will not follow the same pattern – which could be both a good thing or a bad thing – but instead result in a brand new and unknown setting for the system.

**Barriers or obstacles**

In general, anticipating results is made difficult with the use of the systems approach. Because of the complexities of social systems, similar contexts using the same approach could end up with different results, just as different contexts using the same approach could end up with the same results – or vice versa for both of the instances. Interventions may be able to predict reactions by the system in which it attempts to change, but they cannot predict each turn of event and the system's response as they happen, within reason.

Whereas the system is composed of smaller parts – Indonesia being made up of different islands, for example – any change in a smaller part of the system will face the reaction of the rest of the parts that comprise the system. This could mean that if a community intervenes a problem and reaches its' desired goal, the rest of the system could potentially react negatively to the change. This would then shift the system into an imbalanced state – only to be corrected by the reversal of the intervention's result, or otherwise through more changes shifting the results of the desired goal of the intervention. With the same reasoning, this problem grows as there are several practices that constitute as violence against children. This means that for any given part of the system, several interventions may be needed to entirely eliminate violence against children. The same barriers might be faced if the system is, instead of Indonesia as a country, one of the 5 recognised religions within the country, that is further made up of different denominations. Religion as a whole, as a system, would face the reactions and interactions between the existing relationships between the different religions and their denominations. It is not entirely certain in which way the social system should be defined, that is as a country, a religion, or religion in general, ect.

It is always a possibility that the system is not ready for the change that the intervention seeks. That is not to say that the intervention should not take place, social change is a process and it is always possible that a sequence of interventions and related events are necessary in order for change to occur. The instance with the supreme court ruling not to raise the age of marriage for girls can be
seen as an example that Islam or Indonesia, as a system, is not ready for this particular change. There were representatives from other religious organisations who opted for the change in court, yet, it appears as though religious customs was one of the more prominent reasons for keeping the marital ages as they are. This could very well be one instance of many before the change is made – if the change ever will take place.

While there are of course other barriers or obstacles, the final one to be discussed concerning the systems approach, in this study, is the difficulty of identifying the focal system of the system, or in defining the system in itself. As we have already found, the system can be considered as a variety of things, such as as a nation, a religion, religion in general, or otherwise. The difficulty in defining one of these descriptions as the system, and a part from within as the focal system, is that the other descriptions continue to exist. For clarification, consider the following:

If the system were defined as the country of Indonesia, the focal system might be defined as a religion. If the system were instead defined as religion, the focal system might then be defined as the religious organisations in the country, or as the country itself. Now, even where the system is defined as religion, and the focal system as the religious organisations, the country's politics continue to play an important role in an intervention, even though it is not the focal system. This suggests that, for efficiency, a certain value should be given to the country's politics, although that value should be lesser than the value given to the defined focal system, the religious organisations. Remembering to, and consistently placing the focal system as the utmost valuable part of the system may be difficult to do when the other parts of the system are reacting to the intervention in highly impactful ways.

**Recommended use**

It is not immediately clear which type of violence the systems approach is best suited for, for an intervention – whether the violence be religiously or non-religiously motivated. The answer might be dependent on the status of the religious leader who is to lead the intervention, a community religious leader might have a different impact than the head of a religious organisation, for instance. An intervention that is lead by a local/community religious leader such as the local pastor, imam, guru, ect., acting to eliminate a violence that is motivated by religious customs, might be considered as a personal desire of that person. While this leader might call upon other local/community leaders across the country to take similar action, there remains a significant possibility that their counterparts will not support the cause. If this leader is instead the head of a major religious
organisation in Indonesia, the likelihood of community religious leaders across the country taking part in the call of action, increases.

Thus, the religious leaders who are to lead the intervention might best be the heads of the major religious organisations in Indonesia, in lieu of local religious leaders. This is of course only where the intervention aims to create social change across the country. Of course, the systems approach is not limited to being lead by the heads of the major religious organisations. Smaller-scale interventions led by local or community religious leaders, can still take place using the systems approach. There is more of a likelihood that such an intervention would produce smaller change, as it can be that change is only implemented in a small part of the system and the rest of the system reacts relatively indifferently to the change. It is also possible that the results of change by a smaller intervention could lead to larger results – or larger change within the country or system.

