

Adolescents and Their Families Perspectives and Experiences on Nutrition and Physical Activities

'We Miss the Togetherness of the Past'



November, 2016



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Disclaimer:

The work is a product of the Reality Check Approach plus team and UNICEF Indonesia. The findings, interpretation and conclusions therein are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the views of UNICEF, the Government of Indonesia or the Palladium Group.

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Photographs: The front and back cover images are taken from videos made by adolescents during a RCA Digital Storytelling (DST) workshop in West Lombok. The front cover is from a junior high school student who shared his story about playing football during his free time. The back cover is from another junior high school student in West Lombok who shared his story about demanding a motorbike from his parents to go to school. All other photographs are credited to The Reality Check Approach plus team unless otherwise noted.

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Glossary and Abbreviations

Angkot	Public bus transportation
Angry Bird	A popular cartoon-based video game
Bapak	Father
BAPPENAS	Indonesian Ministry of National Development Planning
Begawe	A celebrative community event involving serving of food and drinks for all participating
BBM	BlackBerry Messenger, a mobile application for chatting
BTN	Bank Tabungan Negara, a state owned bank
Ciu	Traditional alcoholic drink from Java
CoC	Clash of Clans, a mobile video games
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Government of Australia
Dr. Oz	Television talk show about health
Dusun	Sub-village
Futsal	Five-a-side football played on a hard court rather than a field
Gol	Government of Indonesia
Gotong Royong	Voluntary co-operative work schemes within communities
HHH	Host households, the families the study team members stayed with
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah
Jajan	Buying food & drinks and consume them together
Kerupuk	Cracker
Lebaran	Islamic festival celebrating Eid il Fitri
Line	A mobile application for chatting
Madrasah	Islamic religious school
MA	<i>Madrasah Aliyah</i> , the senior secondary level of Madrasah
MI	<i>Madrasah Ibtidaiyah</i> , the primary level of Madrasah
MT	<i>Madrasah Tsanawiyah</i> , the junior secondary level of Madrasah
Milo	Sweetened milk drink with chocolate flavour
NGO	Non-government organization
Nyongkolan	A community parade usually to celebrate weddings, sometimes involving community from the neighbouring villages
Ojek	Motorbike taxi (informal)
OSIS	Organisasi Siswa Intra Sekolah (Internal Student Organisation at Junior and Senior Secondary School)
Paskibra	<i>Pasukan pengibar bendera</i> (flag hoisting troop) based at schools
PE	Physical education
Pesantren	Islamic boarding school
Puskesmas	<i>Pusat kesehatan masyarakat</i> (community health centre)
Posyandu	<i>Pos pelayanan terpadu</i> (integrated health post)
RISKESDAS	Riset kesehatan dasar (basic health research) by the Government of Indonesia
RCA	Reality Check Approach
RCA+	RCA+ Project funded by DFAT
RT	<i>Rukun Tetangga</i> , the smallest unit of neighbourhood
RW	<i>Rukun Warga</i> , one level up of RT neighbourhood unit
SD	<i>Sekolah Dasar</i> (primary school)
SMA	<i>Sekolah Menengah Atas</i> (senior high school)
SMK	<i>Sekolah Menengah Kejuruan</i> (secondary vocational school)
SMP	<i>Sekolah Menengah Pertama</i> (junior high school)
Soto ayam	Indonesian clear chicken soup with rice noodles
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
Warung	a Kiosk or Stall
Whatsapp	A mobile application for chatting



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I Summary

This Reality Check Approach (RCA) study was carried out during August 2016 by the RCA+ team. It is designed to gather the perspectives of adolescent girls and boys on factors influencing their choices and behaviours in eating, drinking and physical activity in Klaten District in Central Java Province and West Lombok District in Nusa Tenggara Barat Province. As with all RCA studies, the intention was to explore the topics from the perspectives of people themselves, using their words, views and experience rather than outside interpretation. This was achieved by researchers living with people in their own homes for several days and nights and using this opportunity to *'hang out'* and interact informally through chatting, two-way conversations and shared experience. This approach provides rich insights and bridges the divide between what people say they do and what they actually do.

UNICEF is currently supporting the Government of Indonesia to develop policies and programmes to improve nutrition and healthy lifestyles. They have jointly identified the period of adolescence as an important focus for intervention as it has hitherto received little attention but is a crucial life stage of rapid physical, social and development change where future habits and behaviours are shaped. The 2013 National Basic Health Research Survey (RISKESDAS) indicated that about one third of 13-18 year olds are stunted, 7-11% are overweight and 9-11% wasted, which means two-thirds adolescent of the older cohort (15-19) are physically active.

Recognising that only limited qualitative research has been carried out to understand these numbers, UNICEF commissioned this RCA study to explore the lives of adolescent girls and boys more fully in order to provide insights for programme interventions to promote healthy eating habits and lifestyles. It was also commissioned to flag up issues for further study, especially factors which could be explored through a quantitative survey currently being designed.

RCA is an internationally recognised approach to qualitative research which is regarded as an efficient and effective means to gather insights and perspectives directly from those for whom development interventions are intended. It involves highly trained and experienced researchers staying in people's homes, joining in their everyday lives and chatting informally with all members of the family, their neighbours and others they come into contact with. This relaxed approach ensure that the power distances between researcher and study participants are minimised and provides enabling conditions for rich insights into people's context and reality to emerge. The immersion approach provides researchers with opportunities to triangulate conversations with their own first-hand experience and observations from the time spent with their study families. In this study the research teams were purposely convened to include younger researchers who were closer in age to the study cohort and would find it easier to hang out and be accepted by them.

The study took place in seven locations; four in Klaten District (Central Java Province) and three in Lombok Barat District (Nusa Tenggara Barat Province). These districts were selected by government and UNICEF for forthcoming modelling work undertaken on adolescent nutrition by UNICEF and were not in any way regarded as representative of Indonesia as a whole. The particular communities were selected by the RCA+ team based on criteria agreed by UNICEF and Ministry of Health which included having (i) a mix of rural and peri-urban locations, (ii) a mix of locations where senior high schools were close to the community and where they were not.

The research team stayed with a total of twenty households for four days and nights purposively selected from high, middle and low socio-economic strata, all of which had at least one but preferably more than one adolescent (12-19 year) living in the family home and included those who were in school and out of school. While these families with a total of 32 adolescents (16 girls and 16 boys) constituted the main focus of the study,



1.1 A popular recreational activity among adolescent boys is freestyle motorbiking (rural Klaten)

intensive interactions with neighbours, the adolescents' peers and those they came into contact with resulted in the study drawing on conversations with over 860 people of whom 302 were adolescents (115 girls and 187 boys).

The study found that the context has been rapidly changing compared with previous generations and notes five areas where these changes are particularly relevant to adolescent behaviour and lifestyles. The findings lists these in order of the perceived importance attached to them by people themselves.

The first significant change, which other recent RCA studies have also highlighted, is families' increasing need for cash for regular and periodic costs (electricity, water, fuel for motorbikes, mobile phone credit, loan repayments, education, wedding and funeral costs). The need for regular cash has led families to seek multiple ways to meet these demands and will often have more than three income earning sources. This means that more members of the family are working and their lives are busier which, in turn affects eating and physical activity with fewer families cooking and eating together, in particular in (peri)-urban location, and less time for sport activities.

The second significant change has resulted from intensive electrification programmes and readily available credit for electrical goods so that, for example, all but two of the study households own TVs and all have mobile phones. Of the 32 adolescents the team actually lived with only five did not own their own mobile phone nevertheless they could borrow from their older siblings. Parents, in particular, noted and were concerned about the change from their day typified by comments such as *'nowadays the youth just look at screens'* and *'now they never play'*.

The third change relates to mobility. Motorbike ownership has increased significantly in the last decade and almost all the families (both the ones we lived with

and their neighbours) own at least one motorbike. Adolescents in urban and rural areas often own their own (only ten of the 32 adolescents we stayed with did not have their own motorbike and of these only five did not use a motorbike to go to school or work). As an illustration of the extent to which adolescents own motorbikes, teachers at one school in peri-urban Klaten said that out of the *'1,100 students at the school, 900 bring motorbikes'*. Parents complain that their children demand motorbikes as a condition for going to high school and children shared the importance and status associated with motorbike ownership. Whilst children would have walked or ridden pedal bicycles to school in the past, this is now rare.

Motorbike ownership amongst boys has cultivated a trend away from sports-based recreation activities to ones centred on motorbikes including just *'hanging out'* on motorbikes, racing, freestyling, modifying and decorating are regarded as a key means to attract girls. Motorbike ownership has also affected access to food as people can more easily access both traditional markets and supermarkets and mobile vendors are common in all but the more remote rural locations. This means that a wider diversity of both fresh and cooked foods are available throughout the day than before. Processed foods¹¹ and people's preference towards them depend on both accessibility and a family's socio-economic condition. Living in peri-urban and urban locations where processed foods are more accessible does not necessarily lead to their high consumption, as most people go to traditional markets instead of the supermarket and to local warungs (food stalls) instead of restaurants. People, especially in the peri-urban locations, prefer buying prepared food from peripatetic vendors because of convenience, individual family members can choose what they want and the cost is often regarded as less than the cost to prepare at home.

The fourth change concerns physical infrastructure. While the emphasis on road construction and improvement over the last decade has led to greater connectivity to food markets and sports facilities (especially futsal courts, swimming pools and gyms), rapidly expanding built environment has encroached on open spaces and public sports facilities traditionally used for their physical activities. People not only noted this in terms of lost opportunities for physical exercise but also as erosion of opportunities for social interaction and community bonding with comments such as *'we miss the togetherness'*.

1. Processed foods can be placed on a continuum that ranges from minimally processed items to more complex preparations that combine ingredients such as sweeteners, spices, oils, flavours, colours, and preservatives, with many variations in between.

The fifth and final key change is that of children's agency. Picked up by the RCA study conducted on basic education in 2009/10, children are more likely to make their own decisions about what they eat and what they do than past generations. They all have their own pocket money these days and make their own decision about how this is spent. They are also making their own decisions about whether to continue at school, who they associate with and lifestyles. Whereas in the past decisions about their futures, diet and lifestyle would have been circumscribed by parents, parents shared that they now have very little influence. Decisions made by adolescents are strongly influenced by their peers and rooted in cultivating and maintaining friendships. A particularly strong demonstration of this is in the decision to skip breakfast at home and eat breakfast with friends at school. This preference is also reinforced in cases where parents have limited time to prepare breakfast before children leave for school each early morning. The increasingly obligatory pocket money should then cover the expense for this.

Physical activity is often conflated by people to mean sports so that other physical activity such as walking to school, manual labour and some physically active chores are not considered. Even taking a wider view of physical activity our researchers describe rather low levels especially among girls. For some girls the only physical activity in the week is the single mandatory sports session at school. There is a prevailing view that girls are not or should not be sporty. Girls themselves shared that they do not like to get *'hot, sweaty and smelly'* and their preference for light complexions and perfect sleek straight hair counters physical activity outside in the sun. Furthermore, as parents have become more concerned about the ubiquitous use of social media and internet and the associated potential hazards, they have introduced stricter rules for their girls making sure they are in the house before dark and they know where they are. These curfews limit the opportunities for girls to engage in physical activities after school (and when it is less hot) and encourage screen-use to the extent that girls typically say *'this is what girls do'*.

Girls who do play sport or engage in organised physical activity are few and do it as a matter of status as they are selected to represent their school. Membership of a flag-raising groups (Paskibra) is considered as a privilege of a few and depends heavily on being an A grade student and having the right stature and discipline. Like other school programmes, this and membership of sports teams are often viewed as prestigious and are based on strict selection criteria especially as success in inter-school



1.2 Many senior high school adolescents travel to school on motorbikes. These senior high school girls are on their way home in rural West Lombok.

competitions is highly valued by school administrations. Commonly, less than one in five students gets selected for such teams.

Sports lessons within school are mostly mandatory but rarely involve more than about an hour of actual structured activity per week, the rest of the allocated time being spent on changing clothes, free time and sometimes travelling to the sports facility. Whilst boys often use the *'free time'* in Physical Education (PE) periods to play football, girls will use it to gossip, chat and snack at the school canteen as a respite from the formal classroom. PE is always outside and usually on a concrete quadrangle and may take place in the morning or after lunch, the former being preferred by students as it is less hot. PE teachers are predominantly men and often do not themselves participate in activities. Emphasis is given on grading, so for example each student might be required to *'shoot a basket'* once in the course of the PE period for which they get a grade and PE sessions were typically described as *'three hours outside the classroom'* where *'we don't have to be active we just have to change our clothes and attend'*. PE classes, especially in the rainy season, may be limited to classroom theory sessions only.

Although preoccupation with motorbikes has lessened interest in playing sports, boys are much more likely than girls to participate in school and community team sports and activities. Keeping up with fads is essential and futsal, skate boarding, motorbike freestyling and hip-hop dancing (for boys and girls) are popular in different locations but adolescents predict that these crazes will change. Competitions and events are strong motivators for increased physical activity (often with the incentive of prize money) but result in short bursts of enthusiasm for a couple of weeks before the tournament only rather than sustained practice and coaching. With increasing limited open spaces, facilities are more likely to have to be hired for games and this incurs costs for participants, especially constraining participation of boys from lower socio-economic groups. Attending gyms is confined

to boys from middle and higher income families but is increasingly popular especially as it is associated with developing a film star 'buff' body.

Adolescents in this study tend to take three meals per day; breakfast usually bought at school to share with schoolmates in the first break in the morning around 9.30 am; bought lunch at the school (usually cooked and from vendors either inside the school or at the school gate); and dinner at home which may be home cooked or bought from vendors. Rice cooked and kept warm in a rice cooker is available for dipping into throughout the day in most study homes 'whenever we feel hungry'. Girls, in particular, like to eat snacks or light meals with their friends after school and before they have to get home, sometimes going without dinner as the snacking makes them 'full'. These snacks or light meals can range from traditional cookies or finger food to chicken noodle or *bakso* (meatball soup), but can also be *rujak* (assorted sliced fruits with peanut sauce) depending on personal preference and ease of access. As found in other RCA studies, the meals mainly comprise rice with *tempe* or *tofu* and small amounts of side vegetables, crackers or Indomie (instant noodles) but some subsisted entirely on bought *soto ayam* (clear chicken noodle soup). Despite the availability of western foods such as pizza and burgers, especially in the tourist areas of West Lombok, adolescents shared that they prefer their traditional foods such as *ayam taliwang* (barbecued free-range chicken seasoned with traditional seasoning mix), *plecing kangkung* (boiled morning glory with chili paste and fried peanuts on the side) and *urap* (assorted vegetables with shredded coconut on top). Although chicken in some form is often consumed in small quantities (especially in bought food), meat consumption is confined to special events. Consumption of very sweet tea and coffee as well as condensed milk in hot water and Milo (both with added sugar) is very high and is readily available from vendors who stock these in individual sachet form.

While food is available at every high school the arrangements differ, some schools control the food provision within their premise by prohibiting students from buying food outside or limiting other vendors' entitlements to sell in or near the school. In such a case, it is not unusual for teachers or staff of the school and their relatives being involved in providing food for personal gain. While the study has found no instances where the sale and consumption of unhealthy food and beverages are controlled by schools, the availability of such is quite dominant as shaped by salability and preference. In all cases there are more than two food suppliers but often in cramped and overcrowded conditions. Both cooked and packaged foods are for sale and students generally spend between IDR 5-10,000 per day often including

a wrapped pack and a sweet drink at lunch time. They choose the vendor based on their peer groups' preference and fried foods are the favourite. There was no suggestion that adolescents ever skip eating to save their pocket money for other things.

Boys typically try smoking before they are 10 years old but take up the habit in their mid-teens. Choosing to not smoke is rare and is often because of underlying breathing problems or fitness concerns. The majority smoke and the number of cigarettes per day is curbed only by the amount of pocket money they have so most will buy and smoke a pack of 16 every day. Some will also use their pocket money for local alcohol.

Teachers shared that they did not feel that nutrition education at high school level was their responsibility and students said that school, apart from the basics in primary school, was not the source of information about what to consume. For those concerned with this they rely on TV and internet searches. A few knew that they should be drinking water but the actual practice is very rare. No mention was made even when prompted about iron in the diet. The overriding consideration in choosing foods to eat was the cost and taste rather than nutrition.

Concern about body image among adolescents is less than RCA studies in other countries have suggested. While body image and what constitutes a desirable body have changed a little recently, there are some differences between more urban areas and rural and this largely relates to greater exposure to TV, social media and the internet as well as more diverse urban populations. Especially with boys in urban locations, they more openly indicate a preference for more sexy girls to date (although their criteria for girls to marry has changed little) and wanting themselves to emulate film stars with more muscular bodies. There is little use of derogatory language between adolescents which refers to body shape and less teasing than found in RCA studies in other countries.

The report concludes with a number of study implications:

- Recognition that youth equate physical exercise with sports only and do not include other activities which may also involve physical exercise. Crazes beyond traditional sports, such as dance, freestyling, skate boarding are popular and, though short-lived, teens say they enjoy participating especially as there is no need to be selected for a team.

- Competitions (for team sports, flag raising and marching) generate interest not only of direct participants also the community or school as supporters. However, the current benefits are confined to sporty and already active individuals and are divisive.
- Sport in school is sometimes the only physical activity undertaken by teens and is limited in scope and focuses on attendance and completing tasks to earn grades rather than on the exercise itself. Limited space and equipment constrains options to military style fitness routines (star jumps, stretches, running laps etc.) for all or taking turns to participate in basketball, volleyball and football.
- Image is everything; boys and girls aspire to role models they see on social media and TV. Healthy lifestyles can be promoted using idols and sinetron story lines.
- Girls have limited physical exercise opportunities and choose to opt out preferring to chat and snack together or visit each other's homes to use social media and watch TV. To increase their interest in physical activity, programmes will need to exploit their need for socialising, accept their reluctance to get hot and sweaty, provide safe spaces (preferably within the community) and provide image-enhancing incentives for participation.
- To reverse the trend of losing public recreation space which communities miss, the local/village government can make use of Village Funds to build free recreation facilities and promote healthy lifestyles.
- Since there is very little awareness and concern about consuming unhealthy food and beverages in daily life, communities and families will benefit from programmes targeted at improving their knowledge and awareness on risks and consequences of these. Reviving youth groups in the community level and widening Posyandu's reach to include the adolescents in delivering applicable knowledge and information may become valuable.
- School-going adolescents are at school from around 7 a.m. to about 2-3 p.m., sometimes later for extracurricular activities, so taking breakfast and lunch at school is the norm. Parents are accustomed to provide pocket money for this but vendors offer snacks and fried food and sweet drinks. Some school staff are involved personally in the provision of food at school which currently perpetuates a conflict of interests to promoting healthy lifestyles.
- School management should be more involved in promoting and ensuring healthy eating and drinking in the school premises where school-going adolescents spend most of their time daily. There is a need for better operating and more standardised *kantin sekolah* (school canteens) and for making clear guidelines available for outside vendors selling to their students.
- Another way to ensure the standardised provision of healthy food and beverages to students is through a catering service from third parties which would be required to openly compete for catering contracts under clear guidelines.
- There is an indication that information about mindful eating at school is of students' interest when directly applicable to their daily life, e.g. being aware of what is described in food wrapper. It may be beneficial to reinstate knowledge on nutrition and healthy vs. unhealthy options in the junior and senior secondary curriculum, either as a subject taught or be made as a regular thematic discussion through extra-curricular activity or student organisation's event.

I Ringkasan

Studi Reality Check Approach (RCA) ini dilaksanakan pada bulan Agustus 2016 oleh tim RCA+. Studi ini dirancang untuk mengumpulkan perspektif para remaja putra dan putri terhadap faktor-faktor yang mempengaruhi pilihan dan kebiasaan mereka dalam kegiatan makan, minum dan kegiatan fisik di Kabupaten Klaten di Provinsi Jawa Tengah dan di Kabupaten Lombok Barat di Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat. Seperti pada semua studi RCA lainnya, tujuan dari studi ini adalah untuk mengeksplorasi isu ini dari perspektif masyarakat, menggunakan bahasa, sudut pandang dan pengalaman mereka sendiri daripada menggunakan interpretasi orang luar. Hal ini dicapai oleh para peneliti yang tinggal di rumah masyarakat selama beberapa hari dan menggunakan kesempatan tersebut untuk 'bercengkrama' dan berinteraksi secara informal lewat obrolan, percakapan dua arah dan berbagi pengalaman. Pendekatan ini memberikan wawasan yang kaya dan menjadi jembatan antara apa yang mereka katakan dengan yang benar-benar mereka lakukan.

UNICEF saat ini mendukung Pemerintah Indonesia untuk mengembangkan kebijakan dan program untuk memperbaiki gizi dan gaya hidup sehat. Mereka bersama-sama mengidentifikasi bahwa masa remaja adalah fokus yang penting untuk dilakukan intervensi. Akan tetapi sampai saat ini masa remaja masih mendapatkan sedikit perhatian padahal masa tersebut merupakan fase kehidupan yang penting karena berubahnya fisik secara cepat, sosial dan perkembangan yang cepat dimana kebiasaan dan perilaku masa depan terbentuk. Survei Riset Kesehatan Dasar Nasional 2013 (RISKESDAS) menunjukkan bahwa sekitar sepertiga anak berusia 13-18 tahun mengalami 'stunting', 7-11% kelebihan berat badan dan 9-11% kurus, hal ini menunjukkan bahwa dua pertiga remaja yang lebih berumur (15-19) lebih aktif secara fisik

Menyadari bahwa terbatasnya penelitian kualitatif yang telah dilakukan untuk memahami angka-angka ini, maka UNICEF sebagai komisioner, menugaskan studi RCA ini untuk mengeksplorasi kehidupan remaja putri dan

putra secara lebih luas guna memberikan wawasan bagi program perantara untuk mempromosikan kebiasaan makan dan gaya hidup sehat. Studi ini juga dilakukan untuk mengangkat isu-isu untuk studi-studi lebih lanjut, terutama untuk faktor-faktor yang dapat dieksplorasi melalui survei kuantitatif yang saat ini sedang dirancang. RCA adalah pendekatan penelitian kualitatif yang telah mendapatkan pengakuan secara internasional. Metode ini dianggap sebagai metode yang efisien dan efektif dalam mengumpulkan wawasan dan perspektif masyarakat secara langsung. Studi ini melibatkan para peneliti yang terlatih dan berpengalaman untuk tinggal bersama keluarga, mengikuti kegiatan sehari-hari mereka dan mengobrol secara informal dengan semua anggota keluarga, tetangga mereka dan orang-orang lain yang mereka temui.

Pendekatan ini mendorong terciptanya interaksi yang santai antara peneliti dan para peserta studi. Interaksi informal ini memungkinkan peneliti untuk mendapatkan pemahaman yang lebih kaya sesuai konteks kehidupan masyarakat dan realitas yang ada. Pendekatan imersi ini memberi kesempatan kepada para peneliti untuk melakukan triangulasi antara percakapan-percakapan dengan pengalaman langsung mereka serta observasi-observasi yang dilakukan selama mereka tinggal bersama keluarga. Penelitian dengan sengaja melibatkan para peneliti muda yang lebih dekat secara umur dengan kelompok studi dengan tujuan untuk memudahkan mereka untuk bercengkrama dan diterima oleh peserta studi.

Studi ini berlangsung di tujuh lokasi; Empat di Kabupaten Klaten (Provinsi Jawa Tengah) dan tiga di Kabupaten Lombok Barat (Provinsi Nusa Tenggara Barat). Kabupaten ini dipilih oleh pemerintah dan UNICEF sebagai proyek percontohan mengenai nutrisi remaja yang akan dilakukan oleh UNICEF. Akan tetapi studi ini tidak dapat dianggap mewakili Indonesia secara keseluruhan. Komunitas tertentu dipilih oleh tim RCA + berdasarkan kriteria yang disepakati antara UNICEF dengan Kementerian Kesehatan yang mencakup (i) lokasi

pedesaan dan lokasi pinggiran kota, (ii) lokasi dimana sekolah menengah atas dekat dengan tempat tinggal masyarakat dan lokasi dimana sekolah menengah atas berada jauh dengan tempat tinggal masyarakat.

Tim peneliti tinggal bersama dengan total sebanyak dua puluh rumah tangga selama lima hari dan empat malam yang dipilih secara purposif dari strata sosio-ekonomi tinggi, menengah dan rendah. Semua rumah tangga memiliki setidaknya satu atau lebih remaja (12-19 tahun) yang tinggal di rumah keluarga tersebut, termasuk remaja yang bersekolah maupun yang tidak. Tim peneliti juga melakukan interaksi intensif dengan tetangga, teman sebaya dan orang-orang lain, walaupun keluarga dengan total 32 remaja (16 anak perempuan dan 16 anak laki-laki yang menjadi fokus utama penelitian ini. Penelitian ini menghasilkan percakapan dengan lebih dari 860 orang dimana 302 adalah remaja (115 anak perempuan dan 187 anak laki-laki).