If the goal is rather to eliminate an act of violence against children that is motivated by cultural customs and not religious customs, the status of the religious leader is far less of an issue. Indonesia has been developing quickly over the past few decades, and democracy has grown considerably. In other words, the voices of locals are beginning to be heard more and more with every coming day – and thus changes to everyday life are occurring more regularly. Although, because the apparent relationship between culture and religion is rather intertwined, there are much fewer types of culturally motivated acts of violence that an intervention using a systems approach would be best for.

What is more clear however is that the systems approach is better used for nationwide programming, or religion-wide. Yet, because the context of understanding children's rights is as a product of international public law, the limitations of a systems approach intervention might still be within the country's borders, even if the system is defined as something other than the country.

Using this approach, tackling one type or act of violence, within the scope of violence against children, at a time is recommended. There are many acts that constitute as violence against children – for instance, underage marriage differs from corporal punishment or FGM, even if the affects of which might be similar. If an intervention wishes to see change on a nation-wide level, there is a better likelihood of seeing change within one or few freedoms outlined in the CRC at a time instead of tackling violence against children, as a whole, all at once.
In the grand scheme of things, religious leaders on their own might not necessarily be the very best leader for eliminating all forms of violence against children through an intervention using the systems approach. The call for consideration of the impacts and implications of cultural and religious practices on children's rights, by ASEAN, calls all kinds of community leaders to act – not only religious leaders.

**The human ecology approach**

We have already found that the human ecology approach is rather similar to the systems approach, differing where it lacks a focal system. Although, the resemblances between the two approaches, help us to understand the general application of the components to the approach; we can continue to consider the system to be defined as the country, a religion, or religion as whole, ect.

*Normality* is a state and the basis of the system, and changes to the system are adapted to by the rest of the system in order to maintain normality. It is thus necessary to understand the different levels of the system as best as possible in order to anticipate their reactions to change and to persuade those reactions to adaptation. The change is thus increasingly strategical. To do this, first normality must be defined, which is not necessarily easy to do, but could perhaps be considered as the state of the system – or country, or religion, or otherwise – prior to the intervention.

Also similar to the systems approach, the ecosystem of the system may continue to be considered as ASEAN, public international law, or the like. The ecosystem is able to disrupt change and cause instability – bringing the state of the system away from normality – to the system in the same way that disruptions can take place within the system. On the other hand, the ecosystem could also encourage change within the system. For instance, in March 2015, Marta Santos Pais, the Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General on Violence against children called on Indonesia to take a leading role to eliminate violence against children (UNICEF Indonesia). Less than one year later, in February 2016, Pais commended Indonesia for it's strong commitment to ending violence against children, after the government placed violence against children as a priority concern in its' policy agenda, adopted a national strategy for the elimination of violence against children, as well as adopted a national action plan on child protection (UNICEF, Special Representative of the Secretary-General on Violence against Children). While this change only immediately affects one level of the system, the rest of the system is meant to adapt to the changes outlined in the plans, accordingly.
Barriers or obstacles

With the human ecology approach, defining the system as one of the recognised religions in Indonesia might be more difficult than if the system were defined as the country itself. This is because the non-religious sphere becomes a part of the system's ecosystem, and the ecosystem's adaptability plays a vital part in the intervention process. An ecosystem that consists of a country's political and social sphere as well as international public law, has a larger impact on the state of normality of the system than if the ecosystem were only to consist of international public law. It is still possible to define the system as a religion, or as all of the five religions in combination, in Indonesia; however there is a risk that more barriers or obstacles will be faced.

As the stability of the system must be defined in order to maintain it, it has to be acknowledged that defining stability is also difficult to do. Supposing that the system is the country of Indonesia, we have to consider that many changes are taking place within – even changes that do not relate to children's rights, or even human rights. The adaptations that the country is making with regard to those other changes – as mentioned earlier, politically, the country and attitudes of its citizens have been changing rapidly over recent decades – could have an effect on the intervention in unpredictable ways.