Hasil studi ini menemukan bahwa konteks kehidupan mengalami perubahan yang sangat cepat jika dibandingkan dengan generasi-generasi sebelumnya. Terdapat 5 area perubahan yang relevan terhadap perilaku dan gaya hidup remaja. Temuan studi ini disusun berdasarkan urutan yang menurut urutan terpenting menurut masyarakat.

Perubahan signifikan pertama, yang juga ditemukan dan ditekankan dalam studi RCA lainnya, adalah kebutuhan keluarga akan uang tunai untuk pengeluaran sehari-hari yang berkala (listrik, air, bahan bakar untuk sepeda motor, pulsa telepon genggam, pembayaran utang, biaya pendidikan, pernikahan dan pemakaman). Kebutuhan akan uang tunai secara regular ini telah membuat banyak keluarga mencari berbagai cara untuk memenuhi tuntutan ini dan seringkali suatu keluarga memiliki lebih dari tiga sumber pendapatan. Ini berarti semakin banyak anggota keluarga yang bekerja dan kehidupan mereka semakin sibuk. Hal ini kemudian mempengaruhi kegiatan makan dan kegiatan fisik karena semakin jarang keluarga yang memasak dan melakukan makan bersama, khususnya di lokasi pinggiran kota. Ini juga berdampak terhadap sedikitnya waktu untuk kegiatan olahraga.

Perubahan signifikan kedua dihasilkan dari intensifnya program pengadaan listrik dan juga kemudahan untuk kredit atas barang elektronik, sehingga semua, kecuali dua keluarga studi, memiliki TV dan semuanya memiliki telepon genggam. Dari 32 remaja tersebut lima orang tidak memiliki ponsel sendiri namun mereka bisa meminjam dari saudara mereka yang lebih tua. Orang tua khususnya mengatakan kekhawatiran mereka terhadap perubahan jika dibandingkan dengan zaman mereka. Mereka berkomentar hal-hal seperti 'saat ini

kaum anak muda hanya terpaku terhadap layar' dan 'sekarang mereka tidak pernah bermain'.

Perubahan ketiga berhubungan dengan mobilitas. Kepemilikan sepeda motor telah meningkat secara signifikan dalam dekade terakhir dan hampir semua keluarga (baik yang tinggal bersama dengan peneliti maupun tetangganya) memiliki setidaknya satu sepeda motor. Remaja di daerah perkotaan dan pedesaan banyak yang mempunyai sepeda motor sendiri (hanya sepuluh dari 32 remaja yang tinggal bersama kami tidak memiliki sepeda motor sendiri dan hanya lima yang tidak menggunakan sepeda motor untuk pergi ke sekolah atau tempat kerja). Sebagai gambaran tentang sejauh mana kepemilikan sepeda motor oleh remaja, seorang guru di satu sekolah di pinggiran kota Klaten mengatakan bahwa "dari 1.100 siswa di sekolah tersebut, 900 membawa sepeda motor". Orang tua mengeluh bahwa anak-anak mereka menuntut sepeda motor sebagai syarat untuk melanjutkan sekolah ke SMA dan para remaja berbagi cerita mengenai pentingnya dan status yang didapat dengan memiliki sepeda motor. Sementara anak-anak yang masih berjalan kaki atau mengendarai sepeda ke sekolah seperti di masa lalu sangatlah langka di masa ini.

Kepemilikan sepeda motor di kalangan remaja putra telah mengembangkan tren yang jauh dari kegiatan rekreasi berbasis olahraga dan lebih mendekatkan mereka kepada kegiatan yang berpusat kepada sepeda motor seperti 'nongkrong' di sepeda motor, balapan, freestyling, modifikasi dan dekorasi sebagai kegiatan-kegiatan yang dianggap sebagai sarana kunci untuk menarik perhatian remaja putri. Kepemilikan sepeda motor juga mempengaruhi akses terhadap makanan karena orang dapat lebih mudah mengakses pasar tradisional dan supermarket, selain itu penjual keliling juga biasa ditemukan di semua lokasi kecuali di pedesaan yang terpencil.

Hal ini menunjukkan bahwa bertambahnya jenis makanan segar dan makanan siap saji menjadi tersedia sepanjang hari dibandingkan sebelumnya. Makanan olahan¹⁾ dan preferensi masyarakat terhadap makanan olahan bergantung kepada aksesibilitas dan kondisi sosial ekonomi keluarga. Hidup di lokasi pinggiran kota dan perkotaan dimana makanan olahan lebih mudah diakses tidak selalu mengarah pada tingginya konsumsi makanan tersebut. Kebanyakan masyarakat pergi ke pasar tradisional dibandingkan supermarket dan pergi ke warung setempat dibanding restoran. Masyarakat, terutama di lokasi pinggiran kota, memilih

1. Makanan olahan dapat ditempatkan pada sebuah rangkaian yang berkisar dari barang-barang yang diproses minimal hingga preparasi yang lebih kompleks yang menggabungkan bahan-bahan seperti itu. Sebagai pemanis, rempah-rempah, minyak, rasa, warna, dan pengawet, dengan banyak variasi di antaranya

untuk membeli makanan siap saji dari penjual karena kemudahannya, tiap individu dalam anggota keluarga dapat memilih makanan yang mereka inginkan dan biaya yang dikeluarkan dianggap lebih murah dibandingkan dengan mempersiapkannya sendiri di rumah.

Perubahan keempat menyangkut infrastruktur fisik. Walaupun penekanan pada pembangunan jalan dan perbaikan selama dekade terakhir telah memberikan akses yang lebih baik ke pasar makanan dan fasilitas olahraga (terutama lapangan futsal, kolam renang dan gym), perkembangan yang cepat atas pembangunan di lingkungan mengurangi sarana ruang terbuka dan fasilitas olahraga umum yang secara tradisional yang biasa digunakan untuk aktivitas fisik mereka. Orang-orang berpendapat bahwa keadaan ini berarti hilangnya kesempatan untuk latihan fisik, tetapi juga mengurangi kesempatan untuk interaksi sosial dan mengurangi ikatan komunitas. Mereka berkata seperti 'kita merindukan kebersamaan'.

Perubahan kelima dan terakhir adalah 'children agency'. Seperti yang ditemukan dalam studi RCA tentang Pendidikan Dasar di tahun 2009-2010, anak-anak lebih cenderung membuat keputusan sendiri mengenai apa yang mereka makan dan apa yang mereka lakukan dibandingkan dengan generasi sebelumnya. Sekarang mereka semua memiliki uang saku sendiri dan membuat keputusan sendiri tentang bagaimana membelanjakannya. Mereka juga membuat keputusan sendiri tentang apakah akan melanjutkan sekolah, dengan siapa mereka berteman dan tentang gaya hidup mereka. Dimana dulu hal-hal seperti keputusan tentang masa depan, kebiasaan makan dan gaya hidup mereka akan diatur oleh orang tua, orang tua mengatakan bahwa mereka sekarang memiliki pengaruh yang sangat kecil. Keputusan yang dibuat oleh remaja sangat dipengaruhi oleh teman sebayanya dan berakar kepada rasa untuk menumbuhkan dan memelihara pertemanan. Bukti yang sangat kuat dalam menunjukkan hal ini adalah keputusan untuk melewati sarapan di rumah dan memilih untuk sarapan pagi bersama teman-teman di sekolah. Pilihan ini juga diperkuat dalam kasus dimana orang tua hanya memiliki waktu yang terbatas untuk menyiapkan sarapan pagi sebelum anak berangkat ke sekolah. Uang saku semakin meningkat nilainya agar dapat memenuhi kebutuhan-kebutuhan diatas.

Aktivitas fisik sering diartikan sebagai olahraga sehingga aktivitas fisik lainnya seperti berjalan ke sekolah, pekerjaan fisik dan beberapa tugas fisik aktif lainnya tidak dipertimbangkan sebagai olahraga. Bahkan setelah memberikan arti yang lebih luas terhadap aktivitas fisik, para peneliti kami menemukan aktifitas fisik tetap jarang dilakukan terutama di kalangan remaja perempuan.

Bagi beberapa remaja putri, satu-satunya aktivitas fisik dalam satu minggu adalah satu sesi olahraga wajib dari sekolah. Ada pandangan yang berlaku bahwa anak perempuan tidak boleh sporty. Para remaja putri sendiri yang mengutarakan bahwa mereka tidak suka 'panas, berkeringat dan bau' dan preferensi mereka terhadap warna kulit yang cerah, rambut lurus yang sempurna bertentangan dengan melakukan aktivitas fisik di luar di bawah sinar matahari. Terlebih lagi karena orang tua semakin khawatir tentang penggunaan media sosial dan internet yang ada di mana-mana dan potensi bahaya yang terkait, mereka telah memberlakukan peraturan yang lebih ketat untuk anak perempuan mereka memastikan bahwa mereka harus berada di rumah sebelum hari gelap dan mereka tahu di mana mereka berada. Pembatasan ini mengurangi kesempatan bagi anak perempuan untuk terlibat dalam kegiatan fisik sepulang sekolah (dan pada saat suhu kurang panas). Hal ini mendorong meningkatnya penggunaan gadget seperti yang dikatakan oleh anak perempuan bahwa "inilah yang dilakukan anak perempuan".

Anak perempuan yang bermain olahraga atau terlibat dalam aktivitas fisik yang terorganisir jumlahnya sedikit dan mereka melakukannya untuk urusan status karena mereka akan dipilih untuk mewakili sekolah.. Keanggotaan pasukan pengibar bendera (Paskibra) dianggap sebagai hak istimewa oleh beberapa orang dan sangat bergantung dengan menjadi siswa dengan nilai yang baik, memiliki postur tubuh dan disiplin yang baik. Seperti program sekolah lainnya, keanggotaan paskibra dan keanggotaan tim olahraga sering dipandang sebagai kegiatan bergengsi dan didasarkan kepada kriteria seleksi yang ketat terutama karena keberhasilan dalam kompetisi antar sekolah sangat dihargai oleh pihak sekolah. Umumnya, hanya satu dari lima siswa terpilih untuk tim semacam itu.

Pelajaran olahraga di sekolah sebagian besar wajib tapi kegiatan olahraga jarang berlangsung lebih dari satu jam per minggu, sisa waktu yang ada dialokasikan digunakan untuk mengganti pakaian, waktu bebas dan kadang-kadang untuk berjalan menuju ke fasilitas olahraga. Sementara anak laki-laki sering menggunakan 'waktu bebas' dalam pelajaran olah raga untuk bermain sepak bola. Anak perempuan akan menggunakannya untuk bergosip, mengobrol dan jajan di kantin sekolah sebagai bentuk istirahat dari kelas formal. Pelajaran olah raga selalu dilakukan di luar ruangan dan biasanya dilakukan di lapangan beton dan biasa dilakukan di pagi hari atau setelah makan siang. Waktu pagi hari lebih disukai oleh siswa karena tidak panas. Guru olah raga didominasi oleh guru laki-laki dan seringkali tidak berpartisipasi dalam kegiatan olah raga itu. Penekanan diberikan pada pemberian nilai, jadi misalnya setiap

siswa mungkin diminta untuk “melempar bola ke ring” sebanyak satu kali selama pelajaran olah raga untuk mendapatkan nilai. Sesi pelajaran olah raga biasanya digambarkan sebagai ‘tiga jam di luar kelas’ di mana ‘Kita tidak harus aktif kita hanya perlu mengganti pakaian kita dan ikut’. Kelas olah raga, terutama di musim hujan, mungkin hanya terbatas pada sesi teori di kelas saja.

Meskipun kesibukan dengan sepeda motor mengurangi niat remaja dalam bermain olahraga, remaja laki-laki memiliki kecenderungan lebih dibandingkan anak perempuan untuk ikut berpartisipasi dalam kegiatan olahraga baik di sekolah maupun di masyarakat. Mengikuti tren sangatlah penting bagi para remaja, tren seperti futsal, skate boarding, freestyling sepeda motor dan tarian hip-hop (untuk anak laki-laki dan anak perempuan) sangatlah populer di beberapa lokasi yang berbeda namun para remaja memprediksi bahwa tren ini akan berubah. Kompetisi dan acara-acara adalah motivator yang kuat untuk meningkatkan aktivitas fisik (seringkali dengan insentif berupa hadiah uang) namun ledakan antusiasme hanyalah berlangsung singkat selama beberapa minggu sebelum turnamen. Tidak ada latihan dan pembinaan yang berkelanjutan dan terus menerus. Semakin terbatasnya ruang terbuka, maka fasilitas-fasilitas tersebut harus disewa dan mengakibatkan perlunya pengeluaran biaya lebih, hal ini menghambat partisipasi anak laki-laki dari kelompok sosial ekonomi yang lebih rendah untuk ikut. Mengikuti gym terbatas pada anak laki-laki dari keluarga berpenghasilan menengah dan tinggi namun semakin populer terutama dengan berkembangnya penggemar tubuh ‘buff’ seperti yang dimiliki aktor-aktor film.

Remaja dalam studi ini cenderung untuk makan tiga kali sehari. Sarapan biasanya dibeli di sekolah dan dimakan berbagi dengan teman sekolah pada saat istirahat pertama pagi sekitar pukul 09.30; Untuk makan siang mereka membeli makanan di sekolah (biasanya siap saji dan dibeli dari penjual yang ada di dalam sekolah atau di gerbang sekolah). Dan untuk makan malam mereka makan di rumah, makanan yang dimakan kemungkinan dimasak di rumah atau dibeli dari penjual. Nasi yang dimasak dan dihangatkan dalam rice cooker tersedia untuk dimakan sepanjang hari, di kebanyakan keluarga studi untuk dimakan ‘kapan pun ketika kita merasa lapar’. Anak perempuan, khususnya suka jajan atau makan makanan ringan bersama teman mereka setelah sepulang sekolah. Kadang sampai mereka tidak makan malam karena mengemil telah membuat mereka ‘kenyang’. Camilan atau makanan ringan ini bisa berkisar dari kue tradisional atau jajanan sampai mie ayam atau bakso, tapi juga bisa berupa rujak buah tergantung pada preferensi pribadi dan kemudahan akses untuk mendapatkan makanan tersebut. Seperti



1.3 Food vendors often use motorbikes to sell food directly to households especially in peri-urban and urban locations

yang ditemukan dalam penelitian RCA lainnya, makanan yang dimakan umumnya terdiri dari nasi dengan tempe atau tahu dan sedikit sayuran, kerupuk atau mie instan, namun beberapa di antaranya ada yang memilih untuk membeli soto ayam. Meskipun ada makanan barat seperti pizza dan burger, terutama di daerah wisata Lombok Barat, para remaja berbagi bahwa mereka lebih suka makanan tradisional mereka seperti ayam taliwang, plecing kangkung dan urap). Walaupun ayam sering dikonsumsi dalam jumlah kecil (terutama pada makanan siap saji), konsumsi daging biasanya terbatas pada acara spesial. Jumlah konsumsi teh dan kopi yang sangat manis serta susu kental dengan air panas dan Milo (keduanya dengan tambahan gula) sangatlah tinggi dan sangat mudah didapat dari penjual yang menjualnya dalam bentuk sachet satuan.

Pengaturan makanan tersedia di setiap sekolah menengah berbeda-beda. Beberapa sekolah mengatur penyediaan makanan di dalam lingkungan sekolah mereka dengan melarang siswa membeli makanan di luar atau membatasi hak penjual lain untuk berjualan di dalam atau lingkungan dekat sekolah. Dalam kasus seperti itu, tidaklah jarang bagi guru atau staf sekolah dan juga keluarga mereka untuk terlibat dalam penyediaan makanan untuk keuntungan pribadi. Walaupun studi ini tidak menemukan contoh di mana penjualan dan konsumsi makanan dan minuman tidak sehat diatur oleh pihak sekolah, ketersediaannya cukup banyak karena laris dan disukai. . Seringkali dalam satu sekolah terdapat lebih dari dua penjual makanan dan seringkali mereka berjualan ditempat yang sempit. Baik makanan siap saji dan makanan kemasan dijual kepada siswa dan mereka biasanya dapat menghabiskan antara Rp 5.000-10.000 per hari, makanan tersebut umumnya terdiri dari paket nasi bungkus dan minuman manis untuk waktu makan siang. Mereka memilih penjual berdasarkan preferensi kelompok sebaya mereka dan makanan yang digoreng merupakan makanan favorit mereka. Tidak ada indikasi bahwa para remaja melewatkan waktu makan untuk menyimpan uang saku mereka untuk hal lain.

Anak laki-laki biasanya mencoba merokok sebelum mereka berusia 10 tahun namun hal ini menjadi kebiasaan di usia pertengahan remaja. Memilih untuk tidak merokok jarang terjadi dan seringkali masalah pernapasan atau masalah kebugaran yang mendasari pilihan tersebut. Mayoritas perokok dan jumlah rokok yang dihisap per hari hanya dibatasi oleh jumlah uang saku yang mereka miliki sehingga sebagian besar akan membeli dan menghisap satu bungkus yang berisi 16 batang rokok setiap hari. Beberapa dari mereka juga menggunakan uang saku mereka untuk membeli alkohol lokal.

Guru mengatakan bahwa mereka tidak merasa bahwa pendidikan gizi di tingkat sekolah menengah adalah tanggung jawab mereka dan siswa mengatakan bahwa sekolah, selain dari dasar-dasar mengenai gizi yang diajarkan di sekolah dasar, bukanlah sumber informasi tentang apa yang harus dikonsumsi. Bagi mereka yang peduli dengan hal ini mereka bergantung dan mencari lewat TV dan internet. Beberapa mengetahui bahwa mereka harus minum air Putih tapi praktik sebenarnya sangat jarang terjadi. Mereka bahkan tidak mengetahui saat ditanyakan tentang kandungan zat besi dalam makanan. Pertimbangan utama dalam memilih makanan untuk dimakan adalah biaya dan rasa dibandingkan nutrisi.

Tidak seperti studi-studi RCA di negara lain, kekhawatiran tentang bentuk tubuh di kalangan remaja dinilai tidak terlalu penting. Meskipun hal mengenai bentuk tubuh dan hal-hal yang dianggap sebagai faktor untuk bentuk tubuh ideal telah berubah sedikit, terdapat beberapa perbedaan besar antara daerah yang lebih kearah perkotaan dan daerah pedesaan dan hal ini sebagian besar berkaitan dengan besarnya keberadaan dan pemaparan kepada akses TV, media sosial dan internet serta populasi perkotaan yang lebih beragam.. Terutama dengan anak laki-laki di lokasi perkotaan, mereka secara lebih terbuka menunjukkan preferensi untuk gadis yang lebih seksi untuk dipacari (walaupun kriteria mereka untuk perempuan yang akan dinikahi telah sedikit berubah) dan menginginkan diri mereka untuk meniru bintang film dengan tubuh yang lebih berotot. Hanya sedikit penggunaan bentuk hinaan dan sindirian mengenai bentuk tubuh diantara para remaja yang ditemukan dalam studi ini dibandingkan dengan studi RCA di negara lain.

Laporan ini diakhiri dengan sejumlah implikasi studi sebagai berikut:

- Pemahaman bahwa bahwa anak muda tidak menyamakan latihan fisik dengan olah raga dan tidak memasukkan aktifitas lainnya. Tren diluar olahraga

tradisional, seperti menari, freestyling, skate boarding sangat populer dan, meski hanya sesaat, remaja mengatakan bahwa mereka senang berpartisipasi terutama karena tidak perlu dipilih untuk sebuah tim.

- Kompetisi (untuk olahraga tim, pengibaran bendera dan drum band) menimbulkan minat tidak hanya dari peserta langsung, tetapi juga dari masyarakat atau sekolah sebagai pendukung. Namun, manfaatnya hingga saat ini terbatas pada individu yang gemar berolah raga dan sudah aktif.

- Olahraga di sekolah kadang-kadang merupakan satu-satunya aktivitas fisik yang dilakukan oleh remaja dan cakupannya terbatas dan lebih berfokus kepada kehadiran dan menyelesaikan tugas untuk mendapatkan nilai daripada pada latihan itu sendiri. Ruang dan peralatan yang terbatas membatasi pilihan kegiatan menjadi hanya bentuk-bentuk olah raga bergaya militer (lompatan bintang, peregangan, lari di lapangan dll.) Remaja juga bergantian untuk berpartisipasi dalam bermain basket, voli dan sepak bola.

- Pencitraan adalah segalanya; remaja putra dan putri bercita-cita untuk menjadi seperti panutan yang mereka lihat di media sosial dan TV. Gaya hidup sehat dapat dipromosikan dengan menggunakan cerita sinetron dan bintang didalamnya.

- Anak perempuan memiliki keterbatasan atas kesempatan latihan fisik dan cenderung untuk tidak ikut dalam kegiatan tersebut dan memilih untuk ngobrol dan ngemil bersama temannya atau mengunjungi rumah masing-masing untuk menggunakan media sosial dan menonton TV. Untuk meningkatkan minat mereka terhadap aktivitas fisik, program yang akan dibentuk perlu memanfaatkan kebutuhan mereka untuk bersosialisasi, menerima keengganan mereka untuk menjadi kepanasan dan berkeringat, menyediakan tempat yang aman (sebaiknya di dalam masyarakat) dan memberikan kesan yang baik untuk meningkatkan partisipasi.

- Untuk membalikkan kecenderungan atas hilangnya tempat rekreasi publik yang dirindukan oleh masyarakat, pemerintah daerah / desa dapat memanfaatkan Dana Desa untuk membangun fasilitas rekreasi gratis dan mempromosikan gaya hidup sehat.

- Dikarenakan sedikitnya kesadaran dan perhatian masyarakat tentang makanan dan minuman yang tidak sehat, masyarakat dan keluarga akan mendapatkan keuntungan dari program yang ditargetkan untuk meningkatkan pengetahuan dan kesadaran mereka mengenai risiko dan konsekuensi dari hal ini.

Menghidupkan kembali kelompok pemuda di tingkat masyarakat dan memperluas jangkauan Posyandu untuk memasukkan para remaja dalam menyampaikan pengetahuan dan informasi yang dapat diterapkan dapat menjadi sarana penting dalam hal ini.

- Remaja yang bersekolah umumnya berada di sekolah sekitar pukul 7 pagi sampai sekitar 2-3 sore, dan terkadang lebih untuk menghadiri kegiatan ekstrakurikuler, jadi sarapan pagi dan makan siang di sekolah adalah norma. Orang tua terbiasa memberikan uang saku untuk ini tapi para penjual menawarkan makanan ringan dan gorengan dan minuman manis. Beberapa staf sekolah terlibat secara pribadi dalam penyediaan makanan di sekolah yang hingga saat ini menimbulkan konflik kepentingan dalam mempromosikan gaya hidup sehat.
- Manajemen sekolah harus lebih terlibat dalam memastikan dan mempromosikan makanan dan minuman yang sehat di lingkungan sekolah dimana para remaja yang bersekolah menghabiskan sebagian besar waktunya setiap hari. Terdapat kebutuhan untuk memiliki kantin sekolah yang terstandarisasi dan dijalankan dengan lebih baik. Juga penting untuk memiliki panduan yang jelas bagi para penjual makanan di luar sekolah.
- Cara lain untuk memastikan tersedianya makanan dan minuman sehat bagi siswa adalah melalui layanan katering dari pihak ketiga yang diminta untuk secara terbuka bersaing untuk mendapatkan kontrak katering berdasarkan pedoman yang jelas.
- Terdapat indikasi bahwa siswa akan lebih tertarik mengenai informasi tentang makanan sehat jika informasi tersebut langsung terkait dengan kehidupan sehari-hari mereka, sebagai contoh menyadari apa yang dijelaskan dalam pembungkus makanan. Hal ini mungkin bermanfaat untuk mengembalikan pengetahuan tentang nutrisi dan pilihan antara makanan sehat dengan yang tidak sehat di kurikulum sekolah menengah pertama dan sekolah menengah atas, baik sebagai subjek yang diajarkan atau dijadikan diskusi tematik reguler melalui kegiatan ekstra kurikuler atau acara organisasi kesiswaan.



II Introduction

This report presents the findings from a RCA study conducted in August 2016 designed to gather the perspectives of adolescent girls and boys on factors influencing their choices and behaviours in eating, drinking and physical activity. The study was commissioned by UNICEF as part of its diagnostic effort to support the Government of Indonesia (GoI) in identifying policy and programme options to protect adolescent girls and boys against undernutrition and overnutrition. UNICEF recognises that adolescence is a period of rapid physical, social and development changes, as well as a period critical for the development of health-related behaviours. Eating, drinking and physical activity habits and behaviours shaped during adolescence can be carried through to adulthood with long-term consequences on their health. It also notes particular consequences associated with undernourishment among teenage mothers.