This continues to be a problem in the restoration of a system that has pulled away from normality. This is of course under the assumption that the initial change that the intervention invites, disrupts the normal state of the system – which it might not necessarily. Although given the context of the country and recent events, normality is occasionally lost in the efforts to protect children's rights. While working to assist the restoration of the system (from intervention A) back to normality, disruptions by external forces (intervention B) may be faced. That is, adaptations to intervention B, or restoration efforts from intervention B, might affect the restoration efforts of intervention A. Hypothetically speaking, this is to say that the court's decisions to maintain the current minimum ages for marriage could have been swayed had there been at the same time a major, negative, story in the media concerning an Indonesian celebrity child bride that was released as a public relations stunt to save her career.
It is also possible that prior to the intervention, the system is not stable in the sphere of children's rights and violence against children – thus leading to the need for this intervention. How is stability meant to be defined then? Furthermore, at which level within the system is stability meant to be defined? The ASEAN commitment is an urge from the system's ecosystem, which perhaps suggests that the ecosystem has observed Indonesia in a state that is not normality, with regard to violence against children.

A steady state – normality – is only a temporary state. This further complicates the aim. If the intervention achieves its goals for a day, a week, month or year, is this what is considered steady or even successful?

In implementation, all levels of the country's system should be fully understood in order to be able to anticipate the reactions of the different levels – so as to aid in the process of adaptation and avoid any rejection to the change. For religious leaders to lead an intervention with the human ecology approach, they must then have much knowledge about the system outside of the religious sphere as well as within. With that, much assistance from other leaders, be that political, social, educational, religious or otherwise, would be very valuable. This approach might thus require a group effort amongst the leaders which could potentially find themselves with communication or trust issues, either amongst each other, or with the citizens that the intervention involves. However, without a small network of representatives of the other levels of the system, the leaders of the intervention, the religious leaders on their own, are at a higher risk of anticipating the systems reactions incorrectly as they are likely to be less aware of appropriate approaches of persuasion outside of the religious sphere.

Even as a small network made up of leaders from all levels of the system, these aforementioned risks continue to exist – mistakes can still be made – the possibility of human error itself continues to exist as a barrier. Several outcomes can be anticipated, and thus several solutions can be made available prior to the intervention implementation. However anticipations and predictions differ from one another, and predicting an outcome instead of anticipating many, may limit preparedness. Predictions in all simplicity cannot be accurate 100% of the time – if they are, it would be by extreme chance.

While Indonesia's history can be of aid in anticipating the procession of events once a change is introduced to the system, it also shows the difficulty of introducing change. Only a few examples of
this have already been discussed in this paper, one of which is with FGM. FGM has been banned in Indonesia, although the practice continues – the prevalence in Indonesia is the third highest in the world amongst girls aged 0-14 from 2010-2015 (UNICEF, Female Genital Mutilation/Cutting: A Global Concern) – displaying the challenges on the ground level of implementing change.

**Recommended use**

As there is a certain difficulty in defining normality, it can be defined in simplistic terms. For example, normality can be defined as the lack of a push-and-pull between citizens with regard to the topic. The system is thus not steady as a whole, but vaguely so in regards to the topic of concern. It is then much easier to identify shifts in the state of the system according to the change introduced by the intervention. Furthermore, it sets a reasonable level for restoration.

The human ecology approach, as already mentioned, might be a better approach to use for a small group or network of leaders to lead the intervention. Religious leaders are more likely to face barriers or obstacles if leading the intervention if they are on their own, using this approach. A network of leaders, made up of politicians, community leaders, academics, religious leaders, and business persons, individuals, etc., might more easily and accurately, identify likely responses to change, across all levels of the system during the intervention. Similarly, they might be better able to persuade the different levels during the adaptation once change is introduced. Although obstacles would still be present as seen earlier, they are minimised in quantitiy.

If it is so that the system is defined as a particular religion, or all of the recognised religions in Indonesia, instead of as the country, the human ecology approach would then best be used to counter acts of violence against children that are motivated by religion. While there is a higher likelihood that the ecosystem of the system might reject change, creating more barriers or obstacles for the intervention – it is also possible that the ecosystem might be of assistance in guiding the change so long as the risks of the ecosystem are relatively low. This differs where the type of violence is motivated by cultural reasons instead, where there would likely be more barriers or obstacles as a result of higher risks to the ecosystem, and thus the rejections to change from the ecosystem of the system.