There is a gap in knowledge and understanding of adolescent nutrition and healthy lifestyle in Indonesia with a particular dearth in ethnographic-based research. The National Basic Health Research Survey (RISKESDAS) 2013 indicates that about one third of adolescents aged 16-18 years (31.2%) and 13-15 years (35%) are stunted, while 7.3% and 10.8% are overweight respectively for the same age groups. Nearly 50% of young adolescents (aged 10-14 years) and 35.4% of the 15-19 years' cohort are not physically active, spending less than 2.5 hours per week in physical activity.

The RCA study was commissioned to contribute to filling gaps through exploration of the perspectives, behaviours, preferences and lifestyles of both adolescent girls and boys, aged 12-19 years, specifically in Klaten District in Central Java Province and West Lombok District in Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) Province. Insights from previous RCA studies on Nutrition and Hygiene and the Frontline Service Delivery Study^[2] have already

indicated the powerful influence of television and social media on adolescents' lifestyle and this current study was intended to provide further insights into their day to day lives, motivations and influences. By living with families with adolescents in their own homes, chatting informally with, '*hanging out*' with and participating in the adolescents' daily interaction with the wider community for several days and nights, the RCA study intended to provide rich insights with the intention of feeding these into UNICEF programmes designed to support the GoI in promoting healthy eating and lifestyle.

Structure of the Report

This report begins with introduction chapter outlining purpose of the study, overview of the RCA methodology, including adaptations made for the study and study limitations. Findings are in the next chapter, comprising five sub-sections which include: the times are changing; meet some of the adolescents; being active; teens eating and drinking; and motivations and influences. This report concludes with study implications derived from the analysis and a discussion of findings.

Methodology

The Reality Check Approach (RCA)^[3] is a qualitative research approach in which trained researchers gather in-depth qualitative data through immersion, open and informal conversations and participant observation. These ways of interacting with the study participants enable the researchers to gain contextual insights into the reality faced by the people with whom they stay, their neighbours and the wider community. The main idea is to have iterative, detailed conversations and intense interactions with people in their own homes and own everyday environment to better understand and contextualise peoples' perspectives and experiences. The RCA is an approach which extends the tradition of

2. RCA, "We are healthy, why change?", Perspectives, Observations, Experiences of People Living in Poverty on Hygiene and Nutrition, Indonesia, 2015; RCA, Perspectives and Experiences of Frontline Health Service Providers, Indonesia, 2015. <<http://www.reality-check-approach.com/indonesia.html>>

3. Originally developed in 2007 in Bangladesh with the Embassy of Sweden.

listening studies (see Salmen, 1998 and Anderson, Brown and Jean, 2012^[4]) and beneficiary assessments (see SDC 2013^[5]) by combining elements of these approaches with researchers actually living with people whose views are being sought and experiences understood, usually those who are directly experiencing the issue under study.

RCA is sometimes likened to a 'light touch' participant observation. Participant observation involves entering the lives of the subjects of research and both participating in and observing their normal everyday activities and interactions. It usually entails extensive and detailed research into behaviour with a view to understanding peoples' perceptions and their actions over long periods of time. The RCA is similar in that it requires participation in everyday life within people's own environments but differs by being comparatively quick and placing more emphasis on informal, relaxed and insightful conversations than on observing behaviour and the complexities of relationships.

Important characteristics of the RCA include:

- **Living with** rather than visiting (thereby meeting the adolescents in their own environment, understanding family dynamics and how days and nights are spent);
- **Having conversations** rather than conducting interviews (there is no note taking thereby putting people at ease and on an equal footing with the outsider);
- **Learning** rather than finding out (suspending judgement, letting people with first-hand experience take the lead in defining the agenda and what is important);
- **Centring on the household** or place where, in this case, adolescents are living and interacting with families rather than users, communities or groups;
- **Being experiential** in that researchers themselves take part in daily activities (collecting water, cooking, cultivation) and accompany household members (to work, to school, to market, to recreation activities);

4. Salmen, Lawrence F 1998 'Towards a Listening Bank: Review of best Practices and Efficacy of Beneficiary Assessments' Social Development Papers 23, Washington World Bank; Anderson, Mary B, Dayna Brown, Isabella Jean 2012 'Time to Listen: Hearing People on the Receiving end of International Aid, Cambridge MA: CDA

5. SDC; Shutt, Cathy and Laurent Ruedin 2013 SDC How-to-Note Beneficiary Assessment; Berne; Swiss Agency for Development Co-operation.

- **Including all** members of households;
- **Using private space** rather than public space for disclosure (an emphasis on normal, ordinary lives);
- **Accepting multiple realities** rather than public consensus (gathering diversity of opinion, including 'smaller voices');
- **Interacting in ordinary daily life**, accompanying host household members in their interactions with local service providers, meeting service providers, e.g. teachers, village officials, vendors as they go about their usual routines;
- **Taking a cross-sectoral view**, although each study has a special focus, the enquiry is situated within the context of everyday life rather than simply (and arguably artificially) looking at one aspect of people's lives;
- **Understanding longitudinal change** and how change happens over time ^[6].

All the study team members kept their own field notes but never wrote these in front of the people they were conversing with. To illustrate context and findings, photos were taken with consent of people concerned. Whenever possible, adolescents were encouraged to make visuals while they were conversing with the researchers, to elaborate or highlight their sharings. Researchers also participated in the adolescents' sport activities, games and experienced first hand the *kantin sekolah* (school's food court or food stall) and what is available there whenever opportunities arose. These observations, conversations and experiences were then built into narratives and together with the visual records, they formed the basis of detailed one-day collaborative analysis sessions with each of the seven sub-teams of researchers, conducted as soon as possible after each round of the study was completed. These processes were led by the study team leader and co-leader and provided important opportunity to further triangulate findings. These collaborative analyses then were captured in rich note form and comprise the core documentation for this study.

Subsequent to the above processes, a sense making workshop was held with the research team to collectively review and further analyse the findings to draw together some of the key patterns that emerged from the data.

6 Assuming the study becomes longitudinal.

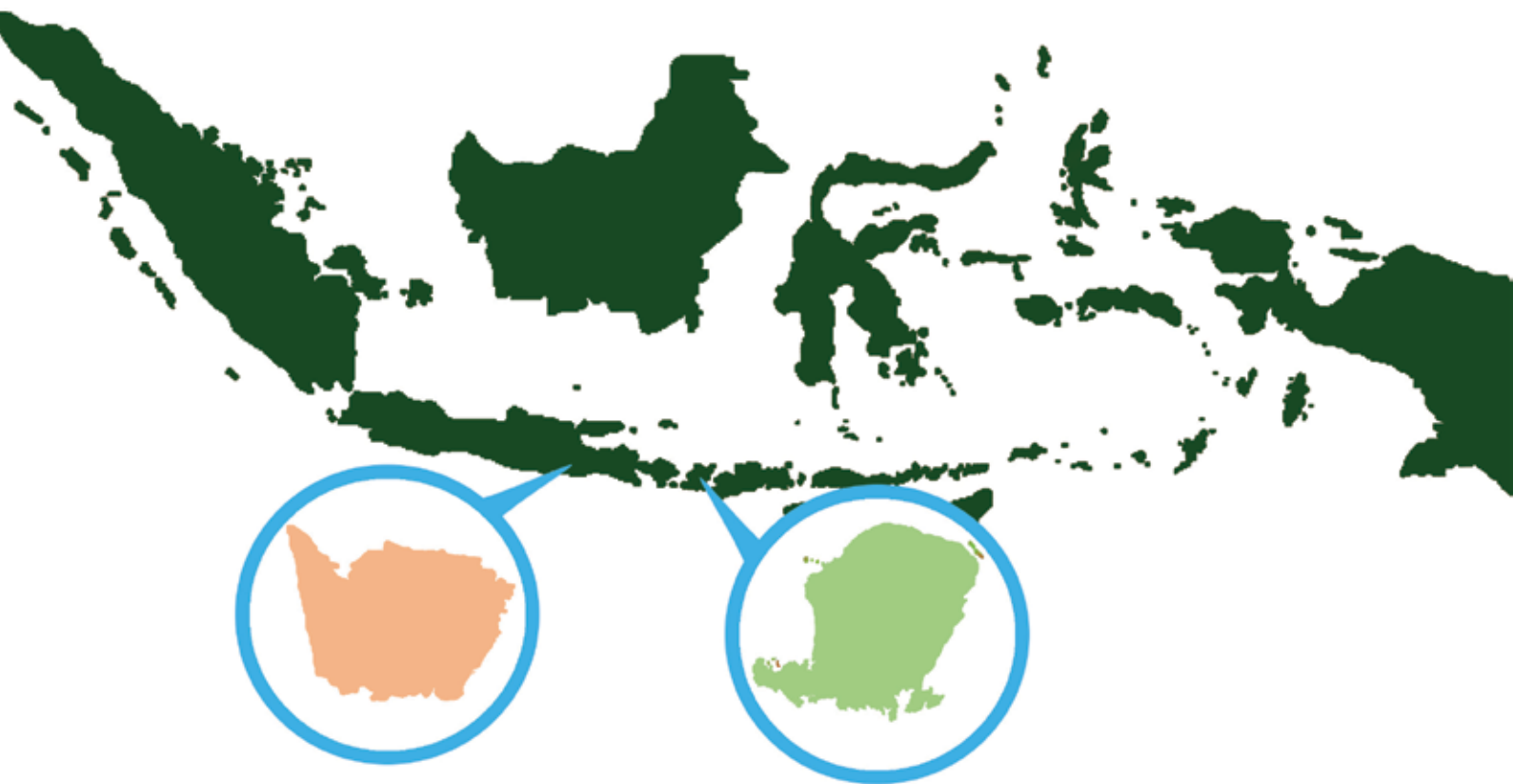


Table 1: Typology of Study Locations

District	Rural		Peri-urban	Urban
Klaten, Central Java	KL2*	KL3*	KL1*	KL4*
Size of Community	About 1,600 households.	About 2,000 households.	About 6,000 households.	About 10,000 households.
Distance from urban area	Approx. 21 km away	Approx. 15 km away	Approx. 11 km away	Within the urban area
Main livelihoods	Farming, livestock rearing, PNS (civil servants), factory workers, construction, international & national migrant work	Rock collecting & crushing, forest-reliant for agriculture	Construction workers, farmers, civil servants, shop-owners/sellers-laundry services, wedding/make-up/videography services	Street vendors, construction, seasonal migrant, factory workers, shopkeepers, rickshaw drivers.
Religious mix	Moslem majority with Catholic and Christian minority	Moslem Only	Moslem majority with Catholic and Christian minority	Moslem majority with Catholic and Christian minority
School types and access	Public: many SD several SMP and 1 SMA and SMK nearby (15 mins' on motorbike and 30 min' on bicycles). More SMP, SMA & SMK further but still reachable by motorbike	No SMA nearby, have to go to another sub-district, only SMP	Public: several SD and SMP nearby. Nearest SMA is in Klaten, nearest SMK is in sub-district capital	A lot of school within 5-15 mins' motorbike ride, ranging from public to private for the different levels of education: SD, SMP, SMA and SMK even KG
Exercise facilities	Community field in some sub-villages, school yards, futsal in the peri-urban area.	Village soccer fields, schoolyards	Community swimming pool, open public fields	Gym is 20 mins' motorbike ride' schoolyards, open public fields

District	Rural	Peri-urban	
Klaten, Central Java	WL2*	WL1*	WL3*
Size of Community	About 1,500 households.	About 400 households.	About 600 households.
Distance from urban area	Approx. 20 km away	Approx. 10 km away	Approx. 7 km away
Main livelihoods	Farm labourers, livestock rearing, drivers, construction, mechanics kiosk owners, shop attendants, international migrant workers, civil servants	Construction, civil servants, kiosk owners, farming, livestock rearing, international migrant work	Farming, a lot of commuters to work at the provincial capital, craft making, construction work, civil servants
Religious mix	Moslem majority with Hindu minority	Moslem majority with Hindu minority	Moslem majority with Hindu minority
School types and access	Public: Many SDs, an SMK, while SMP & SMA are not in the village. Private: Islamic school SD to SMA in the village.	Public: MA, 2 SD, SMP, SMA & SMK Private pesantren: MI, MTs & MA (12 years' schooling).	Public: Several SD, SMP, SMA and SMK. Private: dormitory pesantren of MI, MTs & MA (12 years' schooling)
Exercise facilities	School yards, village soccer field, swimming pool in park near the village, futsal in another village, gym in peri-urban centre.	School yards, sub-district capital park, nature (hill nearby, approx. 30 mins biking	School yards, futsal field shared with other villages, swimming in the river.

*Note: KL 1-4 and WL 1-3 are codes used for the different types of study sites in Klaten and West Lombok.

Study Locations

Study locations were purposefully selected based on criteria worked through in consultation with UNICEF as the study commissioner. Klaten District (KL) in Central Java Province and West Lombok District (WL) in Nusa Tenggara Barat (NTB) Province are the specific districts UNICEF have preselected jointly with the Government of Indonesia (Gol) as sites for exploratory work to develop implementation models. These models are aimed to reach adolescents with interventions to prevent undernutrition and overnutrition.

This RCA study is part of a series of baseline survey and assessments that will be conducted in the two districts to inform the design of policy and programme approaches, and to provide baseline information against which to assess change. The following criteria were regarded as important in the purposive selection of actual study sites within sub-districts of both Klaten and West Lombok:

- A good mix of rural, peri-urban and urban locations, with issues of connectivity in mind.
- Adolescent population size at sub-district level.^[7]

7. Whenever data on estimated population number by age group at sub-district level is available, for instance, through Badan Pusat Statistik Daerah, the regional State Bureau of Statistics.

- Distance from nearest Senior High School (SMA) and Senior Vocational School (SMK), with a mixture of locations which were close to SMA/SMK and those which were far away.
- Representation of different socio-economic backgrounds of the community in each location through the host households, in order to maintain fairly similar comparative factors for UNICEF's modelling purpose.

A total of seven study sites were included with typology detailed as per Table 1, where in Klaten, Central Java four study sub-teams went to two rural areas with different quality of access, one peri-urban area and one urban area. In West Lombok, West Nusa Tenggara three study sub-teams went to one rural area and two peri-urban areas with different levels of connectivity with the more developed areas. To maintain a good mix of rural-urban areas, the sub-team leaders were in close communication with the study leaders before entering the communities in each round of the fieldwork.

This communication structure was also applied in considering distance from the nearest SMA/SMK, where each sub-team went around the area first to learn about

Table 2: Summary of Study Participants

Adolescents In											
Host Households				Focal Households				Others (See Annex 2)			
SMP-aged		SMA-aged		SMP-aged		SMA-aged		SMP-aged		SMA-aged	
M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F
3	5	8	10	37	16	33	25	48	34	58	21
+ other family members from 20 families				+ other family members from > 80 families				A total of 860 people including adults influencing the adolescents			

the surrounding context including the distance to public facilities before deciding whether it met the criterion and updated the study team leaders. Once in the field, members within a sub-team also initially keep in regular communication to ensure a good mix of socio-economic backgrounds of the host households were obtained in their sub-teams.

Study Participants

A total of 860 people participated in this study which focused on three key types of participants: host households (where study team members stayed), focal households (immediate neighbours of host households) and everyday interactions with a range of other people, mostly those with whom the host households interact (see Table 2). The adolescent participants of 12-19 years old were categorised into SMP-aged and SMA-aged brackets⁸. Non-school goers are also included in the associated bracket according to their age. A full list of people we conversed with during the study is provided in Annex 1.

The team members entered communities independently on foot in order to keep the process 'low key'. They then spent time in the communities getting to know them, being known and making their purpose clear before negotiating access to particular homes where they would stay for a minimum of four days and nights. The team made it clear about the particular interest in understanding the lives of the adolescents as well as the experience of the ordinary. Care was taken to ensure that people understood the nature of the RCA and the importance of staying with ordinary families and not being afforded guest status.

All study households were selected by individual team

8. Typically, SMP age adolescents are 12-15 years old and SMA adolescents are 15-18 years old, although there is some fluidity between the ages in the two brackets as students sometimes repeat years. 19/20 year old adolescents are included in the SMA bracket. While the study particularly focuses on 12 to 19 years old adolescents, a wider age-group of 10-20 years old are included in the analysis to learn nuances in sibling dynamics and the circle of friends.

members through informal discussions with people in the community in situ, e.g. at warungs. The selected households were at least 15 minutes' walk away from each other and, where possible, even further away to ensure interaction with a different constellation of focal households and other community members. Each sub-team was comprised of three team members, except for one team⁹, who each stayed with one host family so that the study involved living with a total of 20 families. In the course of the study, team members also interacted closely with neighbours of the households. In addition, the teams had further opportunistic conversations with other members of the community including local informal and formal service providers relevant to the adolescents' daily life.

In depth information was mostly gathered from the 20 host households, of approximately 116 family members. To assist with comparability with UNICEF's modelling process, families were selected from a mix of different socio-economic backgrounds (see table 3) according to criteria developed based on other RCA studies, as follows:

1. Dependency ratio, a result of comparing number of working members in the family with the number of family members it has to support;
2. (Ir)regularity of job and/or income (dependence on salaried versus waged or self-employed work);
3. Level of indebtedness;
4. Ownership of particularly expensive assets, e.g. cars, flat screen TVs, laptops/computers;
5. Opportunities for diverse diet (often a proxy for having cash);

9 A team member got sick upon arriving in the field. When his condition deteriorated on the second day in the field he had to pull out from the fieldwork, which meant the total number of host households was reduced from the planned 21 to 20 households.

Table 3: Host Households by Socio-Economic Background

Location Typology	Socio-Economic Status		
	Lower	Middle	High
Rural	3	3	2
Peri-Urban	3	4	2
Urban	2	1	-
TOTAL	8	8	4
	20		

6. Social status in the community, e.g. village leadership, of noble descent) which in turn infers connectedness and networks (but not necessarily economic prosperity).

Each team member discretely left a 'gift' for each host household on leaving, to the value of about IDR 200,000 to compensate for any costs incurred in hosting them. As team members insist that no special arrangements are made for them, they help in domestic activities and do not disturb income-earning activities, the actual cost to host families are in fact negligible. The timing of the gift is important so people do not feel they are expected to provide better food for the team members or give the impression that they are being paid for their participation.

Study Teams

The study team was composed of 13 researchers (see Annex 3) working in teams of three. All researchers involved had participated in a full Level 1 RCA training which emphasises the good practice of reflexivity, understanding and mitigating bias; as well as maintaining informality and ethical considerations in conducting this kind of work. The researchers are predominantly young enthusiastic 'people persons' from a broad range of academic backgrounds including: anthropology, arts, development studies, journalism, law, political sciences, sociology. All researchers were required to undergo Child Protection training, which was followed by a mandatory signing of Child Protection and Data Protection policies.

Seven sub-teams were formed to be assigned to the seven different study sites detailed above, and led by experienced Indonesian RCA practitioners who had also passed a Level 2 training aimed at preparing Level 1 researchers to assume a leadership position during fieldwork.

Study Areas of Conversation

The RCA is not a theory-based research approach although it often generates people's theories of change and contributes well to grounded theory approaches. It does not have pre-determined set of research questions, relying as it does on iterations from information gathered in situ and building progressive series of conversations. However, as part of the briefing process for researchers, Areas for Conversation were developed to act as a guide to ensuring that conversations were purposive. The outcome of the deliberations with the research team, further discussion with UNICEF and a special input from a nutrition expert from UNICEF who clarified issue during the team briefing. (See Annex 4 Areas for Conversations).

Post Field Process

Whilst team members never took notes in front of people, they did discretely jot down quotes and details as needed. Upon completing each round of fieldwork. Each sub-team of three researchers spent a full day for collaborative analysis (what used to be called 'debriefing' process) with either the study team leader or co-leader as soon as they came out of the study location. This involved sharing all their conversations, observations and experiences related to the Areas for Conversation, as well as expanding the areas based on people's inputs. This process enabled extensive triangulation as the same topics were explored through different researchers, from different people's perspectives, different locations, times and research methods (conversations, observations, experiences, use of visuals including photographs).

The collaborative analyses were recorded in detail in written notes combined with other important archived material providing detail on households, villages and significant insights to be made as box stories. Archived material also includes diagrams created with people and their photographs. Following completion of all sub-teams' collaborative analysis which was conducted per sub-team, all sub-teams met together and were asked

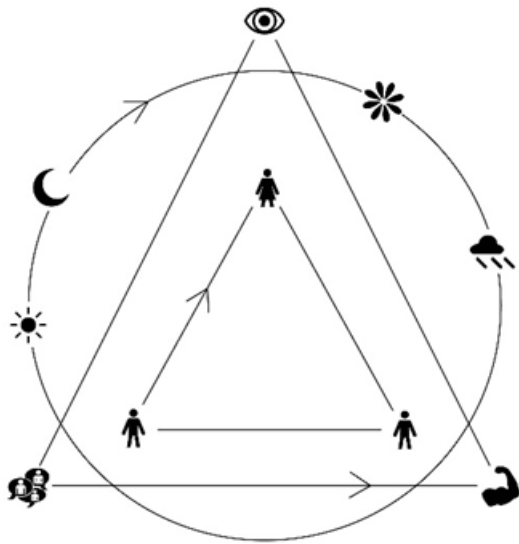


Figure 1 - Iterative Triangulation Process in RCA Study

The inner triangle represents **triangulation with people**: various study participants, with researchers in a sub-team and between sub-teams.

The outer triangle represents **triangulation with methods**: researchers use observation, experience and conversation in gathering insights and learnings.

The circle represents **triangulation over time**: all types of triangulation can be performed during morning, afternoon and evening each day, as well as during the different seasons.

to take the position of study participants and identify emerging narratives from their studies. This was only the second time when all met together again after their first in the briefing process. This inductive process enabled sense making and ensured that researchers do not overlay their own interpretations on the findings.

In the analysis phase, the study leaders and internal peer reviewers established framework analysis involving three of the typical four stages process: i. Familiarisation (immersion in the findings), ii. Identification of themes and iii. Charting (finding emerging connections). The conventional fourth step is 'interpretation' which we purposely eschew as part of RCA's main principle to withdraw our own interpretation from the study findings and to bring forward people's perspectives instead. The key emerging narratives from these processes are used as a basis for the report writing. Quality assurance is carried out through internal peer review with special concern to ensure the research retains the perspectives of the people we engaged with in the field themselves.

Ethical Considerations

The RCA team takes ethical considerations very seriously, especially considering the fact that it involves living with people in their own homes. Like most ethnographic based research, there is no intervention involved in RCA studies. At best, the study can be viewed as a way to empower study participants in that they are able to express themselves freely in their own space. Researchers are not covert but become '*detached insiders*'. People are informed that this is a learning study and are never coerced into participation.

As per American Anthropological Association Code of Ethics, RCA adopts an ethical obligation to people '*which (when necessary) supersedes the goal of seeking new knowledge.*' Researchers '*do everything*

in their power to ensure that research does not harm safety, dignity and privacy of the people with whom they conduct the research.' Acknowledging UNICEF's procedure for ethical standards, researchers asked for people's verbal consent to be able to use their stories and insights, and agreed to keep the information they shared off the record if they do not give their consent. Researchers then signed a declaration that they had received people's verbal consent to share the insights in the collaborative analysis process.

All researchers are briefed on ethical consideration and RCA Child Protection Policy which has combined DFAT, Palladium and UNICEF relevant policies on child protection before every fieldwork (irrespective of whether they have previously gone through this). All researchers sign Code of Conduct on Confidentiality and Child Protection Policy declarations as part of their contracts. All data (written and visual) is coded to protect the identity of individuals, their families and communities. As a result, the exact locations and identities of households and others are not revealed in this report.

Study Limitations

As with other research methods, this study has a number of limitations as follows:

- In some locations, particularly rural, it was difficult to find adolescents hanging out outside their house to start engaging with. Most of them were inside their homes or if they were outside, they would be riding on a motorbike. The initial target to stay with at least two adolescents in a home was not able to be fulfilled for every host household.
- In some locations where most of adolescents are school goers and have to commute to school far



2.1 Researchers in action: researchers hanging out with adolescents and taking part in daily activities

from home on motorbike, it was not always possible to accompany them and to immerse in their school life. This was due to some host adolescents who were either reluctant or not confident in taking a passenger on the motorbike they were driving. In these locations, *ojek* (motorbike taxi) is not available as almost every family owns at least one motorbike. This was mitigated by visiting other schools nearer, which was not necessarily the school of the host households' adolescent, or by finding immediate opportunities to chat with adolescents who had just come back from school.

- In urban locations, it is more challenging to enter the community and establish trust, especially for female researchers. Local women voiced their objection to host a female researcher due to not wanting an unknown woman staying in the house with their husband's presence. Consequently, this researcher had to spend a couple of nights in nearby guest houses before finding the households willing to host them for the remainder of the study. This made a shorter period of staying and interacting with the host families and wider communities, but intensity in daily interaction during the remaining days still enabled rich conversations, observations and experiences.
- In most locations it was harder to find opportunities to hang out with adolescent girls outside their homes. This is due to their more limited mobility and in particular after dark the restrictions imposed on them being outside. As a result the research team gathered more insights from adolescent boys (187) compared to girls (115).