This nearly reverses if the system is defined as the country of Indonesia. With all of the support from a network of a variety of types of leaders, the culturally motivated acts of violence against children might be more easily intervened using the human ecology approach. However, because of the intricate relationship between culture and religion in Indonesia, certain religiously motivated
acts of violence, FGM for example, could too be intervened under the same definition of the system.

**The lifecycle approach**

In the many ways that children's rights differ from human rights, they also differ in that they are for humans that are in a specific time of their lives. People, literally, grow out of them. The lifecycle approach considers just that, that the course of life takes place in stages – be it by age, time, rights of passage, or other social circumstances (Bruhn & Rebach 2007, p. 44).

As the lifecycle approach considers that the human life takes place in stages, the approach in large part, focuses on the individual. The changes that take place through an intervention countering violence against children involves both adults and children – people in different stages of their lives. The effects of any changes within an individuals life – either a transitional period or a change introduced through intervention – can be dependent on the stage of the lifecycle, and the transition “can be key to the whole child protection process”, thus the stage ought to be fully understood (Walker 2012, p.11). Because children's rights and human rights differ, those differences need to be understood and be taken into consideration by the intervention participants throughout and after the intervention, once the change has taken place.

All people, children or adult, are faced with change regularly. How one adapts to change however differs on a more personal level. To a certain degree, children face more changes at a higher frequency – in physical and mental development as well as in societal development. Adults do continue to develop physically and mentally, however to a sense, at a slower pace and frequency than children – and with more knowledge that helps them to anticipate and understand, and sometimes even control the changes in their lives. That is, a young child might not necessarily understand that one day they will become an adult, whereas an adult is much more aware that they will become seniors so long as their lives do not end early. With this, adapting to change is handled differently between a child and an adult where the outcomes are unknown – a child is more open to adaptation than an adult often is. The fall of the former Indonesian president Suharto brought the country into a then unknown state, yet imaginably this political change was understood better by adults than it was children, and the transition into the unknown was made more difficult for the adults, despite both adults and children living through the same circumstances.

Even though transitions within a lifecycle can take place through a time period, through a role change, or through an event, there are societally accepted ages for each of these transitions. The
transitions may also be interrelated with one another. A child is considered a child until they are 18, by law, and an adult thereafter. Although in Indonesia, those aged 15-29 are also defined as “youth” in economic statistics. Where current national or regional statistics include employment, education, marital status, etc., amongst youth, this displays a general acceptance of such transitions beginning at the age of 15. In terms of marriage, the legal age for girls to marry is 16, and 19 for boys – although marriage at earlier ages is not unheard of and consented by religious courts on a case by case basis. Thus, beginning the count at the age of 15 does not necessarily skew any statistics in this age group. Here, although bluntly-so, early marriage is acknowledged as accepted.

The expectations of such transitions would only change with a change to social norms. Though it cannot be forgotten that this change includes an adjustment to the reactions or responses from the rest of society. A community that makes the decision not to circumcise daughters or not to marry her at a young age, will face the reactions from surrounding communities.

**Barriers or obstacles**

Understanding the needs of a child as an adult is difficult. Childhood development differs according to the timeframe in which it takes place. The societal environment – including the social norms – in which a 30 year old grew up as a child differs from the environment of a 20 year old's childhood; as well as of course, differs from a modern day childhood. In Indonesian politics alone, those living today who were born before 1945 lived under Dutch rule; those born between 1967 and 1998 were raised under the New Order government led by Suharto; and those born after 1998 have been raised under a democratic government. An intervention that uses the lifecycle approach considers the patterns of life in order to accommodate change. The patterns of a child's life today is likely much different from the patterns of an adult's childhood, which makes the patterns of today's child difficult to identify – and also rather dependent on the generation.

Even where human rights and children's rights are taught in schools, the discussion on the compatibility of human rights with the different religions and local customs continues internationally, including within Indonesia. With this, a child's knowledge of their own rights may be unclear. Wherever human and children's rights are not a part of the school curriculum or where a child does not attend school – children are less likely to be aware of their own rights. This problem, within a lifecycle approach intervention is expanded where many adults are generally unaware of the differences between their own rights and children's rights. Of course, within an intervention human rights and children's rights would be taught, however the discussion of it's compatibility
with local cultural and religious norms cannot be avoided. While this is not necessarily a negative thing, convincing those involved that the intervention is indeed necessary might not be as easy to do as it might seem.

The implementation of change, as briefly already mentioned, will face public response. Because the lifecycle approach focuses, in large part, on the individual, the individual would need continued support and guidance to act in accordance to the changes made, even if facing scrutiny from their community. Ideally, the community in its entirety would support the change, although in most cases this cannot be guaranteed. Thus, when the decision to implement the change is not supported by an individuals surrounding community, including their friends and family, the individual might become more reluctant to proceed with their efforts to implement the intervention's cause.

Finally, it ought to be mentioned that when an event in ones life is a part of a ritual, the discussion of social change is made more difficult. Rituals, a word with many definitions, differ from tradition or customs, and are difficult to break.

**Recommended use**

Involving children in an intervention using the lifecycle approach is a method to ensure it's success long into the future. Children adapt to change all throughout their upbringing, with trust in their adult counterparts. Thus if Indonesian children are raised to understand that violence against children, or violence at all, is not acceptable, this sentiment will be understood as a normality once reaching adulthood. Of course, a better understanding of modern day childhood is necessary by the adults involved in the intervention. A change in social norms affects children and adults differently. If there are any differences between the patterns of modern day childhood and the childhood known by the adults involved in the intervention, the differences ought to be acknowledged. A lack of understanding of these differences are a weakness in the family and/or community during a time of change. Any discontent or discomfort a child faces today is a catalyst for change – even if the roots or causes of these sentiments were culturally or religiously accepted in the past; or if they continue to be culturally or religiously accepted in the present.

Where the intervention is led by religious leaders, the community – children and adults – involved are given the opportunity to discuss human and children's rights and it's relationship with religion and culture. This allows for a better understanding of what is expected to come out of the intervention, and how it affects their day-to-day physical and spiritual lives. A strong focus on the individual is important using this approach. A community that feels secure with an intervention and
is able to anticipate the change that is to come, is more likely to proceed with the intervention.

With this being said, the lifecycle approach intervention might be better recommended as community-wide efforts. The religious leaders of the intervention would be responsible in providing comfort to the community members – which might be easier done if the community members have an existing relationship with the leaders. A person who the community has been consulting their problems and concerns with for years are better trusted, and much more accessible than, say, the head of a religious organisation in Indonesia.

Due to the focus on the individual this intervention approach uses, and the guidance that can be offered by the religious leaders who are leading the intervention – change might be best seen when the religious leaders are working to eliminate religiously-motivated acts of violence against children – so long as the religion is ready for the change. The potential barrier of the community response to change in many occasions primarily affects a religious community, anyway. When considering marriage, it is generally Muslims who marry younger, and Christians who marry later, in Indonesia. This is not to say that child marriage only occurs within Islam – that is not true. However there may be more acceptance for early marriage amongst Muslims. That is, a Muslim girl who refuses marriage would not likely face a negative community response from their Christian, Hindu, Buddhist or Confucianist counterparts. The largest barrier in terms of community response comes from her own religious community.

The community based approach

The community based intervention approach involves the community's efforts in problem solving. The community plans, develops and implements the intervention. This approach builds a foundation within the community members and develops a sort of procedure to combat future problems.

While generally the police are involved in community based approaches, it is difficult to say if this is the best idea in Indonesia – the general sentiment towards the police in Indonesia is not entirely positive. This is best described with an example: speed bumps on the road are called amongst locals, *sleeping police*, with the idea that the police are always giving you trouble. Although their (the polices') involvement, on equal standing with the rest of the intervention participants, could potentially build their own reputation within the community. In any case, the whole of the community should be involved, as violence against children has shown itself to be a community wide problem, across communities in Indonesia.
This approach involves individual empowerment, bridging ties and synergy. These three focuses rely on each other – using strong individuals to create a strong group in order to work towards a common goal. Essentially, a community of problem-solvers is built. However, while the notion is plausible, reality might see different results. A study conducted in Aceh in 2011 found that the community feels as though regional child protection legislation does not sit well with local values, and that protection concerns are kept rather secret – displaying that building a community of problem solvers does not come without its’ barriers.