III Findings

1. Times Are Changing

All locations people shared a variety of significant recent changes that have impacted their daily lives and their lifestyles. These have shaped their current behaviours and resulted in markedly changing trends in diet and physical activity practices compared with previous generations. Many of these changes also resonated across the breadth of RCA studies that have been conducted in Indonesia over the last seven years, and are symptomatic of the rapid pace of adaptation and changes are described below to paint the picture of the current context in which adolescents are living now days. These changes include:

- The increasing need for cash and more hectic lifestyles;
- People more digitally connected (electricity, TV, internet, mobile phones) but also families and communities feeling more disconnected (less family and community social interactions and '*miss the togetherness*');
- Adolescents demonstrating more agency in decision making on future plans and lifestyle choices;
- The rapid increase in motorbike ownership and its implications on increased mobility, reduced physical activity and improved access to schools, markets and good varieties;
- The changing landscape with open public spaces and facilities being replaced with road construction and buildings.

Cash Economy and Busier Lives

As highlighted in the 2016 RCA study on Household Finances which covered 11 provinces in Indonesia, there is less bartering and traditional reciprocal arrangements

1

Too Busy To Look After Their Children

A father (42) and mother (39) in rural WL established a successful family cocoa business. This business was started by the mother after she divorced with her first husband. A few years ago, she met the father and they decided to get married. Since then, they run this business together. Every day they go the market to buy the cocoa, dry it, package it, and sell it to a broker in Bali. During the harvest season, they can sell up to 10 tons in 4 days, and for each kilogram they make a profit of IDR 2,000 – 4,000. The mother told me she doesn't have time to cook anymore because sometime they have to go to market from morning until evening

They have 4 children, and all of them now live with their grandparents. The oldest daughter (18) and second son (13) live with their grandparents in another village, and the oldest son (16) and second daughter (9) live with the other grandparents in the same village. The oldest son used to live with the parents, but he moved after Ramadhan this year. He said his parents were so busy taking care of their cocoa business, that sometime they never came home during breaking fast time and they also missed *suhoor* (pre-dawn meal) time. The son used to only eat indomie and rice because his parents were busy so he decided to leave the house and to stay with the grandparents.

Field Notes, Rural WL

than before. Families need cash for regular monthly payments (eg electricity, water supply, petrol for motorbikes, mobile phones and credit repayment) and periodic costs (education, wedding, funerals)^[10]. These study communities also have experienced a change to cash-based economy. The norm for families is to have a range of different income sources to help smooth cash flow and meet current unexpected expenses as they arise. Families in this study, shared they need cash and their lives are busier than before. For example, one family we lived with in peri-urban WL the parents recently started a cocoa business and are now too busy to look after all their children, so they decided to move to live with their grandparents in another village (See box story 1).

Adolescent boys and girls highlighted their own need for cash. A change from previous generations, they expect to have cash to pay for their lifestyle needs (motorbike costs, mobile phone credit, snacking, smoking, dating and sport facilities). This is supported for most through daily pocket money which is typically between IDR 5,000 – 15,000 per child and demanded by all children and adolescents. Those who work talked about the importance of having daily wages. Boys and girls (remote KL) who work as daily labourers shared that they *'prefer to get money at the end of each day, rather waiting until the end of the week or month like factory workers'*. Pitung (16, remote rural KL), who is working as a sand collector receiving IDR 50,000 – 75,000 per day, explained he needs the regular money to pay for cigarettes and petrol for his motorbike, as well as to gradually start to pay back his loan on the purchasing of this motorbike (see box story 2).^[11]

Some parents and children also shared that these days children often don't get back home from school until much later than previous generations and also the days get longer as they progress through schooling levels. One SMK student in peri-urban KL told us that *'before school was only until 1pm, but now school goes on later until 3pm and I don't get home until 4pm'*. As well as the school day being longer, she now travels 45 minutes each way on her motorbike to her school which is on the outskirts of the district. For others, they get home later as they join, and for some SMA students it's compulsory, after school activities.

10. RCA Study on Perspectives, Observations and Experiences of People Living in Poverty on their Household Finance Management, 2016. This study found families typically have more than three different cash income earning streams and some had as many as seven.

11. Likewise, in Aceh an 11 year old boy currently at SD told us that he works in construction after school so he can get his own money to pay for cigarettes. He explained his parents are OK with him smoking as long as he uses his own money to buy the cigarettes (RCA/UNICEF Child Poverty Study, October 2016).

2

Deciding to Work to Get Needed Cash

Pitung (16) graduated from SMP and decided like his peer friends to work rather than entering senior high. His work involves collecting small rocks (they called it 'Split') and sand. It is an irregular job, he can go to work anytime he wants. He works for 3-5 hours a day, often starting at around 7am or 8am and finishing in the early afternoon. He earns approximately IDR 50,000-70,000 a day, depending on how many Splits or Sands are available. His motivation to work is actually to pay for cigarettes, the petrol for his motorbike and to gradually pay back his motorbike installments. His motorbike cost around IDR 13 million. The family already paid the down payment for around IDR 3 million. They need to pay the installment for 2 years, IDR 550,000 a month. He gives at least IDR 20,000 from his income every day to his mother.

Field Notes, Remote Rural KL

'I know breakfast is important to have but I don't have time' (Mother, WL Peri-Urban)

Echoing others, a girl (16, SMA, remote rural KL) shared that she gets home much later than normal, at around 4pm, because she often joins after school activities.

The pressure to earn cash, busier lives and the longer school days has resulted in many families, particularly in peri-urban and urban locations rarely eating together. As one mother in peri-urban WL explained *'if you want to have breakfast then you have to prepare it yourself, I know breakfast is important to have but I don't have time'*. She instead gives her daughter who goes to SMP school IDR 5,000 to buy breakfast at school. Another mother, this time in peri-urban KL who owns a food stall explained that *'if you are hungry you eat, if we wait for each other we will starve'*, whereas a mother in rural KL blames herself for the fact that her family no longer eats together and claims this habit changed when she was growing up (see box story 3).

Several grandparents we lived with frowned on this changing trend and the loss of family time, and even though the younger generations do not eat together they still try to and encourage them to do so. In peri-urban WL a grandmother who describes herself as *'almost 100*

Table 4: Host Family Assets

Location	Total HH Members	Number of Adolescents	Electricity	TV	Motorbikes in House	Mobile Phone	Other items	
KLATEN	PU	4	2	Y	2	4	3	
		4	2	Y	1	1	1	Laptop
		6	2	Y	2	3	4	Sound system
	R	8	2	Y	2	3 (2cars)	6	Fridge, playstation
		4	1	Y	1	1	3	
		5	1	Y	1	5	6	
	RR	5	2	Y	1 (broken)	3	3	
		6	2	Y	1	3	3	
	U	7	1	Y	1	2	4	Sound system
		4	1	Y	1	5	3	
5		0	Y	1	0	2		
WEST LOMBOK	PU	6	2	Y	1	3	3	fridge
		5	1	Y	1	1	5	laptop, playstation
		0	1	Y	1	3	4	playstation, fridge
	R	4	1	Y	0	3	3	
		2	1	Y	0	0	1	no toilet
		4	1	Y	1	3 (1 car)	5	Fridge, 2 laptops
	PU	6	2	Y	1	3 (1 car)	4	Laptop
		6	3	Y	1	1	2	Fridge (Broken)
		9	4	Y	1	2	3	

(Colour: Social Economic Class: **Purple** = Upper-mid/High ; **Grey** = Medium; **Yellow** = Low)

(PU = peri-urban; RR = remote rural; R = rural; U = urban)

3

No Longer Eating Together

A mother (54) in rural Klaten blames herself for the fact that her family doesn't eat together anymore. She told us that this became her habit when she was living and working in Solo and use to go to work with a foreign colleague. She retells that there were times in which she felt hungry before the foreigner did. She explained '*why should we eat together when we have different stomachs*'. This has since become her custom and her family of 5 children never eat together.

Field Notes, Remote Rural KL

years old and is still very active helping farming the land, called out to others in the house around dinner time saying '*time to eat, time to eat*' trying to usher the family to eat together. Sometimes this worked, but often family members said they were not hungry yet or had already

eaten. The mother in this family voiced her concern to us through raising the rhetorical question '*how are we going to eat and live our daily life without her?*' Another grandmother, in remote rural KL, shared that she always eats with her husband, and makes '*grannies super mie*' (noodles). This she explained is specially made with shallots and chili and she boasted it is much more tasty. The rest of the family instead have rice, tempe and tofu and eat separately at different times, often in front of the TV.

Increasingly Connected but Disconnected

All 20 households where we lived in this study have electricity and all but two, both of which are in rural WL, have TVs (see Table 4). As we have seen and experienced in other RCA studies, families and young children are staying up late watching TV and often falling asleep in front of the TV (see photos 3.1). As well as having longer and more tiring days, many boys and girls are sleeping less. A doctor we met in peri-urban KL told us that these longer and more tiring days is resulting in '*these days adolescents being more affected by fatigue*'.

Table 5: What the Adolescents Who Don't Own Mobile Phones Do

Location		Age	M/F	Using Siblings Phone / Computer	Activities in Their Free Time
KLATEN	PU	11	M	Plays on sister's computer for 1 hour each morning.	Plays Counter Strike on family computer + Playstation. Watches TV every morning & night (3-5 hours/day). Likes calligraphy
	PU	16	M	Borrows phone when if at home from brother	Goes to SMA Islamic boarding school - smart phones are banned at school. Says he has no hobbies, Likes playing Clash of Clan on brother's phone if at home.
	PU	15	F	Older sister (17 years old) has smart phone	Hangs out with friends by house. Has to look after baby sister often. Use to share a laptop but father took it.
	PU	10	F	Older sister (17 years old) has smart phone	Everyday plays outside with friends. Likes playing traditional games 'bekel' (catching rock and balls from the ground); running with friends, sliding down sand. Takes care of baby if sister (15) is away
WEST	PU	14	F	Not at the moment - sister (16) smart phone was stolen recently	Cycles every day to school. Really wants smart-phone. Likes watching TV, favourite program is Dr. Oz . Likes Japanese music and dancing song. Likes running at school

(Colour: Social Economic Class: ■ Purple = Upper-mid/High ; ■ Grey = Medium; ■ Yellow = Low)

(PU = peri-urban; RR = remote rural; R = rural; U = urban)



3.1 A family in peri-urban Klaten watching TV together late into the night

We noted the rising ownership of mobile phones in RCA studies in 2009, and seven years later all households in this study owned at least one mobile phone, and some families owned six or more mobile phones, more than the number of people in the family (see Table 4).

In the Digital Story Telling (DSTs) multimedia videos the RCA+ team recently produced with children and adolescents for the DFAT funded Innovation for Indonesia's School Children (INOVASI) Project, one of the key themes that children highlighted is the imperative need to have mobile phones.

Several adolescents told us that they need several phones as a young man (20) explained 'one for texting and calls, the other only for data (BBM, LINE, Instagram)'. In rural KL a boy (12, SD) we lived with who is from a medium

socio-economic family has one smart phone and also a tablet. The tablet recently broke and his mother told us he is pestering her to get it fixed but the cost is around IDR 300,000.

As Table 5 indicates, only five of 32 adolescents within families we lived with did not have their own mobile phone¹². These adolescents all live in peri-urban locations and nevertheless regularly borrow their older siblings' phones or the family computer to play games on. Only one girl (14) shared that she cannot use her sister's phone at the moment as it was stolen. She is from a lower socio-economic family and is now putting pressure on her parents to buy her own phone.

More than half of the adolescents we lived with told us that they used gadgets for more than four hours a day. Both boys and girls shared that having a mobile phone is essential for entertainment and dating. They often use their phones to surf on social media (Facebook, Instagram), communicate with friends (WhatsApp, BBM, LINE) or play games (Clash of Clans, Guitar Heroes, Angry Birds). Some dating couples shared that they didn't frequently see each other face to face but chat in the evenings through texting. A boy (16) in rural KL who is now working as a sand collector told us '*if I don't text her back immediately she gets upset*'. He spent most evenings 'talking' to his girlfriend through messages and said he normally spends around IDR 20,000 per week on phone credit. A girl (16) also in rural KL who is working at a dried fish factory, boasted that '*I have lots of male friends, and if I don't reply to them quickly, I will be sent pulsa (phone credit) immediately.*'

12. Two of these five are only 10 and 11 years old but are included in the analysis to understand the influence of siblings.

'Now they have a curriculum which they need Google for' (Farmer Dad, KL Rural)

Many schools have banned the use of mobile phones and, in some cases, students are not allowed to bring a phone to school. A SMA Islamic boarding school boy (16, peri-urban WL) told us that mobile phones are banned, and *'if you are caught bringing a smart phone into the dormitory the teachers will smash it in front of you'*. In other schools the regulations are less strict as a SMP girl student (peri-urban WL) explained that you can bring phones to school but must not use them during class time.

Hers was confiscated once as she was playing on it during class time and said *'it was so humiliating and embarrassing'*. Whereas, in peri-urban KL children who need to contact their parents to be picked up can bring their phones to school but they must be handed over to the teacher to be returned at the end of the day.

People shared that more and more so students need to use the internet for their school work. As one farmer in peri-urban KL explained *'now they have a curriculum which they need Google for'* so he believes it is important for his children to be able to access the internet. In remote rural KL the school secured Wi-Fi access a year ago to enable students to search the internet for their assignments at school. A SMP boy (13) we lived with said this was because the school was concerned that their students were going to internet cafes and getting distracted by flirting and dating.

'The teenagers are now really busy with the gadgets' (Farmer Dad, KL Rural)

Older generations told us about their concerns on this growing trend of increased mobile and screen use and how this is impacting their communities. One father who is the local night security officer in peri-urban KL explained that *'here is like a city now, the teenagers are now really busy with the gadgets and don't spend time doing household chores or interacting with neighbours'*.

Paul (19) in rural WL shared the concerns of his grandfather who he said fears the traditions in the village are dying out as *'young people prefer to play on their phones rather than to learn our traditional martial arts'*. In his father's generation he said everyone practiced

'In the past they use to play hide and seek in the park, now they never play' (Grandfather, WL Rural)

the traditional martial arts, but now only three or four participate. As a result, he said his grandfather believes that *'nobody fears our village like they did in the past'*.

His grandfather he said believes that *'the younger generation is nothing compared to his generation. Back in his day they would still climb trees, know which fruits to pick, nowadays the youth just look at their screens'*. He also recalled that *'in the past they use to play hide and seek in the park, now they never play'*.

Agency of Adolescents

As first uncovered in the RCA 2010 on Basic Education¹³, parents are often no longer deciding for their children about schooling and future plans. Children are often the ones that are making their own decisions on choice of school and to continue schooling. This decision is what their peers are doing rather than influence from their parents. This agency in decision making is also evident in this study especially in relation to choices of schooling, physical activity and diet. Adolescent boys and girls shared they are often the ones deciding their activities, plans and needs, not their parents. For example, a girl (18 peri-urban WL), typical of others we interacted with, shared that she did everything with *'my gang of four'*. When it came to choosing what to major in at SMK, she told us she wanted to major in IT but her other three members of her gang wanted to do sewing so she chose this instead. Similarly, when she was at SMP she said she wanted to play basketball but her other gang members didn't so she opted out so that she could hang out with her gang instead. A SMP graduate (16, urban KL) also

13. Listening to Poor People's Realities about Basic Education', RCA 2010 Report, Box 17 Children's voice in decision making and Box 18 Peer pressure to stay and peer pressure to leave, p38



3.2 Playing Guitar Hero, a smartphone game. This boy (14, rural West Lombok) has connected his phone to the loudspeaker to play the sound louder.

'Back in the days we had to sweat it out, now the kids just have motorbikes' (Mother, KL Rural)

told us he decided not to continue to SMK, against his parents' wishes, as he wanted to have a motorbike (see box story 7 later).

This agency in decision making and the influence of peers, is also prevalent in adolescents choosing to eat breakfast at home or at school. Boys and girls told us that this decision is partly based around the availability of food and the cost, but also their wish to eat with their friends at school. This is particularly so in peri-urban and urban locations families are now rarely eating together so instead boys and girls prefer to gather with their friends at school to eat and chat.

Changing Mobility

Parents shared that they use to walk to school and how this has now changed. As a mother in rural KL told us *'back in the days we had to sweat it out, now the kids just have motorbikes'*. Some parents also recalled they use to take public transport to school but in many places public transport provision has ceased. In rural KL a mother explained that *'we no longer have public transport as we have motorbikes'*. In urban and peri-urban locations in KL families told us that the angkot (minibus) stopped working as now everyone has a motorbike, and ojek (motorbike taxis) stopped two years ago when mobile phones came to the village. Instead people now just

'If you are walking you are not local!' (Construction Worker (35), KL Peri Urban)

call their relatives or friends to pick them up rather than using an ojek.

In a few locations there is still some public transport, but as fewer people are using this form of transport they do not need to walk to a central bus stop anymore as they are dropped off directly at their homes. As in peri-urban WL, a few SMP students who use the public bemo (minivan) which drops each one at their home.

In the last decade the rapid increasing ownership of motorbikes has significantly impacted lives in many ways. With ready credit terms available almost all families now own motorbikes. Among the 20 families we lived with all but one have at least one motorbike, with some families owning as many as five motorbikes. People said, and we observed, that they rarely walk but prefer going even short distances on motorbikes. The whole idea of walking to school, work or to facilities has become so foreign in many locations that in peri-urban KL when our researcher was walking around the community before finding a household, a construction worker (36) stopped him as he said he stood out because he explained that *'if you are walking, you are not local!'*

Children learn to ride motorbikes from a very early age and typically own a motorbike at the latest by the time they go to SMA school. In rural KL a mother shared that

Table 6: Means to Get to School for those who don't own their own Motorbike

Location		Age	M/F	On Motorbike with Sibling / Parent	Walking/Pedal bike
KILATEN	R	12	M		Pedal bicycle to school (5-6 km)
	R	11	F	Goes to school on motorbike with Mum (7-8 km)	
	PU	12	M		Pedal bicycle to school (5-6 km)
	PU	14	F		Pedal bicycle to school (5-6 km)
WEST LOMBOK	PU	17	F		Walks to school (1 minute away) after dropping sisters at school on her mother's motorbike
	PU	15	F		
	PU	10	F	Dropped at school by older sister (8 mins on motorbike)	
	PU	11	M		10 metre walk

(Colour: Social Economic Class: ■ Purple = Upper-mid/High ; ■ Grey = Medium; ■ Yellow = Low)

(PU = peri-urban; RR = remote rural; R = rural; U = urban)

4

Taking Younger Sisters to School on the Family Motorbike

Ivo is a high school student (17) in West Lombok and studies at a nearby SMK which is one minute walk away from her house. Every morning she borrows her mother's motorbike and takes her three younger sisters (8, 10 and 15) to their respective schools which are 1-2km away. She then returns the motorbike to her mother and walks to her school.

Field Notes, Peri-Urban WL

most SMP children have motorbikes and learn to ride as young as seven years old. Two thirds of the adolescents we lived with owned their own motorbikes. This includes a 12 year old boy (SMP, 1st grade) who everyday drives 30-45 minutes each way to get to his school. Amongst those who don't themselves own a motorbike, nearly half still get lifts to school on motorbikes from their siblings or parents (see Table 6).

This includes Ivo (17) who lives one minute walk from her school and uses her mother's motorbike to drop her three younger sisters at school before going to school herself (see box story 4). Likewise, adolescents who are not at school but working, also prefer to not walk to work even if the distance is only very short (see box story 5).

5

Only 200 Metres But Still Borrowing A Motorbike to Get to Work

Jati didn't want to continue to SMK as he didn't have a motorbike (see box story 7 later). He now works in a tempe factory and is saving money to buy a motorbike. On the first day while living with him, I saw him riding a motorbike to work. Confused, I asked his mother *'Does he now have a motorbike?'* assuming he had used his salary to buy the motorbike. *'No'* she responded, *'he borrows the workshop owner's motorbike'*. The tempe factory is only 200 metres from his house, but everyday his mother said he borrows the motorbike from the owner to go to and from work. The following days I saw Jati riding the owner's motorbike to work.

Field Notes, Urban KL

At some schools parking lots are now available for the motorbikes, which are sometimes divided into separate parking lots for girls and boys. In some schools adolescents shared that only SMA students are allowed to bring their motorbikes to school. SMP students are legally not meant to ride motorbikes so are banned. However, in most cases this still did not stop the SMP students riding motorbikes to school and parking nearby as a boy (18 peri-urban KL) said, *'half the SMP students ride to school on their motorbikes and just park outside the school grounds or at friend's houses nearby'*.

The wide ownership of motorbikes has made it possible to go to schools further away without students having to live away from home. This has opened up opportunities for some to continue education through to senior high school and/or university. In the rural locations in KL and WL we lived with some families where adolescents drive their motorbikes 1 hour each way to school. While others made similar journeys to get to and from work (see box story 6). This is not only impacting children having less exercise, but also less social time chatting to their friends while going to school. As a result this is providing even more an incentive to have breakfast at school with their friends, rather than eating at home often by themselves.

Many adolescents told us that their priority is to get a motorbike, and this is seen as more important by some than continuing education. Several adolescents shared that they decided to leave school and did not want to continue to SMA/SMK as their parents would not provide them a motorbike (see box story 7).

6

The Long Journey to Work Each Day

The 16 year old girl I lived with quit school due to financial problems in the household. To help the family, she decided to start work instead. She found a job working in a dried fish company which is located in different district. Every day she commutes on motorcycle for about one hour. She gets up at 6am and starts around 8 am. She normally works until 5-6pm and by the time she has travelled back home on her motorbike it is already 7pm and she says she is too tired to do anything else. She works 6 days a week, including on Sunday and gets paid IDR 500,000 per month.

Field Notes, Remote Rural KL

7

No Motorbike, No School

'He quit school because he demanded a motorbike,' 'Mom' said when we talked about her son (16) who now works at a temple workshop. 'He told us he will not go to SMK if we do not buy him a motorbike'. She explained that her father promised him 'okay, we will buy you one' but said they only had IDR 1 million and needed to pay the school registration fee and buy uniforms.

The mother told me that 'after this he always hassled me every day demanding where is the motorbike!'. So she said they decided to buy him a second-hand motorbike, but he told them he only wanted the big new one which costs IDR 20 million. 'How could we afford that?' she exclaimed to me. So her son quit his school after a week, and they didn't manage to get back the IDR 1million registration fee.

The next day I wandered to the SMK school and it was only a 15 minutes walk. Many of students, including his peers, go there on motorbikes.

Field Notes, KL Urban

One retired teacher in peri-urban KL shared that in his school 'there are 1,100 students and 900 bring motorbikes'. Boys and girls adolescents told us that if they did not have a motorbike then they are mocked by their friends. A girl (15, SMP 3rd Grade rural WL) shared that she was teased as didn't ride her motorbike to school, but then explained she used to have a motorbike they stopped teasing her. Whereas parents and teachers (urban KL) reinforced this need for adolescents to have a motorbike and joked with us saying 'pedal bikes are for the struggling students.'



3.3 Many adolescents who have motorbikes shared with us the new craze of modifying their motorbikes. This craze is also catching on with younger children. This boy (10, right photo) showed us the modifications he is making to his bicycle.

'In our generation we used Japanese black magic to get a girlfriend and wife' (Paul (19), WL Rural)

Motorbikes are seen by many boys not just as transport for school, but are also desired for status and attracting girls. As a boy (19) explained to us 'if you have a KLX motorbike then every girl in the school will really want you'. This type of motorbike he said cost IDR 20 million. Paul (19) in rural WL commented that the increased number of motorbikes is markedly different from previous generations and he described it as the new 'black magic' for attracting girls. He explained that 'in my parent's generation they used black magic to get girlfriends, in our generation we use Japanese black magic to get girlfriend and wife'.

Once the boys get a motorbike then their ideas about recreation change. While they enjoy playing sports with their friends when younger, the teen lifestyle centres on hanging out on their motorbikes and preparing them for races, tinkering with them and modifying them to increase their value. For example, a graduate (19) of SMK who studied car mechanics told us that he used to play football but regards this as 'for younger kids' and having finished school feels he 'is an adult, and so shouldn't play football'. Instead he now prefers to fix up motorbikes for races and is part of a racing team. His sister told us he has added IDR 2 million to the value of his motorbike.

The increased prevalence of motorbikes is also impacting people's access to food and markets. Food vendors now often use motorbikes and mobile warungs are frequent selling daily food directly to homes especially in peri-urban and urban locations. This is also affecting cooking behaviours and increasing the availability of food so meals can be prepared and eaten at any time. For example, in rural KL a mother explained that she bought most of her food now from the mobile warungs which passed her house four times a day.