**Barriers or obstacles**
Foremost, the community based approach is, unsurprisingly, not designed for nation-wide programming, limiting the amount of individuals the intervention affects. Although it can be used, and is used, in some communities across Indonesia, the differences between the communities act as a barrier whereas it is much more complicated to offer guidance, as each community exists in their individual contexts. Although this is one of the stronger arguments for using the community based approach, allowing communities themselves to solve their own problems without external help, learning opportunities from previous or other interventions using the same approach are lost – or not transferable due to local differences.

The previously mentioned evaluation of community based programming in Aceh identified that children who find themselves victim to violence, if they tell anyone at all, have more often confided in friends or female family members. However, community leaders and youth leaders are known resources for child protection concerns (Stark 2012, p.232). Such responses however have weak connections to national programming. This study also found that the communities found themselves in a place where they were excusing domestic and school violence, and blaming the regional legislation for not being suitable for their communities. It is situations like this where external guidance can be proven beneficial.

A part of the community based approach is focused on reducing the possibilities of becoming a victim. While in general this is much easier said than done – it is even more-so difficult when the victims are children. Children are, in many ways, rather dependent on the adults in their lives, and while violence between children exists, most serious forms of violence against children are between children and adults. Furthermore, where adults are excusing violence as a form of necessary discipline, the child then loses their status as a victim and instead becomes nothing more than a *naughty child* who *deserves* punishment. This view is conflicting between child and adult.
Individual empowerment is unlikely in children under such circumstances. If individual empowerment is meant to lead to bridging ties and synergy, the core qualities of the community based approach, a lack of individual empowerment is a much larger barrier than it might otherwise seem.

As the idea behind the community based approach is that the planning and strategies are developed according to local customs, some local customs in Indonesia prove themselves to be barriers in themselves that are difficult to overcome. For instance, confrontation is something that is frowned upon amongst Indonesians, and family problems are more typically kept in the family in order to avoid shame. If the problem is domestic violence, the odds of a child reaching out to their own family for help is slim, either because of fear of possible repercussions, or because of a lack of hope for change to come of it. The Aceh study found that when children do seek support from their families they tend to choose female family members – the study also found that it is generally the fathers acting violently towards them – bringing us to question gender roles within an intervention. Gender roles are frequently instructed through religious and state ideology through 'ikut suami' ("follow the husband") (Yusran 2012, p.306). If anything, this response by the child gives further leverage to the notion that the fathers or males are perceived as the heads of the households by the children as well. With this the patriarchal nature within the family continues to act as a barrier for change.

In community building we tend to consider a community to be a village, town, small city or even neighbourhood clusters. In Indonesia, a highly populated country, a town could be made up of hundreds of thousands of people – most of which have one association or another with children. Thus one of the greater barriers this intervention approach would face is general outreach.

The general sentiment towards police in Indonesia is not only a barrier in planning and strategising, but also in the implementation of the intervention. Police are not considered entirely approachable either because of costs or because of reasons of privacy that was recently described. This is of course only important if the community wishes to build a stronger connection between themselves and the legislation that rests above them.

**Recommended use**

Clearly, the community based approach is best used for community practice. As one of the benefits of this approach is that it is based on community planning and problem-solving, those leading the
intervention – a religious leader – would of course benefit from training. The training would be most beneficial if catered to the unique context that the community in questions consists, and most relevant as “the community itself is positioned to lobby authorities or to mobilise against them, to invite in or to dismiss experts as the need for them is perceived” (Levy 2004, p.192). Thus, prior research into the community would be pertinent in training the leaders.

As children are apart of the community, they should be equally as involved in the planning, developing and implementation of the community based intervention. Children are able to provide insight to what may or may not work, and why, based on their own ways of thinking, acting and reacting. Furthermore, their contribution to the intervention would give them the opportunity to learn about their rights, and hopefully, empower themselves.

Support and guidance in the intervention ought to be available from all community members, adult and child. While it is the community's role to plan, develop and implement the intervention, additional support from a a trusted respected person – the religious leader responsible for introducing the concept – is always beneficial, and perhaps at times necessary. The leader ought to be responsible for introducing a no-blame culture, and open the doors for the community participants to accept their own mistakes, when and where necessary.

In the best case scenario, this approach would have already been conducted in a given community. Especially if conducted successfully in the past, taking advantage of the situation and promoting the topic of resolving violence against children amongst the community, is entirely reasonable and rather expected.