3.4 A mobile warung in rural KL – one shelf for snacks, one for salty fish, one for pre-prepared food, one for ‘village bread’ (bread that expires the next day so has to be eaten straight away), and many shelves for vegetables.



3.5 BTN housing estate in peri-urban West Lombok which has recently been built on what used to be open paddy fields

Each time it was a different person with different supplies, but all the food, fresh and prepared, is available (see photo 3.4). In peri-urban WL a mother shared that each morning she would buy the vegetables from the mobile warung for breakfast. Normally she said the mobile warung comes early in the morning, but if it didn't come in time then they wouldn't have any vegetables with their breakfast. Although in her house she had a refrigerator, this she only used for storing fish rather than any vegetables.

People also shared they have better access to wider markets and to different foods. A girl (15, peri-urban WL) shared that her mother '*now prefers to shop at the supermarket*', which is five minutes away on motorbike, because she explained '*it's cheaper than the market*'. Her mother buys frozen food like packed meatball, nugget and sausage from the supermarket to stock up in the freezer, while preferring to buy vegetables from the motorbiked sellers as '*they are cheaper and fresher*'. Improved access brings wider varieties of food and drink has implications on how people make choices and is changing their attitudes towards food. This is true not only for particular types of food, e.g. frozen foods, but

also cooked and traditional foods now can be more easily bought rather than made at home. Frozen and other varieties of processed foods, are typically chosen by more well-off households, particularly those who can afford to use a refrigerator for 24 hours a day.

Many people shared that there is a significant change in behaviour and priorities when adolescents reach their mid teens (15-16 years old) and, in particular, if they transition to SMA.

Changing Landscape

While people described the construction of new roads has improved access to nearby facilities, including markets and schools. They shared this has enabled them to now access futsal courts in neighbouring villages, or gyms in urban centres, and this provided different options for activities. However, they also recalled that in the past within their villages there were more open spaces, green spaces and public sport facilities.

Many described the changing physical landscape of their villages and communities, and how open spaces had



3.6 A common sight in the afternoon, boys playing *Sepak Takraw*, kick volleyball, in peri-urban West Lombok in a small space beside the road



3.7 Young adolescents playing football in peri-urban West Lombok on a dusty pitch

gradually been replaced with more buildings and other construction. In WL peri-urban location a family we lived with pointed out a housing estate for Bank Tabungan Negara (BTN) police which had recently been built on what was previously open paddy fields. (see photo 3.5). In this community adolescents shared, and our researchers saw, that they now prefer to play Sepak Takraw (kick volleyball) as there isn't sufficient space to play football. They told us if a small open space cannot be found to play sepak takraw they play on the road stopping whenever cars need to pass (see photo 3.6). In one of the sub-villages in rural WL they still have their community football pitch and adolescent boys gather to play there every day for a couple of hours after school.

In many communities, both rural and (peri)-urban, adolescents shared that they no longer have a football pitch, or they have to share the pitch with other villages (see box story 12 later). In rural WL the public football and volleyball fields no longer exist as houses have been built on this land, so now adolescent boys have to cross a river to the nearby park so find open spaces to play. Adolescent boys told us that they miss playing sports together with their friends. As a boy (17 peri-urban WL) explained, compared to five years ago his friends no longer play football on the hill, whilst in the past he said *'even when someone sprained their ankle, we would always play together the next day'*.

Whereas, a boy (18 rural WL) echoing others, reflecting on the lack of peers playing football in his village now, shared that it's *'not just about exercise but we miss the togetherness in the village'*. In only one village has the Village Head used Village Funds for developing physical activity facilities. This is in remote rural KL where funds were used five years ago to build a volleyball court and to purchase table tennis equipment.

In the study communities where there are no longer open public recreational facilities, the changing trend is to play futsal (a version of five aside football) and typically in rural communities the pitches are in nearby peri-urban centres. Adolescents told us they therefore need to travel further afield, normally on motorbikes, to reach the pitches. In rural WL where in one sub-village they still have the community football pitch, a SMK student (16 years) told us he and his friends would now play futsal once a week. He explained there is no fixed schedule but when they manage to gather enough people then they go to the futsal court 2 km away.

2. Meet Some of the Adolescents

Adolescent Profiles*



IVO (17)
'The Tomboy Girl'

From the peri-urban of West Lombok which has more exposure to external influence, this SMK-student from a middle-income family likes to borrow her mother's motorbike frequently. Choosing boxing as extracurricular activity at school, she is hardly at home. When she is at home, she spends most of her time whispering on her mobile phone, chatting with friends.

ROD (19)
'The Ex-Youth Leader'

From a rural West Lombok with good access to the more peri-urban surrounding, this SMA-graduate from a middle-income family is currently looking for a permanent job after working at a warnet (internet stall) when he was still at school. After finishing SMA last year, he spends his days by collecting birds, motorbike racing at night and playing football – with proper equipment! Having a girlfriend also makes him busy.



HANY (17)
'The Paskibra Girl'

Coming from a low-income family in a quieter village of the peri-urban West Lombok, she has just started her first year of SMA and chooses Paskibra (Flag Hoisting Troop) as her extra-curricular activity. She likes the military approach of this regimen as it induces discipline and having a prestigious status. At home she does house chores and complains the fact that her brother is exempt from doing it.

PAUL (19)
'The Punk Boy'

From a more remote rural area in West Lombok, of a low-income family background, this SMK-graduate boy is a fan of punk music and was a guitarist of a punk band which used to play in gigs. He also used to play football but can no longer afford to buy football shoes. Having worked for a flour-grinding home industry upon graduating, he has been without a job since mother got sick and had to care for her.



DONNY (17)
'The Pesantren Boy'

From a more closed peri-urban of West Lombok of a low income family background, he is no longer in school having just been expelled from his senior high pesantren (Islamic boarding school). He now hangs around the village a lot, particularly in the neighbouring tailor place where he also learns to repair his own trousers. He misses the togetherness of cooking fried rice at pesantren and longs to go back to school but parents no longer want to send him to any school.



PITUNG(16)
'The Motorbiker'

From rural Klaten, this SMP graduate boy of a low-income family now works as sand collector. He owns Satria motorbike he uses for speeding and freestyling. He likes to roam around with the motorbike after dinner to midnight. He also dates once a week and spends about IDR 20,000 when with his girlfriend.



SITI (16)
'The Milk-Fish Girl'

From a low-income family in rural Klaten, she does not continue schooling after graduating from junior high school. Working in a home-industry of milk fish processing, she commutes daily for two hours in total. Comparing her current life with school time, she feels that her time and energy now are all absorbed only for work without time to socialise.



YUYU (12)
'The Busboy'

From urban Klaten, he is an SD graduate of a low-income family. Working as garbage collector in the morning and cleaning dishes at chicken porridge street booth in the evening, he has the freedom to spend his earning for whatever he likes. He is a heavy smoker and feels proud that he can buy as many cigarettes as he wants from his own money. He also likes to eat rice with Indomie kuah (the soupy instant noodle) and eats in big portion each time.



PETI (12)
'The Arisan Girl'

Living in rural Klaten, this SMP girl from a low-income family used to spend her after-school time watching TV until the TV got broken. Having only a non-smartphone, she now joins arisan to buy a smartphone where 100 people in her village join for the same purpose, costing IDR 10,000 per week for the period of 3 years. She considers drinking sweet tea as breakfast before going to school, and eats only at the first break time at school.



OZI (14)
'The TV Lover'

Living in the peri-urban area of Klaten from low-income family, this SMP girl likes watching TV, particularly shows about health, medicine and herbal treatment, the kind of topics she finds by watching Dr Oz Indonesia and Klinik Tramedica. She wants to be a doctor because 'I want to fight cancer, as it's something dangerous'.



*Note that names of individuals have been changed



3.8 Trekking up and down the steep slope to get to the park in peri-urban West Lombok

3. Being Active

Adolescents we lived with and their friends we interacted with, shared that overall they are not very physically active. From the 32 adolescents that we lived with only five said that they took exercise every day and two thirds said they exercised less than three times a week. Parents recalled in the past that they use to be much more active. As a result of the various changes illustrated above, parents and adolescents alike shared they have fewer opportunities in their everyday life to be physically active, they are too tired these days and now have different recreational priorities.

In this chapter the current practices of physical activity and the barriers to being active are explored. However, firstly how adolescents understand what is *'being physically active'* is unpacked to reveal the narrowness of this interpretation.

Current thinking on being active and recreation

Physical activity is often conflated to mean sports and people do not recognize that their daily activities themselves can be more, or less, active. For example, young men in WL told us that they didn't *'do much physical activity anymore'* and spent most of their time playing Clash of Clans or music whenever they saved enough money to hire a studio for band practice (see photo 3.9). But the trip to the park where they can get free Wi-Fi is a strenuous trek entailing climbing up and down a steep slope, crossing a river, walking across the paddy fields to enter the back entrance of the park (to avoid the entrance fee) (see photo 3.8). They shared they would sometimes climb the trees in the park to find guava and rambutan but did not view this as physical activity either. Those we met who had left school and are in manual employment such as loading trucks or collecting sand did not view this as physical activity.

During the sense making workshop with our research team, we reflected on what adolescents described to us as their physical activities and what we actually observed while living with them (see box story 8). In almost all cases physical activity is narrowly viewed by adolescents as synonymous with playing sports, and on a daily basis they often do other *'uncharted'* exercise such as walking, riding their bicycle, playing in the school yard, freestyle motorbiking and manual labour.

In all study communities adolescent boys and girls told us they are not very active these days. In particular for girls the only physical activity they do is often the weekly mandatory sports sessions at school (see box story 11 later). While for boys, some shared they played sports out of school but this is often now constrained by the open playing facilities (see box story 12 later).

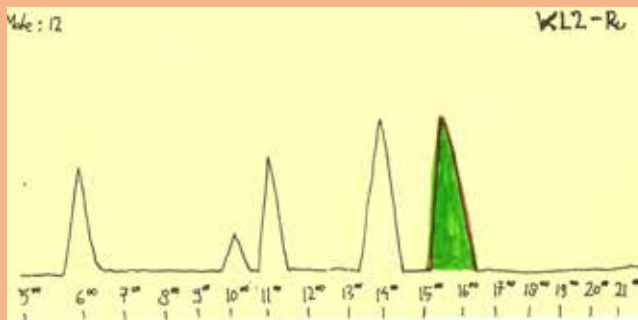


3.9 Adolescent boys in peri-urban West Lombok. When they have the money they rent this studio for band practice.

'Physical Activity': Their views v. what we Observed

Our researchers illustrated the physical activities that the adolescents did on one of the days when they were with them. The green lines represent physical activity that the adolescent boys and girls told us they did, and the black line represents other activities we saw them do which are strenuous but they didn't consider to be 'physical activity'. The size of the spike represents the level of effort.

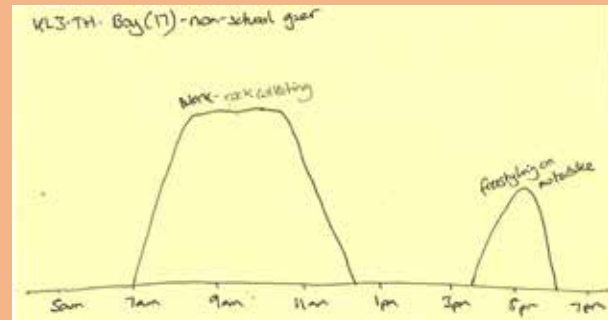
1. Exercising Everyday Plus More



My 'brother' I lived with is 12 years old and he is currently in 6th grade of SD. He usually wakes up around 4am and then goes back to sleep before rising at 5am. He then eats his breakfast and takes a bath before preparing all his things for school. He goes to school by bicycle with his friends and cousin. The bicycle ride is 5-6km and takes him around 30 minutes. He will be in school from 7am until 1pm. He told me that during the school break he usually plays all kinds of game with his friend, mostly either hide and seek or 'petak jongkok' (a traditional running and tag game). He goes back to home by bicycle and usually arrives around 2pm and has lunch before playing either football or traditional games with his friends. If there are no kids around during that time he will then play video games. Around 3pm when the temperature is cooler the children in the neighborhood come out of their house to play and he will go out and ride his bike around the area until around 4pm-5pm. When we discussed physical activity the only activity that he told me is he does is playing football with his friends.

Field Notes, Urban KL

2. No Exercise, just heavy manual labour



Pitung works for 3-5 hours a day as a sand collector. He normally works from 7-8am until around midday. After work, he always hangs out with his friends on his motorbike and likes motorbike freestyling, jumping and racing. We talked about physical activity and exercises, and he said that 'I do not play sports. I only like to use my motorbike'. I worked with him one day collecting sand and told him that it is a very strenuous activity and hard work. He explained to me that it is an activity to earn money and he does not consider it as a physical activity. In the afternoon I also watched him do freestyle tricks on his motorbike and jumping. This also requires considerable exertion lifting the handle bars to do wheelies and spinning the motorbike around. For him this is not physical activity but merely playing on his motorbike.

Field Notes, Remote Rural KL

Our researchers observed it is rare to see girls playing sports outside and there is a prevailing view that girls are not or should not be 'sporty'. When one of our women researchers joined a group of boys in peri-urban KL, playing basketball, the boys were taken aback. Asking them whether girls ever play, the boys were adamant that '*no, they (girls) will never play basketball*' and quipped, that girls are interested in '*harta, tarta and quota*' (wealth, power and 'quota' (mobile phone credit)), an adaptation of the saying used to describe men's interest in '*harta, tarta and wanita*' (wealth, power and women). They went on to explain that '*girls prefer to use their Smart phones the whole time to use social media, using Snapchat, Path and many more*'. Another boy (16), from rural KL, said girls '*will get dark skin*' if they play outside. When we probed further with girls themselves on why they didn't play sports outside, a SMK student (17) simply said, typifying others, '*because that is what girls do here*'.

The girls who do participate in sports said that they did so more to gain social status rather than for exercise. Several girls talked fondly about representing their schools at sports and joining in extra-curricular sport activities. Representing the school team they told us brought them '*social status*' and '*prestige*'. For many girls they said if they are to play any sport at all, then it will be at school. A girl SMK automotive student (17) in peri-urban WL is a member of the school boxing club and explained that if she hadn't joined this extra-curriculum activity she wouldn't do any sport at all. Several girls talked very highly about representing their schools at Paskibra, the flag ceremony marching (see explanatory box above). For one SMK girl student (18) in peri-urban WL she likes this activity as she said '*it is considered sophisticated and it brings her prestige*'. This is particularly the case as her school often wins competitions.

For another SMA girl (17) in a different village in peri-urban WL she said she '*likes the discipline*' and it is a good excuse to '*just get out of the house*' (see box story 9). However, to be selected for a school team is only for the elite with less than one in five students selected. Only top A grade students are selected who have the right stature and image for representing the school. This is particularly reinforced as success in inter-school competitions is highly valued by school administrations.

For some girls, they shared they still face the challenges of finding the time or getting permission from their parents to be outside after dark. The girl (16) in remote rural KL who is working at a dried fish factory (box story 6 earlier) told us when she was at SMP she actively joined the Paskibra club. However, in the last 6 months she

'Hany (17, peri-urban WL) says she is an active member of the Paskibra club at school. She says she really loves the activity as it is seen as '*prestigious*' by her friends. She likes raising the flag and says she likes '*using the military stick approach*'. If they are late for the lesson then she says you have to do ten push-ups, but she shares she doesn't mind this and '*likes the discipline*.' Moreover, she explained that her parents allow her to do this activity. Other activities she is not allowed to do, but told us she '*really just wants to be out of the house*.' In particular she wants to be out of the house as at home she is often burdened with looking after her two month old baby nephew.

Field Notes, Peri-Urban KL

What is Paskibra?

Paskibra (*Pasukan Pengibar Bendera* or Flag-Hoisting Troop) is an extra-curricular school team that has been around in Indonesia for quite some time. The main duties of students that are members of *Paskibra* is to hoist the flag at the ceremony held every Monday morning at their school, or if selected at inter-school, district or provincial events too. The *Paskibra* 'troops' not only learn about flag-hoisting and its rules, but also learn about marching in unison formations and discipline.

Students who join *Paskibra* usually have a rigid training regime, which becomes more intensive when they train to perform at the Independence Day ceremony or in tournaments. Typical exercises include, running, push-ups and sit-ups and basic gymnastics. Some also join *Paskibra* camps which are semi-militaristic and have a set of strict daily routines, intensive physical activities and seek to build team bonding and discipline.

Students that participate in the *Paskibra* extra-curricular activity must be high performing A Grade students with the right stature and image. The *Paskibra* members are seen by many as the poster boys/poster girls and ambitious students and are highly regarded by the school management administration as they represent the school at public events.



Paskibra team at a SMA in Jakarta. Source: https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Paskibra_SMA_Negeri_9_Jakarta.jpg

has worked every day without a weekend from 8am-6pm and says she is too exhausted to do any form of activities after work. Whereas, a university student (18, rural WL) told us that when she was at SMA her parents demanded that she was home before evening prayer, so she had to cancel joining the Paskibra club and didn't do any other outdoor activities.

Many parents, in these study locations, particularly mothers, also shared they felt that girls should not hang out outside, especially after dusk, for their security and reputation. As a mother of two adolescent daughters in peri-urban KL told us, echoing other mother's sentiments, *'everyone is happy if girls come home straight after school'* and added *'girls are not allowed to play outside, as this can cause gossip'*. Another mother of two in the same location shared a similar concern *'in Jakarta the girls are corrupted as they hangout outside'* and forbade her daughter to play outside. An urban KL warung owner mother of three endorsed this fear from her observations, *'nowadays access to mobile and internet means they can access porn. So if a boy and a girl are left together, the girl will just get pregnant'*. A father in peri-urban WL forbids his daughter (12, SMP Grade 1) from playing outside with boys although she said she likes to climb trees and has lots of friends who are boys.

Other parents are less concerned about what is seemingly appropriate for a girl. For example, a mother of a son (20) and daughter (18) in rural WL, told us she wished her daughter was *'more concerned with cooking'* and criticizes her daughter's love of travelling, climbing mountains and trees as *'boys activities'*. As a result the girl often hangs out at the house, playing guitar and singing with her friends. Many other girls in other locations also shared that they often like to hang out in at each other's houses, doing their homework together, watching TV together or just chatting. Another hindering factor for some girls are the demands to stay at home and look after younger siblings (see Box story 10).

My 'sister' who is at SMP and 15 years old told me she can hardly leave the house as she has to look after her 13-month-old baby brother even though her favorite pastime is 'hanging out with friends'. She compared herself to her older sister (17), *'I'm very different from her, I'm a lot more feminine'*. This older sister is studying car mechanics at SMK, uses the family motorbike and likes boxing. She was hardly at home the whole time I lived with the family, and whenever she was there she would be whispering on her mobile to her boyfriend. Their mother shared that she worries about her as she is always sleeping over at friend's houses, and warns her that *'there must not be any boys there, and if there are then I will know as I can raid the place'*.

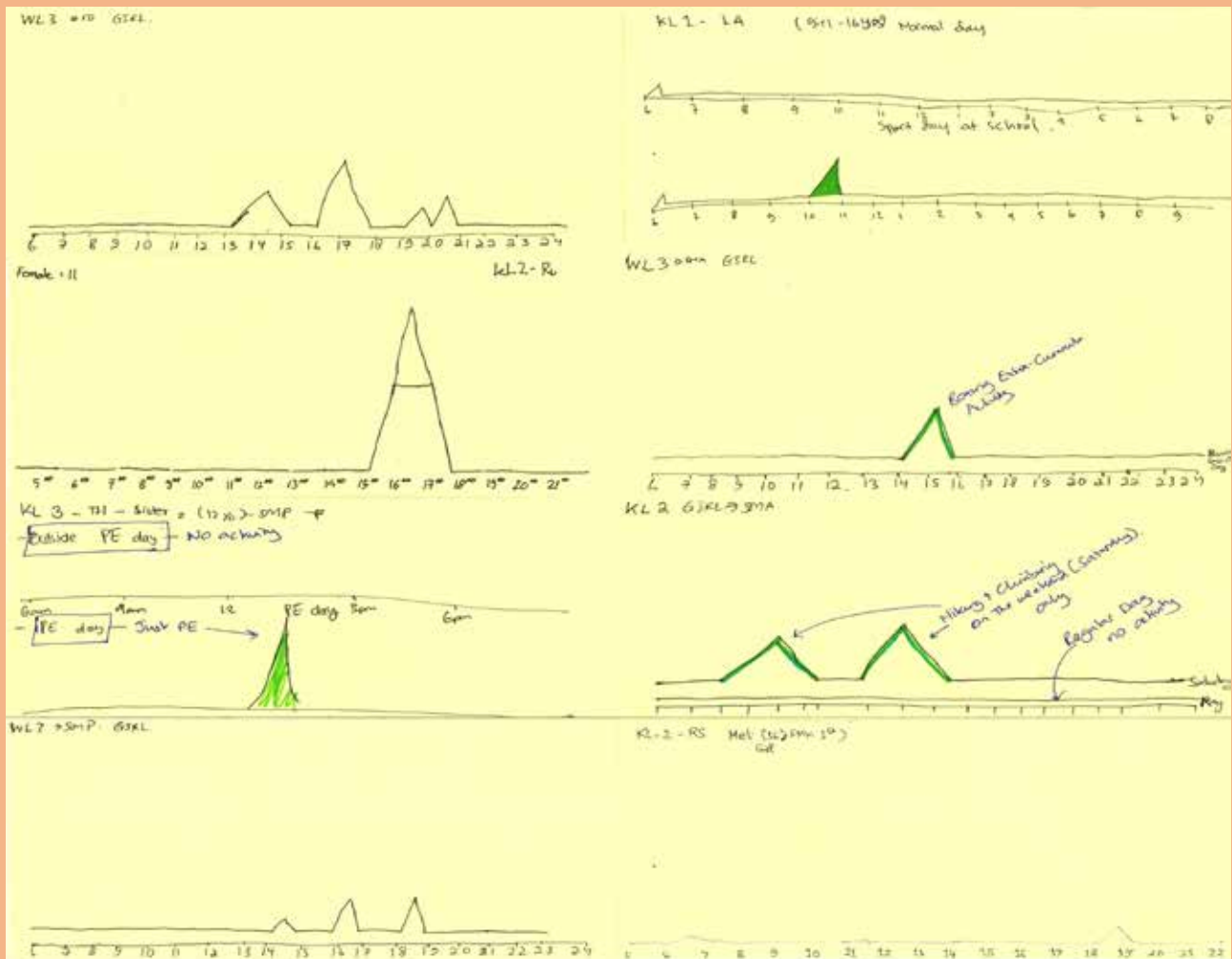
Field Notes, peri urban WL

For boys, the main motivations for doing sports are social interaction and to improve their physical appearance. Many boys talked fondly about the team sports they played together in the community. These are both more organized team games and also regular ad hoc games after school in communities where they still have open public facilities. If there are no longer facilities and they can no longer play sports, then boys shared how much they missed playing and said by a boy (18, peri-urban WL) echoing others, it is *'not just about exercise but we miss the togetherness in the village'*.

Some older boys (+17 years old) said they did exercise to body build and increase their confidence. We met some young men who regularly use gym facilities in (peri)-urban locations in WL and KL. For them this is not just about physical activity but more about image saying, *'you do it for a good body'*. One boy (18) in WL explained that if he goes to the gym his biceps will get bigger and he will get what he described as a *'sis pek'* (six pack). He added that by really working out you will not be *'able to walk normally because your muscles are so big'* and demonstrated by swaying from side to side. He also explained the need to take certain pills available at the gym otherwise the workout *'will be pointless'*.