Although the community based interventions in Aceh have shown themselves to need adjustment and change in order to achieve their goals, it should be remembered that this too is a unique case. Aceh suffered from a tsunami in 2004 and around the same time ended decades of conflict between the Free Aceh Movement and the federal government – and now practices a different law than the rest of the country. While the barriers or obstacles sought in their community based interventions in child protection might be found again in other or new community based interventions, there is every possibility that solutions to these barriers or obstacles can be sought in the other communities, or in their own communities in the future.

As the whole of the community is meant to partake in the intervention, the community based
approach might be better off used countering violences motivated by cultural practices – at least initially-so. Strengthening entire communities to work together and problem-solve builds a foundation of trust amongst the community members, whereas segregating religious communities from a single neighbourhood or village, etc., has every potential of weakening partnerships within the larger-scale community. In parts of Indonesia today, tensions between religions already exist – an intervention to protect children's rights ought not contribute to such tensions. If however a foundation within a community already exists, such as if the community based approach has already been used in a community – or even if there are no religious tensions within a community – using the approach again to eliminate religiously motivated acts of violence against children could be used. Those who do not practice the act of violence in question, if trusted, might be able to provide valuable insight to their fellow community members.

Additional remarks
Of the four approaches, the systems approach and the human ecology approach are least recommended for use by religious leaders to eliminate violence against children in Indonesia. Unless if the intervention is being led by a network of political and societal leaders, involving religious leaders, more difficult barriers may be faced. They could however still be used according to the recommendations given.

As legislation to protect children's rights already exists in Indonesia, the later two approaches – the lifecycle approach and the community based approach – might be more effective in creating social change. The framework for children's rights is already present, thus social programming is what is necessary at this moment in time. These two approaches better involve the individuals who are expected to bring the framework of children's rights into practice, what is necessary now is a better opportunity and guidance to do so.

While these recommendations are made specifically for religious leaders in Indonesia, they are not restricted to acting against or to altering religious practices that harm children's rights – although in intervening such practices, their participation might be absolutely necessary. However, because of the strong presence of religion in Indonesian society, in many cases both cultural and religious practices can be intervened in an intervention led by a religious leader, using each one of the four intervention approaches.
Chapter 6: Summary

The last few decades have brought a lot of change and challenges in Indonesia – one of the outcomes this has led to involves children's rights. The prevalence of violence against children in Indonesia remains high today, and with the public eye watching, Indonesia has begun to make efforts to better protect children.

In November 2014, ASEAN agreed to consider the impact and implications of cultural and religious practices on children's rights, calling upon religious leaders, amongst others, to take action. Interpreting impact and implication as how cultural and religious practices contribute to the protection of children's rights, and how practices harm children's rights, this study has considered certain intervention approaches for social change – to shift the social norms that allow for violence against children in order to recreate human behaviours that protect children and their rights instead.

The concept of social change in children's rights is dependent on a broader context of change that involves both policy and practice. In local contexts, children's rights generally face difficulty in adaptation – a framework for children's rights needs to be enforced and the society involved must also allow for the framework to endure. A framework on its own is not enough to provide social change, the society must also have the opportunity to endure it, have the capacities to enforce it and of course, it must also come into practice.

As Indonesian law accepts the standards of children's rights as outlined in the CRC, the CRC itself within the context of Indonesia is considered. Rights and religion have always been closely linked, with many in this world who view human rights in a religious context. With this, we find that there are many different interpretations of religion both for and against human rights. Wherever there are conflicts between the two, for many reasons, some of which listed in this research, religion often takes precedence. Religion is widely present in Indonesian society. Despite being a secular country, culture and religion are intricately connected.

In Indonesia, religious leaders are making calls for action, certain religious organisations are working with UNICEF on topics that affect the wellbeing of children, fatwas have been issued leading to social change within the family, and religious leaders urging government to act in accordance to protect children. However recent events have also displayed where religion and children's rights have been in conflict: child marriage is technically legal in Indonesia, and even
though female circumcision is not, there exist signs of its' acceptance in Indonesian society. These of course are not the only acts of violence against children in the country.