Other older boys shared that the motivation to keep fit is driven by their aspiration to be a police and army officer and they told us there are strict fitness entrance

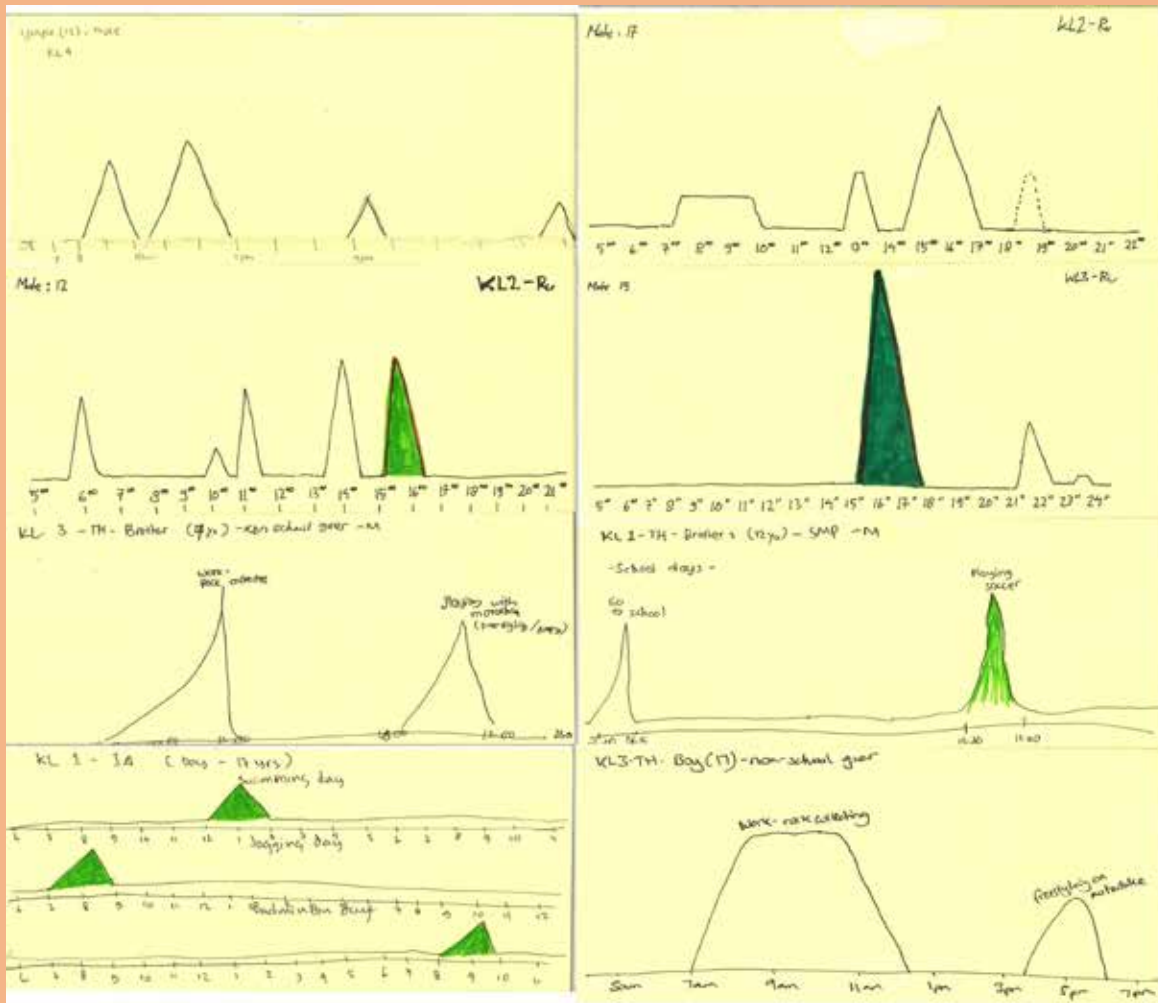
Girls Don't Do Sports



During the sense making workshop our research team illustrated the physical activity of eight girls on a day when they were with them. The black line represents the activities that our researchers observed them do, while the green spikes represents the activities that the girls said they do. In examples when the girls told us they did occasional sports or physical activity, then this is highlighted in the illustration below, and the 'typical day' is illustrated above.

The majority of these girls described to our researchers that they did no exercise as all (completely flat line), or the only physical activity they did was at school in their PE class, and boxing class for one SMA girl. In some cases our researchers observed that the girls did some other activities such as playing traditional games, walking and manual labour but these were not associated by the girls as physical activities.

Boys Play More Sports and Do More Physical Activity



During the sense making the research team illustrated the physical activity of boys. The eight depicted here illustrate that boys are relatively more active than girls but still only some boys play sports (eg football, badminton, swimming, jogging – the green spikes).

Many of the boys still described to the researcher that they did no exercise at all. However, when our researchers reflected casting a broader definition of physical activity, we realized that 'other activities' they did actually entailed physical activity. These activities include motorbike freestyling, playing traditional games, walking and manual labour.

tests that they pass (see motivations and influences chapter).

Current practice of being active

Adolescent boys and girls shared that the types of sports they normally play outside of school depends on two key factors; the particular current fad and the availability of facilities. Those who like sports told us they like to keep up with the most recent fads which rise and fall in popularity. In rural KL the current fad for girls is volleyball, supplanting badminton because '*now it is too windy in the village*' so those who want to play badminton have to go into town to use indoor facilities. Volleyball became the latest popular sport following an inspiring visit by a national player who had studied in America and played in Jakarta which, in turn, has led to one girl (16) telling us her school mate now aspires to be a professional volleyball player. A group of boys in the same village told us that the new craze is futsal rather than football. The Village Head here is unsupportive of constructing a pitch since he himself was injured as a boy playing football and instead supported the construction of a volley ball court. The boys therefore are required to travel into town for the futsal facilities. In peri-urban WL the current new craze is skateboarding and the recent SMA graduate boy (19) we lived with boasted he is one of the best in his community and everyone is wanting to learn from him.

In some communities sport competitions are very popular, when they can be organized. These are typically organized by the youth groups, although in many of the villages the youth groups are not very active now. In only a few communities the youth group are involved in organizing sports activities. In peri-urban WL due to the lack of facilities, three villages have to share a futsal pitch. Fights used to break out between the different village teams over who could use the pitch on particular

13

Sharing The Football Pitch

I lived with a 19 years old boy who is the head of the village's youth group. He told me that the surrounding three villages now have to share a football pitch. In the past fights broke out between different villages on whose turn it was to play on the football pitch. As a result the youth group established a rota with the other villages. His village he told us can use the football pitch on Monday, Wednesday and Thursday. They also organized the schedule that elementary children can play from 3-4pm, whilst older adolescents and adults play from 4-6pm. He also told me that they organize training session for the villagers and held friendly competitions between several villages on the weekends and on holidays.

Field Notes, West Lombok

days, so the youth group organized a rota system (see box story 13).

In other communities, the youth group are only active in organizing the annual Independence Day football competitions. These are often eagerly anticipated inter-village contests spread over a number of weeks and even months, and attract a lot of interest with many spectators coming to watch. In remote rural KL the football tournament lasts 15 days and the games are held between 4-6pm every day. Last year there were two or three football teams that also joined the district level tournament, but this year they are only following the Independence Day tournament. Whereas, in rural WL the Independence Day football tournament competition



3.10 This sports field in peri-urban West Lombok is shared between three villages with a rota system organized by the youth group

14

PE Lesson
15 Minutes' Walk or
Motorbike Ride Away,
'Let's Stop for Snacks'

At the SMP school in peri-urban W. Lombok the PE class is held on the field 15 minutes from the school. The girl (15) I lived with told me her and her friend would intentionally walk slowly from the school to the field as she dislikes PE class. She lamented that her PE teacher rides his motorcycle to the same field. At the end of the class, she and many of her friends purchase snacks and cold drinks offered by the food kiosks found on the route back to school. She told me that some of her friends spend up to IDR 10,000 to 'replenish themselves' after the PE lesson.

Field Notes, Peri-Urban West Lombok



3.11 PE class at an elementary school in urban Klaten

After students are graded they can do whatever they want. A SMK girl (17 peri-urban KL) we lived with explained her weekly PE class is just two hours, and only 30 minutes is obligatory sports, with the remaining 1hr 30mins being free time. She told us that during the free time the boys normally play football, whereas she said *'the girls prefer to just hang out at the canteen and play on their phones the whole time'*.

As explained by a PE teacher himself in urban KL *'children nowadays move very little, even after introducing the 2013 curriculum when PE is to be 3 subject-hours, imagine when it was the previous curriculum of 2 subject-hours.'* He elaborated further that the three 45 minutes lessons normally turns into *'15mins for changing clothes, 15mins for warming up, 1hour 30mins main activity, and the last 30mins for changing clothes'*. He explained there are 8 main activities that they do which they rotate through every two months. These activities are: basketball, football, athletics, volleyball, gymnastics, swimming, badminton and *'silat'* (traditional martial arts). In all schools the PE teachers are men and often do not participate in the activities (see box story 14).

The space for PE class, especially in peri-urban schools is often limited to small cement school yard with no opportunity for simultaneous activities to take place. At some schools they do not have sufficient facilities to conduct some of the mandatory PE subjects. In peri-urban KL the SMP school does not have a football pitch so a SMP girl student told us they are just *'learning by theory only'*. If it rains then more theory classes are taught instead of providing any physical exercise. In many schools PE is also seen as the first lesson that can be cut back on if needed. In remote rural KL during the mid-term exam week the PE lesson was cancelled during this week and also the week before. In all the schools we visited none of them had any showering facilities or changing room facilities. Instead to cool down after the PE lesson, SMP students in urban and remote KL told us they *'drink ice water'*. A PE teacher in urban KL told us

lasts two full months with winnings of IDR 6 million and a large following of spectators from many villages. This winning prize is provided through village funds, whereas in other villages people said there are sponsors such as ABC (instant coffee, WL) Eagle (sports shoe manufactory, WL), or wealthy families in the community (urban KL).

For many adolescents, in particular girls, the only regular sports they play is at school. This is either through the mandatory PE classes or extra curricula activities. Although PE is a mandatory subject in the Indonesian Curriculum, it is not being taught in all schools. In rural KL our household sister shared that they no longer have PE at her SMK school so instead they have scouts twice a week and are planning a camping day next month. In most schools PE is a subject that is taught on a regular basis, however the way PE classes are structured and the actual amount of exercise that students do is limited.

In all schools the PE class is not the prescribed three periods of one hour spread through the week and instead is often combined into one poorly structured lesson once a week. The focus of the lesson is still embedded within the militaristic roots that PE evolved from in Indonesia, and is narrowly confined to just passing graded tests. These tests are conducted near the beginning of the lesson and everyone passes irrespective of how they perform. In peri-urban KL to pass the swimming lesson students told us you didn't have to swim at all, you are required to just *'push off the wall and everyone passes'*.



3.12 Sunday morning 'Healthy Walk' on Independence Day in peri-urban Klaten, but the girls are glued to their smart phones



3.13 Car free day in urban Klaten, watching the show and 'looking for love'

that *'they like iced drinks whenever they feel hot, while it is actually like pouring iced water into a hot glass, sooner or later the glass will break. I've told them, but they wouldn't listen'*.

In peri-urban locations in KL and WL, car free days have been introduced by Mayors in recent years. This is typically on Sunday mornings and although people told us the purpose is meant to be for taking exercise, many said in fact people go there for the food, hanging out and dating. A SMA girl student (16) that we lived with here, told us the purpose is actually *'exercise used to gain love'*. She and her friends saw the car free day as an opportunity to flirt with the boys (see photo 3.13). In other communities people shared that the car free day is embraced more by the older generation, with many attending, and if the youth join then they are often glued to their phones (see photo 3.12). In peri-urban KL people explained, and we also observed, that many snack vendors are set up on the roads and people gathered

The Shuffle Dance Club comprising boys and girls is a self-initiative based on groups they have seen on YouTube. They perform at car free day on Sundays. I attended one Sunday morning, and watched as they turned on loud music using DJ controller, laptop and big sound system. As people gathered to watch, the dancers –boys and girls- took turns to shuffle dance.

'We practice once a week in the garage of a local coffee shop for this weekly performance. But since last week we have been practicing every night because we will participate in a regional dance competition' one boy member explained and *'we created our own moves from examples on YouTube'* and got local DJs to help them mix the music, which is *'up-to-date hip hop and RnB'*.

The Sunday performance lasted for about two hours. Many adolescents sat around the dance floor, taking selfies while some young couples took this opportunity to date. In between dances, the leader interacted with spectators and encouraged them to join the club. Those who wanted to join can register through the local youth radio station which provides their sponsorship.

'You should come and see us practice' the boy said to me and then rushed off to the dance floor, *'it's my turn'*.

Field notes, peri-urban Klaten

to hang out, snack and watch the entertainment (see photo 3.13). In urban KL, adolescents explained that people from all over KL came for the car free day, and local bands play and there are dance contests. At the car free day we went to there was Klaten Shuffle Dance group and many of the watching spectators also dance to the music. This group people said usually competes in district dance competitions (see box story 15). In some local neighbourhoods, the idea of car free day is also being introduced and they are also now holding their own *'marching days'* on special occasions (see photo 3.12).

16

No More Youth Group Activities

I met the secretary of youth mosque of this sub-village in the football field. We were about to play football and he told me about the youth mosque activity. He said *'the youth mosque usually hold some events for adolescent, such as commemorating the birth of Prophet Muhammad. We also organized football competition and sent a proposal to the Village office'*, he told me. But this kind of activity he explained no longer takes place. This year he said there was no youth activities because all the member of the youth mosque are no longer active. He said *'some members are married now and some work abroad. There is a vacuum now as there has been no regeneration. Even I should not be the secretary anymore,'* he explained me with a smile.

Field Notes, Rural West Lombok

17

Youth Group Gerakan Pemuda Mandiri & Peduli (GPMP)

My family's oldest son is the head of youth group. They called it Gerakan Pemuda Mandiri dan Peduli (GPMP) 'The Movement of Independent and Care Youth'. He told me GPMP used to hold some events for the youth like sepeda hias 'ornamental bike' and tarik tambang 'tug of war'. Last year, sepeda hias was held to celebrate the Independence Day and tarik tambang to commemorate the birth of Prophet Muhammad.

He explained *'the youth in this village were the active member of GPMP, they used to help and participate in GPMP events. On last year Independence Day, youth helped us to decorate and paint the village'. 'But now',* he said, there is no kind of that event for the youth because many of the GPMP board of member are already married and some of them work outside the village.

He showed me the photos of the youth group in the past on camping and hiking trips by the waterfalls. In the past he said the youth group had these activities, now we do not have any kind of social events anymore.

Field Notes, Peri-Urban West Lombok

What's stopping us being active?

As well as the views of being active described above which may inhibit physical activity, there are other limitations including concern about the cost of engaging in sports activities, girls mixing with boys, lack of time and lack of friends to play sports with.

As highlighted above youth groups now play a marginal role in organizing sport activities in these communities. Youth groups are present in most of the communities, although people shared they are often becoming less active, slowly petering out and their focus is primarily now on just cultural and social programs. In peri urban KL, we were told that the youth group leader really wanted to start an exercise program, and tried, but it only lasted a month as people stopped turning up. They have reverted to organizing social programs (such as gotong royong^[14]) only and gather once a month to discuss the plans.

In many communities people shared that the youth group members now have competing priorities. They told us that some are now working, or are married, and it is difficult to encourage the younger generation to participate (see box story 16 and 17). In peri-urban

14. Gotong Royong is a traditional community activity in which community members work together to achieve a desired goal. It literally means gotong – work; royong – together.

KL people shared that the youth group has died away completely in their village and prefer to just hang out with friends. In other locations people shared the young are not interested at all and the youth groups consists of adults rather than the youth. In remote rural KL a boy (16) told us that one member of the youth group is a 50 year old adult, whereas in peri-urban KL many members are in their 20s.

Socio-economic status has a significant impact on what adolescents are able to do to keep active. For those from lower socio-economic families, the need to hire facilities and own the appropriate equipment limits their opportunities to participate. For example, a recent SMA graduate (18, peri urban KL) from a heavily indebted lower income family shared that he enjoys playing basketball but cannot play regularly as he does not have a ball. Similarly, in rural WL, Paul (19) from the poorest

Table 7: Pocket Money Per Day for Adolescents We Lived with

Amount of Pocket Money per Day (IDR)				
Socio-Economic Status	<5,000	5,000-10,000	10,000-15,000	>15,000
L	2	5	5	2
M		7	1	2
H		1	2	3
Total	2	13	8	7

(Colour: Social Economic Class: **Purple** = Upper-mid/High ; **Grey** = Medium; **Yellow** = Low)

(PU = peri-urban; RR = remote rural; R = rural; U = urban)



3.14 This 18-year-old adolescent boy in peri-urban West Lombok attends football training every Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. His parents make enough income from selling bamboo to own a car and to buy his football equipment.



3.15 The 'swimming pool' in the local river where the adolescents go in peri-urban West Lombok

'Just too tired to play sports after school' (SMA Girl (16), Rural KL)

the costs to play sports, several in rural areas shared that instead they went to nearby parks or the forest to hang out but, as described above, this may mean that they do not participate in sports.

A sports activity that is confined to just the middle/higher socio-economic adolescents and those closer to urban centres is going to the gym. Those older adolescents in urban KL and peri-urban WL who went to the gym told us it cost IDR 5,000 per day (urban KL) and IDR 60,000/month (peri-urban WL). They said this could only be afforded by the better off boys who typically receive more than IDR 10,000 per day (see Table 7), and they said it is only for 'adults'. A SMP student shared that he could not join as 'I'm not an adult yet, so I can't go there yet' as you must be over 17 years old.

Several adolescents in rural locations where the SMA/ SMK school is far away told us how this affects their lives in different ways. In these locations we lived with and met students who travelled long distances to get to and from school, and when they got home in the late afternoon they shared they are often too tired to play outside as a SMA girl (16, rural KL) told us that after the

household we lived with shared that he used to enjoy playing football but now cannot play as he cannot afford football boots and 'the rich boys don't want to play with us'. The importance of having the right kit was further highlighted in peri-urban WL when our researcher was firmly told he couldn't play football with the son of the family he was staying with as he didn't have the correct equipment (see photo 3.14).

The growing popularity of futsal in many locations presents a barrier to participation for some as they have to pay towards hire of the court. In urban KL a boy (19) shared there are four futsal courts and the costs for hiring them varies from IDR 55,000/hour in the day to IDR70,000/hour in the evening. They split the cost so each pays IDR 5,000–7,000/ hour, which represents for most boys more than half their daily pocket money (see Table 6). In rural KL those who still want to play badminton rather than the more popular volleyball must pay IDR 2,000 per hour for indoor facilities in town. Although there is a swimming pool in the park in rural WL boys told us they never went swimming as they have to pay. Instead, many adolescents in a nearby community said they go to a fresh river which they called kokok 'river' located to the east of the sub-village (see photo 3.15.) where they bath and swim for free. With many lower-socioeconomic adolescents struggling with

30 minutes motorbike ride home each day she is *'just too tired to play sports after school'* . She told us she actually loves outdoor activities and nature, and said that now only on weekends can she go hiking and climbing the mountains.

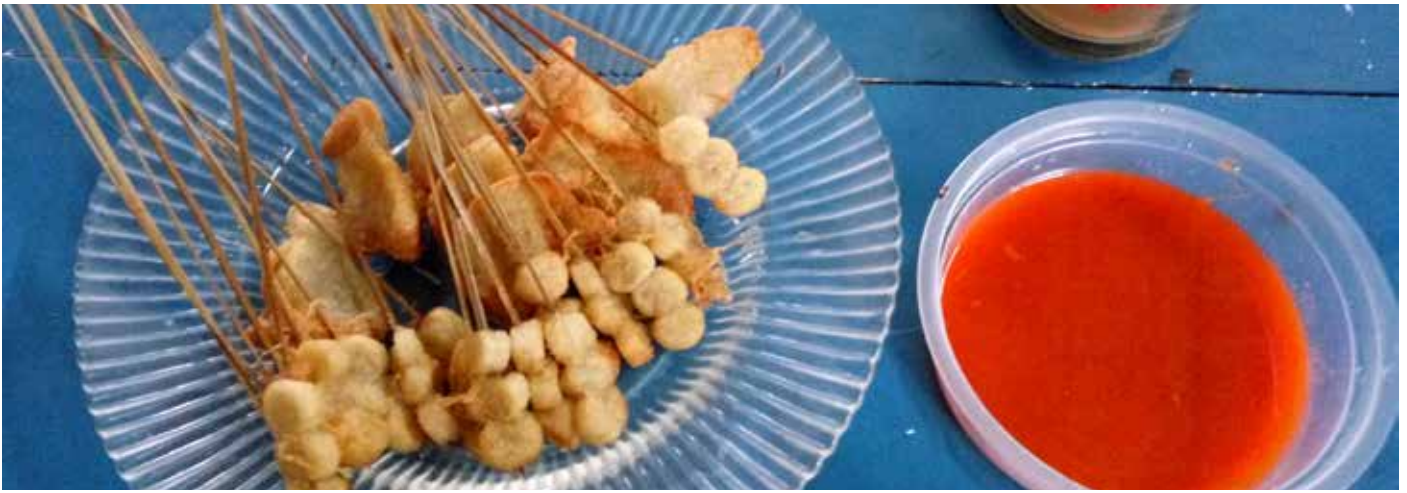
Several other SMA/SMK students in rural areas also shared that as well as being tired from the long travel to and from school, they don't have any friends living nearby anymore to play sports with outside. A SMK girl sewing student (16) in remote rural KL explained to us that *'my friends are my school friends'* and when she comes home after her 45 minutes motorcycle ride she does not have any friends nearby. She therefore stays inside and prefers to draw by herself. A SMK Class 3 girl (17 rural KL) whom we lived with travels 17km each way to school every day. Her family describe her as *'ora ono koncone'*, which in Javanese means *'has no friends'*. When she is home from school her mother says she never goes outside and instead plays continuously on her mobile, especially on Instagram, Facebook and BBM. She also says she is a *'diehard fan'* of the Indonesia soap opera Anak Jalanan.

In more urban contexts some older adolescents who completed school and are working, also shared their friends are no longer around or able to play sports. Here they told us that their friends are also working long hours or many friends have moved away to university. A boy (20) in urban KL who now works as a security officer and has been in a band since SMP, shared that he use to play futsal when still at school. However, these days he finds it difficult to gather enough friends together to play futsal as many of his friends are working.

Adolescents also shared that they play less sports during Ramadan and in peri-urban locations boys and girls told us they prefer instead to hang out at internet cafes for this month. People shared in peri-urban locations that during Ramadan the internet cafes are very packed, in particular during the Idul Fitri holiday. Normally they said the internet cafes are open from 8am-midnight, but during Ramadan they are open 24 hours. The cost they said is IDR 5,000 per hour, and adolescents shared they normally spent four to five hours at the internet café, more though on weekends.

Pocket Money Expenditure

Regardless of their socio-economic grouping, families allocate more pocket money as their adolescent children move from junior high-school age (12-15) to senior high-school age (16-18). The older group usually have higher mobility so they need more money compared with the younger ones for *'gasoline'*, more phone credits especially for internet *'quota'*, more *'jajan'* (buying food and drinks) as they spend longer time in a day for more extra-curricular activities or just hanging out with friend; and particularly for boys, for *'dating'*, *'cigarettes'* and sometimes *'alcohol drinks'*.



4. Teens Eating & Drinking

While the adolescents we stayed and hung out with naturally differ in personality and preferences, they share many similar eating and drinking behaviours. As found in other RCA studies conducted recently in Indonesia, most of the families in this study continue to take three meals a day. While three meals is the norm there are some adolescents who choose to take only two meals, such as Tuti (girl, 17, peri-urban KL) and Tilo (boy, 19, peri-urban WL), who rarely take evening meals, *'depending only whether I am hungry.'*

As described in the previous section, families rarely eat together as they had done before. One reason families rarely eat together is reconciling work and school schedules. As noted in the Changing Context section, adolescents in most of the families we observed and stayed with rush to go school in the morning, skipping breakfast at home. *'It's too early'* most told us as they have to leave for school around 6:30 am (or earlier) for a usual start time of 7 am. In some homes, mothers say it is difficult to prepare breakfast that early for their children, as typified by a working mother, *'I know the importance of breakfast, but I don't have the time to prepare it.'* (rural WL). While non-working mothers would have more time to prepare breakfast, the ease of buying from mobile food-sellers or food stalls around is seen as a good combination to alternate between cooking and buying. But the Changing Context section also points out that students have a preference for meeting up with their friends to share breakfast together at the first break at school and need their parents to supply pocket money for this so they skip breakfast. Another reason families rarely eat together has resulted from longer school days, with children returning home after their after school activities or after hanging out together which also involves further snacking. There is a preference among some adolescents, especially girls, to buy food and drinks to enjoy together during school breaks or after school in the late afternoon. This is referred to as

The Teens' Meal Diary

School-going adolescents' meal diaries in a day can consist of having early breakfast before 6:30a.m. at home or having it late during the first lesson break at school around 9 a.m. which lasts about 15 minutes. This breakfast usually contains rice or noodle based meals. This first break lasts about 15 minutes. The second break, usually about 30 minutes, serves as lunch and mid-day prayer time but also allows the students to have a longer time to socialise and play with one another. After-school hours around 3-4 p.m. would be another opportunity for the teens to do their *'jajan'* either for drinks or snacks/light meals while hanging out with friends. Depending on how much they have eaten during the time, some teen girls will not have dinner afterwards. On the contrary, most teen boys don't see snacking during late afternoon as a substitute for dinner. Dinner would usually entail meals that have been cooked or bought for lunch, except if they were finished at lunch time, then families would cook or buy another set of meals before dusk.

'jajan' and often means that they have no appetite for an evening meal. TV and individual screen use also impacts on family eating time.