The theory of intervention has been explored as it looks to guide social change in changing social norms through transitioning the human behaviours that govern our interactions with one another. This is to establish new ideas of what is accepted and expected of humans in a social context. Social norms being characterised as self-enforced, evolving through interactions and as being time and context dependent, are understood as being created by humans and thus capable of being changed by humans. Thus, four intervention approaches are explored: the systems approach, the ecology approach, the lifecycle approach and the community based approach. These approaches have been applied to the context of Indonesia to find possible and probable barriers or obstacles. With the barriers or obstacles considered, this study has sought to find which of the intervention approaches are most appropriate for recommendation for an intervention led by religious leaders in Indonesia. Furthermore, the study finds which approach is more appropriate for recommendation to which type of violence, be that motivated by religion or motivated by cultural norms.

In applying systems approach to the context of Indonesia, it has been found that the approach is best suited for the heads of major religious organisations to lead nationwide actions, whereas they are likely to face less barriers or obstacles than community religious leaders, and create large-scale change. Local religious leaders are at higher stakes of doubt and insecurity by their communities and their outreach is limited. Although, once the heads of religious organisations have begun an intervention using the systems approach, local religious leaders are then able to assist. In this scenario, acts of violence towards children that are motivated by religion are better intervened. Where this is the recommendation, the systems approach is not restricted to the heads of religious organisations, nor are they restricted to nation-wide efforts, or to intervene religiously motivated violences. If a smaller part of the system, led by local leaders, is able to create change despite the barriers faced, the change could lead to larger results. For the acts of violence that are motivated by cultural norms, the status of the religious leader is less of an issue. Indonesia is a country that is undergoing rapid change, and thus change to everyday life in terms of local customs is nearly expected.

This study continued on to find that an intervention using the human ecology approach would be better led by a group or network of leaders, involving not only religious leaders, but political leaders, community leaders, academics, ect. Too many barriers or obstacles would be faced for a
religious leader to lead the intervention on their own. Both kinds of violence – religiously or culturally motivated – can be intervened, so long as the system is defined accordingly. For example, if the system is defined as a religion, less barriers or obstacles would be faced if intervening religiously motivated violences. The ecosystem to the system might be of good assistance in supporting the change, whereas there is a higher possibility that the ecosystem would reject change to culturally motivated violences. If on the other hand the system is defined as the country, culturally motivated violences might more easily be intervened.

The lifecycle approach as applied to Indonesia has been found to be best pursued if involving children. Child participation might further ensure long-term effectiveness. This approach requires a community wide effort, and thus local religious leaders are suitable leaders – they are also able to offer continued support, just as they are more likely to be trusted by the communities that they partake. Due to the focus on the individual that this approach holds, and that the recommendation is for religious leaders, acts of violence that are motivated by religion would be better intervened. Community response is a sure obstacle to this approach, though the obstacle is lessened if the change primarily affects a religious community. Although, future research in this approach and others, would likely benefit from a thorough analysis to the understanding and breaking of rituals.

Finally, the community based approach is of course recommended for community practice in Indonesia, although as an evaluation of a community based intervention in Aceh has shown, the leader of the intervention might need to guide the efforts heavily. Thus, the leader would benefit from context specific training. Again, children participation within the intervention is suggested. If the approach has been used by a community in the past, especially if successfully so, then this approach is of utmost recommendation. As the entire community is expected to partake, the community based approach is recommended to counter acts of violence that is motivated by cultural norms, especially if the intervention is using the community based approach for the first time in the given community. Segregating a community by religion, to counter religiously motivated acts of violence, might not be safe, given the context of Indonesia. If a community has used this approach in the past, the multi-religious community might then be able to work together, with caution, to eliminate religious practices that threaten the protection of children.

The systems approach and the human ecology approach, similar in themselves, are the least recommended of the four, although if they were to be led by a network of leaders – not only religious ones – there is a higher likelihood for success. In any case, the lifecycle approach and the
community based approach are better recommended for use by religious leaders in Indonesia. As the framework for children's rights already exists in Indonesia, better social programming is needed – something that these two intervention approaches could better provide. While certain determinants to decide which type of violence – religiously or non-religiously motivated acts – have been sought as per each intervention approach, especially due to the intricate ties between religion and culture, generally speaking and in many instances both types of violence could be intervened in an intervention being led by religious leaders.
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