In most of the families where mother cooks, she only cooks once per day, either at early morning for breakfast or near mid-day for lunch. Mothers in only a couple of families we stayed with cooked twice a day *'for breakfast and dinner'*. More mothers or women of the house shared with us that *'it's much easier to buy (cooked food), there are a lot of street vendors'* and *'you don't get sweaty through cooking.'* The few who take breakfast before going to school, eat rice with fried tempe, tofu and some vegetables either cooked as a *'bening'* (clear soup) or stir-fry. These are either leftovers reheated from the night before or a small portion of what is cooked for the coming evening meal.



3.16 Different settings of kitchens and preparation tables in host households

Mothers coming from a lower socio-economic status who work usually cook for their family once in the morning before they go to work. This is enough for the day. Meli's mother (rural KL) is an example saying, '*I always wake up at 4:30 am because I have to cook our breakfast and lunch for my son (a construction worker who takes a lunch pack to work), before I go to the field*'. Another mother (peri-urban KL) who owns her own warung cooks for her children rather than buys as she is concerned about her debt, '*We have a huge debt to pay off, so can't spend too freely*' which suggests there are still savings to be made if one cooks oneself. A higher socio-economic status mother (peri urban WL) complains of the extra cooking she has to do when her husband is home from migrant mining work as '*he is always saying 'gizi...gizi...gizi (nutrition) and makes me cook nutritious food for breakfast, lunch and dinner*'. Her husband's definition of nutritious food entails intake of at least one kind of leafy vegetable and a hot home-cooked meal either with chicken or fish. But when he is not there here children cook simple food for themselves which usually entails instant noodle or rice with egg, or frying some frozen nuggets, meatballs or sausages when still in stock.

People's lifestyles are changing fast as practicality, affordability, and convenience come to dominate eating behaviour. Especially in urban and peri-urban homes there is little 'investment' the kitchen, and dining area and cooking and eating utensils as there is so little home cooking. A rice cooker is ubiquitous and will keep rice warm throughout the day in most homes so that *tempe*, tofu, instant noodles and side dishes can be bought from

outside or easily prepared with minimum effort at any time. Where home cooking does happen this is usually by mothers and daughters. Eating while sitting in front of the TV is common among our study families displacing the earlier practice of eating together on a mat on the floor. Very few homes have a dedicated dining table and chairs irrespective of their socio-economic status (see photo 3.16).

The most popular home-cooked meals in these study areas of both districts comprise rice with tofu, *tempe* and 'Indomie' (the generic name used for instant noodle). This resonates with other RCAs conducted recently in Indonesia although fish often replaces the tofu and *tempe* (see photo 3.17). Most of this study families also take leafy vegetables and *kerupuk* (flour crackers with salt and MSG) as side dishes. In homes in WL in particular locally grown morning glory was the most common leafy vegetable. The same is cooked nearly every day



3.17 The most popular home-cooked meal in the study locations is *tempe* and *tahu goreng* (fried tempe and tofu)



3.18 Only a few children still have breakfast at home

although a few shared that they eat and like more varied vegetables including *'our favourite food pecel'* (mixed leafy vegetables eaten with peanut sauce in WL), *'carrots and everything that mom cooks,'* *'anything leafy like coconut tree leaf, banana tree (upper) trunk, papaya leaf, beans and shredded coconut'* and *'spinach, papaya leaf, krokok (local green vegetable)'*.

In both peri-urban and rural KL, families spend about IDR 6-10,000 daily on tempe, tofu and vegetables (spinach, morning glory or beansprouts) from traveling tukang sayur (vegetable sellers) on motorbikes and a similar amount on rice which is either bought in bulk usually monthly (or their own paddy rice which would have the same monetised value). If they buy fish (either dried/salted or small freshwater fish) they spend a further IDR 2,000.

Some mothers shared that *'tempe and tofu are enough for the kids'* (mother, peri-urban KL) or *'as long as I have a stock of three things; rice, instant noodles and eggs, I don't have to worry about the kids'* (mother, peri urban, WL). As we have observed in other RCAs, many mothers seem content if the children eat just this, especially instant noodles, as it is something they like and can prepare themselves. Among the lower socio-economic families, eggs are eaten occasionally (mainly because they are considered hard to share). Particularly in KL, a common favourite is finely shredded chicken in a bowl of *soto ayam* (a clear or turmeric-seasoned soup with a small portion of shredded chicken mixed with rice noodles and cabbage) which *'gives enough taste of chicken but keeps cost to a minimum'*. They rarely eat more substantial chicken except at special events (to honour a guest, community gatherings and weddings) and then it will be often bought as chicken parts (breast and thigh) rather than a whole chicken). These occasions



3.19 A common evening meal in the study locations is *kerupuk* and *Indomie*

may include other kinds of meat too as described by a family in peri urban KL *'two whole chickens cooked on Lebaran (Eid Ul-Fitri), goat meat for commemorating 1000th day of father passing, and a goat sacrificed on the Eid Ul-Adha day.'* Beef is a rare luxury across both study locations.

Eating fruit is less common but some adolescents shared strong likes. Daun (18 peri-urban WL), especially likes apples and grapes but *'because they are expensive, I don't often buy them'* She specifically likes *'the red apple which is covered with the Styrofoam net'* but it is easier to *'pick sawo (Sapodilla in Latin) from the tree near the mosque'* in the season. Meli (16 rural KL) with easy access to the peri-urban neighbourhood also likes *sawo* and starfruit a lot, although this means mother has to buy from the motorbiked tukang sayur as only guavas are available for free in the season.

It was clear in WL that families prefer to buy food from outside the home rather than cook. They buy from local warungs when they feel hungry, saying these are *'nearer (than the market) and charge the same price'*. In some families the adolescents ate soto ayam every meal. They say that not only does it have the chicken, *'it also has vegetables so we don't have to get more from any other dishes'* (SMK girl, urban KL). Others felt they got sufficient vegetables from the *'noodle soup broth'* when it usually means a small portion of cabbage.

Most families eat the same weekdays and weekends but a few especially those better off families buy *'take-away'* food from restaurants as a weekend treat. Some adolescents in WL shared that they don't like Western food such as *'pizza or burger as it tastes weird'* although it is readily available in these tourist areas. This was echoed by adolescents from the neighbouring village



3.20 Car free day where you can buy lots of different types of snacks

who had never tasted fast food saying *'this is too modern for people like us. We prefer traditional food.'* Some adolescents *'cook out'* occasionally at weekends such as the boys in peri-urban WL who like to go out for the day, catch fish grill and eat this together or go camping and cook root vegetables in the bonfire. In KL, some girls and boys enjoy *jajan* at the stalls which line the road at the increasingly popular Car Free Days, held every other Sunday.

Half of the better off families we stayed with have a refrigerator and can store some food. Most use these sparingly keeping only a few items in them, like eggs, ice cubes, drinks and some fruits. It is primarily valued for cooling food and drinks rather than for storage. Only one family (peri urban WL) shared that they *'stock up on easy-to-cook items like frozen chicken nuggets and meatballs. Not vegetables, as they are cheaper to buy fresh daily.'* Another family (peri urban WL) shared, *'sometimes we turn off the fridge as we have a tight budget – IDR 150,000 monthly for electricity'*, and this seems to be quite common.

As in other RCA studies, girls and boys exercise their own agency in the choice of what and how they eat and drink. This is directly related to the fact that they have their own pocket money. As an example, a recent SMK graduate girl (18), smirked while reminiscing about her school days, *'I laughed whenever a student fainted at Monday flag ceremony because they had skipped breakfast. I never had breakfast but I never fainted. I still don't and only eat whenever I like.'* Favouring traditional snacks, she loves to go to the market and choose for herself. Spending IDR10,000 she gets *'klepon (a flour ball rolled in shredded coconut with palm sugar filling), getuk (flour ball without palm sugar filling), cilok (fried tapioca dough) and nasi balap.'* Our observations in both KL and WL locations suggest that girls like snacking more than boys, especially as it is associated with socialising. Sisi (13, urban KL) is typical and shared that she likes to spend her IDR 5,000 pocket money on

jajan at school and again at home after coming back from school especially *'my favourite, chocolate Pop Ice.'* But some boys either spend time playing sport after school or just seem to be less interested in socialising with snacks (preferring to spend pocket money on their motorbikes and cigarettes). Hak (11, peri-urban WL) returned his weekly IDR 50,000 pocket money to his mother as he did not spend it and only ate snacks once during our stay. Brothers in peri-urban WL shared that they preferred fresh vegetables *'you pick yourself'* and fish they caught for sharing with their friends rather than packaged snacks.

In KL, iced tea with a lot of sugar is extremely popular and adolescents buy this regularly, especially at school. Each glass of tea has added to it at least two to three heaped tablespoons of sugar. Summing up what others say a recent graduate from SMA shared, *'I rarely drink plain water, usually prefer tea because it has taste.'* In WL the preference is for coffee, but this too is heavily sweetened with minimum of two heaped tablespoons of sugar. It is usually local coffee and is drunk black especially by older boys. Some boys shared that, *'if we have seven cups of coffee in a day and with cigarettes too we do not feel like eating'*. The ready availability of instant coffee in sachets sold at school from warungs has, adolescents shared, increased their consumption. Another favourite drink from warungs is condensed milk topped up with boiling water or Milo in sachets to which large amounts of sugar is added even though it is already sweetened. Adolescents pointed out that condensed milk, and especially Milo which is marketed as a nutritious drink is like a continuation of powdered milk promoted for good growth as children. With their ready availability at school, these have rapidly become *'our favourites'* because they *'taste good.'*

In WL in particular boys drink local alcohol, preferring the alcohol-rich old tuak over the sweet version or beer which they say is *'too bitter, we don't like the taste.'*



3.21 Sachet drinks are very popular among adolescents in all study locations. There are lots of different brands to choose from

Eating & Drinking at School

Unlike primary schools, high schools in the study locations offer some arrangements for students to take food, partly because the high school day is much longer. However, with the exception of residential schools, these are not managed by the school and are not regarded as a responsibility of the school. The most common arrangement is in the form of '*Kantin Sekolah*' (school canteens). This in Indonesian context of canteen is merely the location with tables and benches put aside within the school where food and drinks can be purchased. The *kantin* operates more like a food court with different sellers providing different types of prepared food and drink from separate stalls and kiosks. Where food is prepared on site it is done so by outside people who use their own kitchen space. All cooking utensils and plates, bowls and cutlery are the responsibility of the stalls. The school rents out space and exercises some control over who can sell on the premises but has no other management or administrative role, except in some schools displaying the weekly menu. These *kantin sekolah* are not regulated and not mentioned as part of the *Standar Nasional Sarana dan Prasarana Pendidikan*, (the National Education Standard for Facilities and Equipment). The National Standard which is detailed in two Ministerial Regulations^[15] details at least 18 different facilities to be provided by a school but does not require that *kantin* facilities are required as a place for eating and recreation. Consequently, schools apply different approaches to arranging *kantin sekolah*.

Some schools allow '*all sellers to have kiosks nearby and inside the school,*' which sell a wide variety of food and snacks while others '*arrange the provision of standard lunch packs*' with prices ranging from IDR 150-300,00 per month. At one extreme a private integrated school

aspiring to be a model school refuses street vendors to sell anywhere school vicinity while others have a *laissez-faire* attitude to street vendors (See Box Story 18). Some schools charge vendors a fee to sell on the premises in what is best described as a food court setting. A food stall owner near the SMA in peri-urban WL explained, '*Ever since they forbade the students to do jajan outside school 4-5 years ago, they invited food sellers to set up stalls inside for a fee. But I'm not interested, and in fact some of the students and teachers still come here to eat discreetly.*'

Most sellers within the *kantin*, people explained '*have got to have an "insider connection"*'. This is why in a lot of schools we have visited, in this study as well as in previous RCA Studies, many food stalls/kiosks in *kantin sekolah* are owned by teachers and run by an employee of the teacher or their spouse. This, it was shared with us, explains why some vendors are allowed inside and others are not as well as different views of whether vendors can supply food at the school gates or not. As well as owning *warung*-type stalls, teachers also sell packaged snacks from the co-operative from which they share profits.

The pictures illustrate some of the different *kantin* settings applied by schools. They can be located as a detached building from the main school building which '*is rented by the school to accommodate the kantin*', a semi-opened area or a completely outdoor area with different sizes. Each school in the study areas has two break times; one short one after two periods which is when students take breakfast and another longer one at lunch/prayer time around noon. Parents provide pocket money with the intention that at least some of this is for food at school and we did not come across adolescents who skip meals at school to save money for themselves. As mentioned above, breakfast at school is an important social activity as students choose what they eat and where they sit on friendship lines. This break is very

15. Permendiknas No. 24 Tahun 2007 for SD/MI, SMP/MTs and SMA/MA and Permendiknas No. 40 Tahun 2008 for SMK/MAK.

'No Outside Vendors Allowed'

A private Islamic school has just added an SMP level about a year ago to its TK and SD school complex. The school is just newly operating and applies a long school day, so after lunch time the students will still have to continue studying for a few hours. I went to the school at lunch time and met some teachers and students. The school has "no snack vendors allowed" sign hung in its front pillar. I asked teachers why they do not allow any snack vendor to operate in front of their school. In line with its aspiration to become a model school, they said it is 'because we already provide the children with food'. They have a compulsory catering service costing IDR 150.000 per month which parents seem to be happy about, considering *'with that amount of money our children can already get snack in the morning and lunch with rice or noodle, vegetables, tofu or tempe'*. Only very occasionally included dried fish or a tiny portion of shredded chicken. Snacks in the morning usually consists of *'cassava chips or bread.'* And even when it means parents need to pay more compared to sending their children to the regular school, at least *'our children no longer need snack money when going to school, so it's worth it.'*



However, the children sometimes get bored and want to seek other options outside too. They get little chance as the school also applies a follow up rule that 'any student who is caught jajan outside during school hour will be fined IDR 5,000. I asked what would happen if children buy snacks after school? Teachers said that it would then be their parents' responsibility.

Field notes, Klaten Peri-Urban



3.22 The different settings of *kantin sekolah* and the various food items sold there

Chaotic 15 Minutes' Break



Students in my community skipped breakfast, the mothers said, *'we give them pocket money so they can have breakfast at school'*. So I went with the students to school to hang out in front of the school gate. There was a nasi kucing stall and a soto (soup) stall. Student had recommended the soup so I took a bowl for IDR 2,500 –full of rice, rice noodle and a little shredded cabbage and chicken. Closer to 9am other the mobile snack sellers arrived selling tapioca and tofu balls, fish cake, meatball, fried tofu and iced tea ranging in cost from IDR 1,000 to 3,000. At 9:15 the school bell rang and suddenly hundreds of students rushed to the fences shouting loudly, *'Yum! Give a bowl of soto!', 'Min, two ice tea', 'Dun! Dun! Hey, tofu ball extra chili!'* They continued shouting as the sellers served them as fast as possible. A soup lady had to climb the fence to hand over the soup and take the cash from students. Others used long

scoops through the fence to exchange their snacks with cash. As the short 15 minute break came to a close, students became impatient. *'Miiiiin!! Where is my lemon tea!!!'* and other sellers tried to get their business.

As the students returned to their classes a soup buyer said, *'These kids are rude, calling out to a seller without using uncle or aunty'*. She shared my shock in the aggressive way the students bought the snacks. As the soup seller collected the bowls he said, *'they buy through the fence because the school does not allow them to go out, and there are only two food stalls inside the school'* And she and the other sellers quickly left to do the same for another school.

Field Notes , Klaten Urban



3.23 The junior high school canteen menu in rural West Lombok



3.24 Macaroni and other dried packet foods are girls' favourite snacks in the study locations

20

Spending IDR 10.000-20.000 Per Day

An SMA boy (16) eats his breakfast at school during the first break at 9:30 and usually buys nasi bungkus first before following with gorengan (fried stuff) when there is still some pocket money left. This is considered his late breakfast, while later around noon there will be a second break which gives time for students to have lunch and do prayers

With IDR 10-20,000 pocket money per day he does not spend much on jajan at school, so if he has had a 'heavy' late breakfast, he would only snack during the lunch time. Later in the day as he hangs out with friends during free time afterschool, he indulges his love for mie ayam (chicken noodle) and bakso (meatball), also occasionally chicken or cow intestines skewer (IDR 500 per skewer). He actually earns money from occasional job of upgrading android software so that he can contribute his own money for this.

Field Notes, rural WL

short, often only 15 minutes and in some schools with hundreds of students the process is chaotic (see Box Story 19).

Quite big schools accommodating 500+ students have at least two kantin areas inside, but these are sometimes not enough to serve many students having to take break with the same limited period of time. A meatball street vendor in urban KL shared that *'there are about 900 students in the school, and only two canteens are available inside. In a 15-minute break, the kids are going mad trying to feed their hungry tummies.'* Some teachers in a school in peri-urban WL would ask in the

beginning of the day of whether students have had breakfast, *'if not, then they will be sent to the kantin.'* While this experience is only found in one school and cannot be treated as representative, it does not seem to be favoured by students. As they see jajan in the kantin not merely as an activity to fill the stomach but more as a social activity, the consequence of being sent to early to kantin is that the student would end up with very limited amount of pocket money to be spent later during break time with friends. As well as being a social need we were told having *'breakfast at school saves time.'* (WL urban) And with just IDR 2,000, one can have a *'complete nasi bungkus (wrapped rice pack) with tempe, shredded chicken, green vegetables – long and green beans'* and if it is not enough, you can get *'the bigger portion for IDR 3,000'*.

In KL schools soto ayam is always available and, as mentioned above, comprises a clear soup with a small amount of shredded chicken, some cabbage and rice noodle. Served with rice it costs IDR 2-3,000 per bowl. There is no equivalent 'must-have' dish at WL *kantin sekolah*, although snacks like gorengan and packed/sachet drinks like bottled tea and 'iced pop' drinks are common across study locations. One food vendor inside school in peri-urban KL shared that we *'need to change the snacks available all the time as students get easily bored are influenced by adverts on TV.'*

As mentioned adolescents, especially girls regard jajan at school as a hugely important social time – to form friendships and mark out associations as indicated by comments such as *'I prefer the food at the other canteen but all my friends go to this one'* (SMA girl, peri-urban WL). Few bring a lunch box as it sets them apart as a SMP girl shared she gets mocked by her friends since *'I always bring a lunch box, but my friends keep saying 'Why do you always eat from your lunch box? Come to canteen with us instead!'* (peri urban KL) So she consumes her lunch box at the first school break at 10 am, she goes jajan with friends buys a macaroni pack for IDR 500.

Eating & Drinking for Non-School Going Adolescents

While the majority of the adolescent girls we engaged with were school goers, there were some who were no longer at school, either at work or had left to take care of a young child of her own. These girls shared that their eating habits had changed since school, not only because of the change in their money source, but also due to the different circumstances they are now facing either during working time or after becoming a mother. Siti (16) who is working after graduating from SMP felt that *'my time and energy are all absorbed to work'* with long hours at the workplace and few food options despite having more money for jajan now compared to when she was still at school. *'The only one that is readily available is the bandeng presto (milk fish cooked in a pressure cooker until the bones are soft and edible) but this is what we package at the factory and I feel so bored just looking at it. If I want to buy, the only thing available is bakso (meatball) from the outside food vendor.'* Daun (18) also thinks that she *'ate more regularly when I was still at school. At least I ate breakfast through jajan at school, but now I just eat irregularly and when I like'* and worries that she cannot diet now as she did at school. Citra (18) dropped out of school in the second year of SMK to marry and soon after had a baby. She says she *'just eats whatever,'* but feels she is too thin and wishes to be *'more plump so I don't get tired so easily taking care of my child.'*

Some adolescent boys we engaged were also working and their food and drink intake are now shaped by what they can or cannot get from the workplace. Jati (16) from urban KL works in tempe factory after graduating from SMP. His workplace provides free food for all workers, both in the afternoon and evening, usually rice with tempe-based dishes but he gets bored with the monotony of this and prefers to eat at home. Paul (19) from rural WL has finished SMK and now works in a small-scale flour grinding business about 15-20 minutes motorbike ride from home.

He does not eat a lot of *'unnecessary food'* like junk food as *'it tastes weird and does not make the body feel fresh'* preferring vegetables which he says is *'healthy food'*. Pitung (16) now works in construction after graduating from SMP and says since getting typhoid last year, he tries to eat regularly and is glad that lunch is provided for free at the workplace. Tom (20), an SMK graduate, works as a security officer in a building in urban KL. As a night shift worker he eats in the evening and the next morning from street vendors near his workplace.

21

My Sister's Two 'Kantin Sekolah'

It has only been almost two months that 'my sister'(16) entered SMK. She chose to go there after SMP because she thought that was the closest she could get to pursuing her hobby of drawing. Her eldest brother said, *'Her drawings are beautiful.'* But, *'I no longer draw,'* she responded. *'They are two different things, drawing what I like to draw and drawing for a sewing pattern. Now all I do is make patterns for sewing.'* 'My sister' is in the first grade with 21 students, all girls and enjoys the new friendship with these classmates, especially as she is a very shy and doesn't feel comfortable talking to new people, especially the opposite sex.

There are two break times, one at 9 am and one at noon. These are when the girls go to the canteen together. One canteen sells soto ayam which automatically comes with a sweet iced tea as a package for IDR 3,000,- while the other sells lots of other stuff which my sister said was *'interesting and delicious'* with her favourite being skewered bakso costing IDR 3,000,- per skewer of 4 balls. Her second best seems like everyone's favourite too, the famed gorengan! Either fried tofu, tempe and others for which she doesn't really know the name in Bahasa, as she usually just needs to point at what one wants.

With her daily pocket money of IDR 15,000, she can actually enjoy both break times together with most of her classmates

Field Notes, KL

Sq Ri R. Saeyee

FANS
JKT 48

1-88-07

002 4

Small white label with illegible text and a logo.

Handwritten text on the wood, possibly a signature or date.

20032
Barcode
tel / Code

3.25 Fans of the band JKT 48 who painted their drawer with the band's name in rural Klaten



3.26 A young girl in rural Klaten watching TV in her free time

5. Motivations & Influences

Adolescents shared with us their perceptions on their ideal body image and what they find attractive in others. There are some differences between more urban areas and rural and this largely relates to greater exposure to TV, social media and internet as well as more diverse populations in urban areas. Boys in urban situations were more likely to talk about girls they wanted to date being sexy (interest in their boobs and bottoms) although they revert to the ideal of attractiveness (light skin, thin, good hair, pretty) to describe the girls they want to marry. The ideal of a fair complexion is stronger in urban KL and peri-urban KL where there is an expectations to use face products to achieve this. So, for example, some SMK girls in urban KL shared that *'skin colour doesn't have to be one type, whether it's dark or fair it depends on what kind of products is required'*. Wearing of make-up is more prevalent in the peri-urban and urban areas.

Some of our researchers extended their conversations on the topic of body image by playing games and using drawings. Several adolescents drew body maps which identify parts of their body they like, dislike, wish to change (see boxes 22 and 28). There are many differences between individual preferences, but some common perceptions that emerged from the boys and girls are illustrated by the following diagrams.

The ideal image for a girl is having long and straight hair rather than short and curly hair. Girls in Peri-Urban WL shared that *'long hair is seen as a sign of maturity in the community'* whereas short and curly hair is seen as the *'divorced or young widow status'*. A light skin colour is perceived as attractive, and said to look *'clean'* whilst dark skin is a sign that you work in the field and is *'dirty'*. In terms of body shape, a more proportional

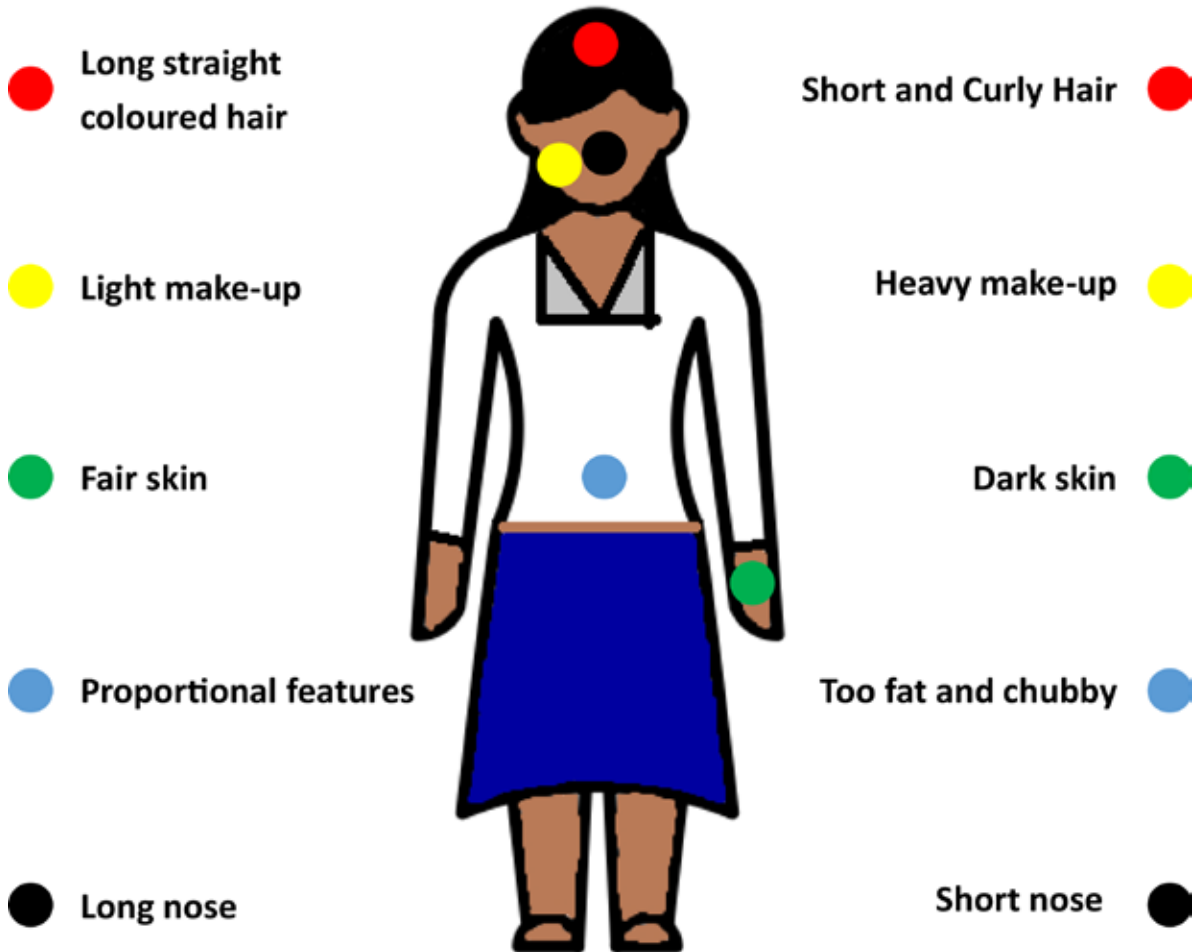
22

What do Girls Like?



This body map illustrates what a teen girl (16, rural KL) likes, dislikes and wants to change if she could. **Blue** dots represent most liked parts of her body (her cheeks and forehead which are in the right proportions as she had read in magazine). **Red** dots are her dislikes (short nose) she is often teased about this and chubby arms and shoulders. The **yellow** dots are what her brother likes about her looks (shiny lips with lipstick and mole). The **green** dot is what she wants to change (her hair which she wants to colour to be more 'stylish'). The **white** dots are parts of her body which are often the focus of teasing (her nose and shoulders).

What Do Girls Like



body shape and features is desired, and not to be too fat or short. One 16-year-old girl (see box story 22) likes her proportional cheeks and forehead size and ratio in accordance with her face.

Adolescents and teachers said there is little to no education related to health and nutrition for adolescents at school and teachers said this was not their responsibility. The basic '*empat sehat lima sempurna*' (four is healthy, five is perfect) is taught at primary school with typical comments from older children '*as primary school kids we all know about what is healthy and normal.*' There is no further nutrition education at junior or senior high schools as explained by a biology teacher (peri-urban KL) '*nutrition is only for SD*' and queried how it could possibly be included in the junior high curriculum. Since there is no formal teaching on nutrition and healthy

lifestyles we only heard rare cases of teachers providing advice. An exceptional example was of a SD teacher who advises the class to check the labelling and packaging of food and he encourages his class to read out and discuss the nutrition information on food packaging together.

Similarly health facilities are not providing adolescents with information and advice and we came across only one exceptional example of a pro-active programme run by a *posyandu* in West Lombok (see Box story 24).

The key influence in shaping adolescents' perceptions of nutrition and body image are primarily TV (advertising and idols on favourite shows) and social media. However the approval or teasing by friends and family also has a strong influence.

23

Aspirations for Fair Complexions

'Which face products do you use?' was a recurrent question from girls and women in the village. I have quite light skin and this topic became an icebreaker as all seemed very enthusiastic to discuss face products, especially skin-lightening ones. When I named the inexpensive, albeit well known brand I use, they were surprised and said that it is impossible for my skin to be so fair without using expensive face products. They asked for specific details on my beauty regime such as which products I use at different times of the day and the quantity used per application. The women often concluded that the inexpensive products worked on me only because I have used them for years.

Field Notes, West Lombok

24

Posyandu as a Source of Information

The youths in the community told me that they got health information from the posyandu, even though in other areas this facility focuses only on mothers and babies. Intrigued I visited the posyandu where the staff explained that they offer free medical check-ups for youth and use this as an opportunity to give information on health. They explained that they try to provide advice about sleep, drinking too much coffee and eating unhealthy foods. I returned to chat further with the youths and they confirmed that many of them regularly go for these free health check-ups and they actively participate when the posyandu holds any events. I had never come across anything like this before.

Field Notes West Lombok

25

'According to Dr. Oz'

A girl (14, rural WL) in a neighbouring household described about how many litres of water people should drink everyday, how to ensure a healthy diet, how many hours people need to sleep, and how too much carbohydrates are bad for you. I asked her how she knew all this and she smiled saying, '*I regularly watch Dr. Oz on TV. Then, I write down every single word that the doctors say in my notebook*'. She went on to explain that she tries to consume fruits routinely because the Dr. Oz programme suggested that fruits contain needed vitamins and minerals. She goes to bed early because Dr. Oz advised the minimum hours for sleep. She also got information about menstruation and puberty.

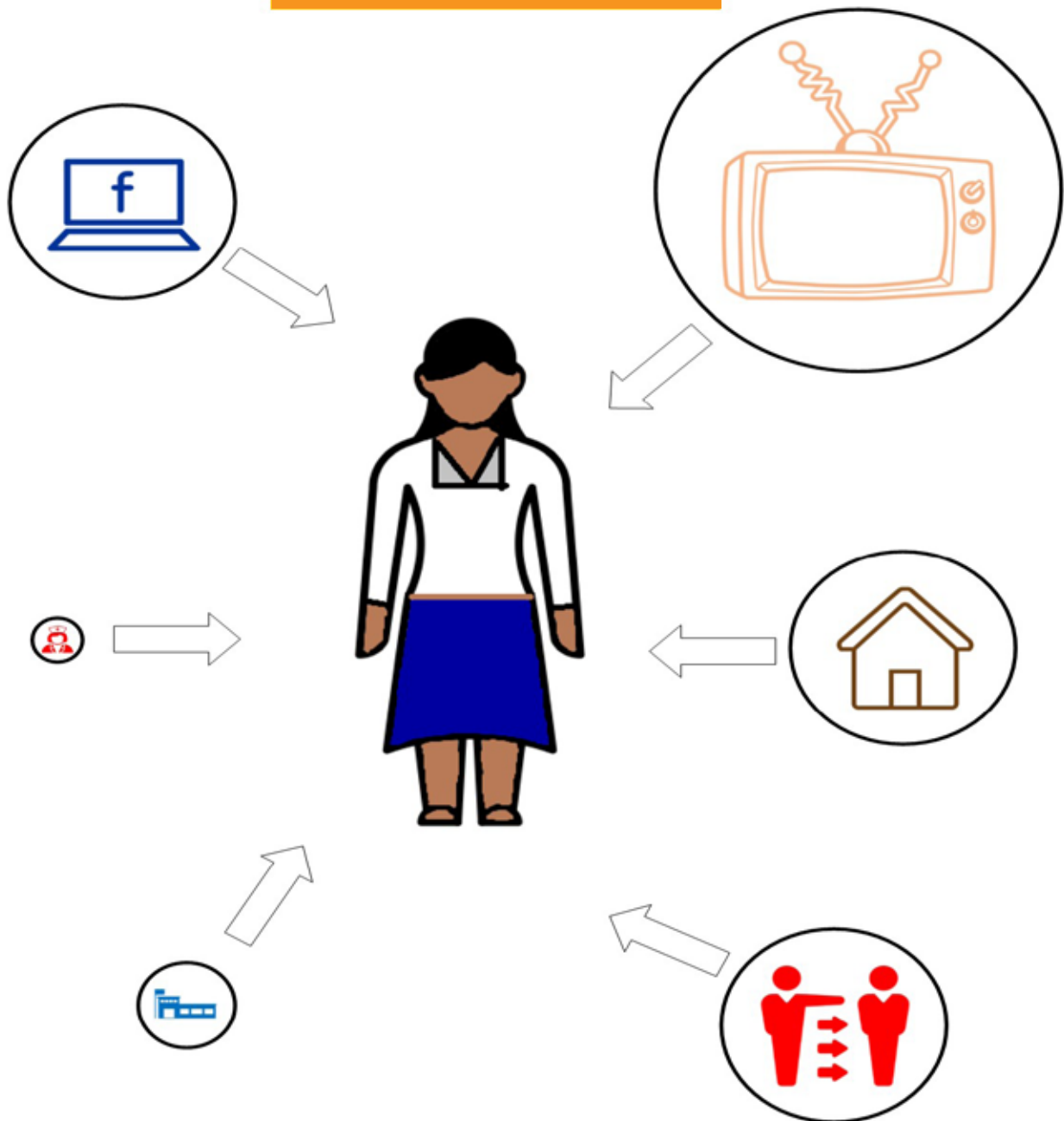
I was interested to know if her friends also watched this but she said she thought, '*They prefer to watch Bollywood TV series.*' She explained that she feels fat in her school uniform, especially because of the belt and the long skirt and her friends have said she is fat and so is trying to follow Dr Oz's diet information. After watching Dr. Oz programmes at the weekend, she usually discusses it with her friends or searches for additional information on the internet. At another time we were talking about snacking and she shared that her favourite snack was gorengan (fried snack) and said '*According to Dr. Oz, greasy foods are not good for our bodies, but still I like gorengan*' and she grinned.

Field Notes, Rural West Lombok

Although fair skin for young women has been admired for generations as exemplified by the make-up used for weddings, the widespread advertising of whitening creams and products has reinforced the need to have fair skin as an everyday preferred attribute. Other RCA studies in Indonesia have found that adolescent girls prioritise these beauty products^[16]. The Box Story 23 illustrates the pre-occupation with the pursuit of fair complexions. Many adolescents regularly watch

16. 'We are Healthy, Why Change?' Perspectives, observations, experiences of people living in poverty on their hygiene and nutrition, RCA 2015.

Key Influences



sinetron TV and idolize the stars on the shows, sharing their pictures on social media and chatting about the story lines. In both Klaten and West Lombok the reason given for wanting fair skin was nearly always to be '*orang sinetron*'. The alternative is admiring pop stars like a SMK girl student (16) who wants fair skin and straight hair so '*I can look like JKT48 band members*' (see photo 3.25). A more recent craze is Korean pop and many girls told us how much they wanted to look like the stars with their fair skin and straight, dark, long hair. Several adolescents in both Klaten and West Lombok frequently watch Indian films and covet their looks. For example a SMP girl student (14, peri urban KL) told us she religiously watches Indian movies every day from 1-3pm after school, saying '*I love them as they are all about love*', and wants a long nose and to dye her hair with henna like the Indian soap stars.

As well as influencing looks, girls, in particular, also talked about specific TV programmes which shaped their perceptions on diet, nutrition and good health. We met girls in peri-urban KL and rural WL who are devoted fans of TV health and fitness talk shows (Dr Oz, Tramedica). One of the girls (14, peri-urban KL) explained that she wants to be a doctor as she '*wants to fight cancer*'. The other girl (14, rural WL) often watches Dr Oz (see Box story 25).

A relatively new influencing factor is the prominent role of social media in adolescent's lives and how this is shaping their behaviours, perceptions and interactions. Many adolescents shared how much they like taking '*selfies*' with their friends and posting them on Facebook (see photo 3.27). They told us they like competing for '*likes*' and regularly use BBM to check out places to go



3.27 A favourite past time for adolescents is taking selfies so they can upload them on Facebook

and each other's photos. In remote rural KL a SMK girl student (16) shared that *'if I want to know where to hang out, then I use BBM. I love seeing my friends posting pictures'*. Social media is more used in peri-urban and urban locations than rural where there is more reliance on magazines and TV shows for keeping up to date. The girl in rural Klaten mentioned below who was described as fat on her first meeting with her internet date got her dieting information from magazines.

Increasing access to the internet has added another influencing factor with in particular online shopping sites promoting ideal body images. Some girls shared that they aimed to get into the clothes they share on BBM and used this as their basis for dieting. In remote rural KL a working girl (16) told us she measured the success of her diet by the fact that *'I could start to wear the online shop clothes'*. These clothes she said are for the skinny people and after dieting her clothes were *'starting to feel loose'*.

Within their own families, adolescents shared they may be pressured or teased about their bodies but are also supported. We were told mothers are quite influential in shaping and enforcing particular perceptions, especially with their daughters. One mother (peri-urban KL) told us the reason she doesn't want her daughters to work as a farmer like her is that she doesn't want them to have her dark skin and she discourages them from playing outside. A SMA girl student (16, peri-urban WL) told us that it was actually her mother who insisted on her having straight hair, when she is the one who wants to be different and have wavy hair as she said she thought *'it looks nice on me'*. A 23 year old university student (peri-urban KL) shared that her mother teases her about her weight and how fat she is getting (see box story 26). But in other cases parents encourage fuller body shapes such as the parents (rural KL) of a daughter (12) who reassured her *'it's ok to be like this- fat is healthy'*, but she doesn't believe them or like being told this.

'A 23rd year old university student told me six months ago she tried to diet as her mother teased her about how fat she was. She tried to reduce the amount of rice and didn't eat dinner, and tried to eat boiled food rather than fried. After a couple of months she gave up as it wasn't working. She now eats fried chicken in front of the TV and says her mother teases her a lot saying 'now she can eat everything, she is getting bigger and bigger, but back then she tried to diet'.

Field Notes, Peri-Urban KL

For girls, the desire and sometimes pressures to get married before it's *'too late'* is a strong driving factor. A typical explanation of why girls marry around 19-23 years is *'there is a fear that if you pass this age your body would not be attractive'* (woman community worker, rural klaten, 40). Boys that we hung out with in this same community confirmed that *'if you are girl then you are not considered as young for so long because once a girl finishes high school she soon gets married'*.

Older sisters are said to be a particular influence on their younger sisters. For example, a SMP girl student (14, peri-urban KL) recalled that she gained weight at nine years old and her sister and friends mocked her calling her *'kamu gemuk (you are fat)'* which led to her deciding to cut her food intake. SMK girl student (16, urban KL) shared that she looks up to her sister who is working in Malaysia and wishes to have fair skin and rebonded hair like her¹⁷ (see photo 3.28). The views of boyfriends are key too. For example, a SMK girl graduate (18, peri-urban WL) told us that her boyfriend said that he likes her as she doesn't wear too much make up comparing her to *'cabe-cabean (young racy cheap girls)'* girls who *'are pretty but cheap'* so she wears *'light make up and feels pretty when she does'*. A girl (16, remote rural KL) shared she met a guy online but when they finally met up in person his initial comment was *'Oh, this girl is actually fat'*. Since then she has been trying to diet by eating *'smaller portions and with lots of vegetables'*. There are also role models within immediate social circles or school whom adolescents, especially girls look up to and wish to look like. For example, a SMK girl (18, rural KL) told

17. Hair rebonding is a procedure that involves chemically relaxing the hair so that the curls become straight.

'I Cut My Hair as I Have to Cycle to School'

A 14 year old SMP student told me she hates cycling to school as *'it makes me sweat and makes me smell'*. She use to have long hair and wishes she still did, but because she cycles to school she cut her hair.

She really wants a motor bike and smart phone, but her parents don't have the money at the moment and tell her that she must wait until she goes to senior high school (SMA/SMK). She also wears a hijab as she says *'they stop us getting dark'*.

Her older sister (16) goes to SMK school on her motorbike even though it's only 5-10 minutes away. She got the motorbike when she started SMK and also got a laptop as her mother said it is required at school. She has long hair and wishes it was straighter. She also has fairer skin and says she doesn't like playing any sports outside. There is volleyball at school which she only plays as she has to.



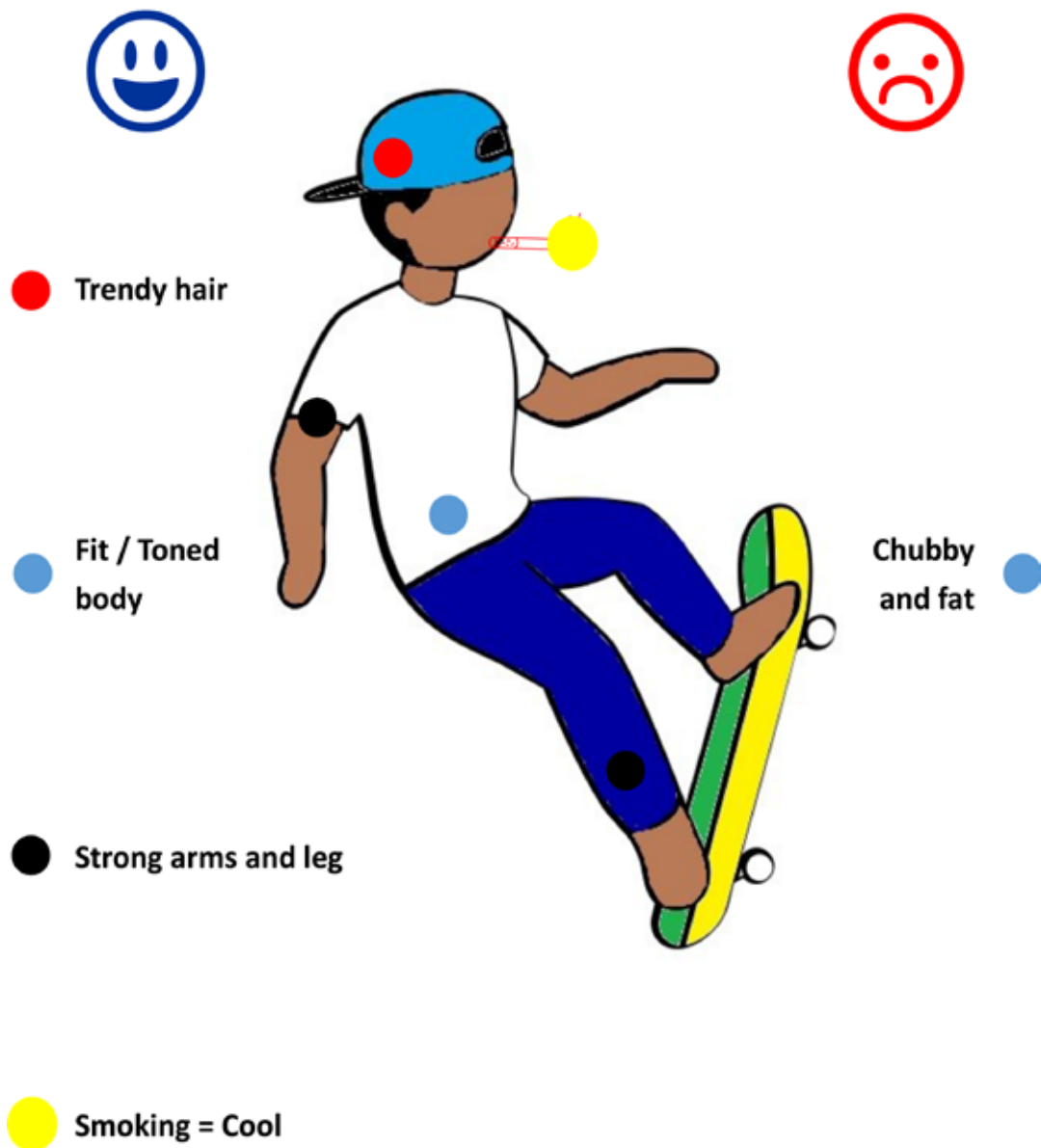
3.28 Salons in urban Klaten advertising hair treatment services which are popular among adolescent girls

us she admires one of the *'famous girls'* at school who is tall with white skin , saying *'every time I see white skin it looks clean, I don't think I have to put much make up on'*. Her best friend (19) told us that her role model at school is the School Committee leader because of her kind personality, good looks and she is smart.

The school environment may be a source of pressure or concern. As mentioned in the 'being active' section, girls abhor getting hot and sweaty as typified by a girl complaining about having to cycle to school *'it makes me sweat and makes me smell'* (14, peri-urban KL) forcing her to decide to cut her long hair so she wouldn't sweat so much (see Box Story 27).

Some dislike their school uniforms as typified by a SMA girl student (16, rural WL) shared that she didn't like the school uniform which she felt accentuated her *'fat belly'* leading to teasing by her friends at school. Make-up is prohibited at some schools but the girls like to *'get away'* with wearing light make-up *'enough to feel pretty'* . In rural KL, teachers at the SMK actually tell *'not too use too much make-up'* and holds a *'make-up check'* in the mornings and others check school bags for make-up.

What Boys Like



The ideal image for a boy is more about being seen to be 'cool' rather than just physical appearance. Only a few older youths actively aspire to having a toned body and 'sis pek' (six pack). For those who have left school, there is more scope for fashionable haircuts such as a 'batik pattern hairstyle' or 'mow hawk' or using dye as exotic hairstyles are banned at school, although many try to get round this by shaving under the hair, a style which can be hidden in school time. A more common way to be 'cool' is by smoking and most boys smoke.

Although boys watch less TV than girls (mainly because they are more able to spend time outside of the home, especially evenings), they share that they are still hugely influenced by celebrities and movie stars. For example, boys in peri-urban WL said they love watching action movies and they aspire to have bodies like the stars.

While watching 'Fast and Furious' together with our researcher, the boys enthusiastically flexed their muscles to demonstrate that they want muscles like 'The Rock' and to have a body like Paul Walker. Attending a gym is too costly so they use concrete dumbbells made by a friend instead. Others are influenced by foreign sports stars and would like to emulate them. For example a boy (10 peri-urban KL) wants to be like Ronaldo, so he regularly practices football hoping that one day he will 'have a six pack body like him'.

Mocking and teasing based on physical appearance is less common for boys than girls. Boys in rural remote KL told us that 'if you are fat you are most likely to be teased by your friends' but that it is often light-hearted and they joked that they also tease people for being 'too skinny'. An isolated case of teasing is one boy from

Key Influences



Papua who is going to school in rural WL confided that because of his dark skin and 'ugly hair' his friends mock him and say 'he is a son of a dog'. Although he takes this 'sometimes it gets too much and I punch them.'

Boys told us that there is considerable peer pressure though to smoke. Most boys try their first cigarette from while still in primary school, and experience strong pressure from peers or seniors if they don't with taunts such as 'if you don't smoke you are a woman, just cut off your penis' (19 yr old boy, rural WL). Only a few boys decided not to smoke or did not like after trying. They are very much in the minority and often cite health issues (asthma, breathing problems) or have ambition for the military and are concerned about passing fitness examinations. By not smoking boys exclude themselves from a key focus of social bonding. When discussing the proposed plans by the Government to increase tax

on cigarettes, boys in peri-urban WL were angry that 'it could damage the community and family relationships, as we share cigarettes a lot here'.

The drive to be fit is often fuelled by future aspirations. As mentioned as a reason not to smoke, boys hoping to join the army or police force know that they will have to pass a fitness entry test. A boy (17 remote rural KL), shared that he is currently running 10km every day to prepare for the army entrance exam, following a family tradition. Another boy (18, peri-urban KL) has held a dream of becoming a police officer since he left junior high school when he stopped smoking ('it makes you short of breath') and regularly runs, swims and plays badminton (see box story 29). A boy (17, peri-urban WL) who was expelled from MA Islamic boarding school for stealing, shared he now wants to become a police officer which will require him to lose weight so

28

What do Boys Like?



This body map illustrates what a teen boy (13, rural KL) likes, dislikes, and wants to change if he could. **Blue** are the most likes (his strong arms and healthy hair). **Red** are what he dislikes (his dark skin colour and his abdomen which he would prefer to be toned with a 'six pack like an athlete') stomach. The **yellow** is what his sister likes about his appearance (his ears). The **green** dots are what he would like to change (his hair) which he would like to be more stylish 'like the boys in sinetron' and lighter skin so he is 'more confident'. The **white** dots are the focus for teasing (his short nose)

his abdomen is 'just like those who often do sports'. Some adolescents resort to extreme measures to lose weight for these entrance tests. In remote rural KL we were told about an acupuncturist whom people from far and wide consult to lose weight. A particular example shared was of a 19 year old high school graduate from Jakarta who was anxious about the entrance test saw this acupuncturist who 'injected liquid into the stomach to burn fat, then gave pills to burn it'. As a result he didn't feel hungry at all and within 2 weeks he lost 5kg. We met this acupuncture lady herself and she confirmed that 'it is packed with boys when the army tests are going on' and claimed that the most anyone lost as a result of her treatment was 60kg.

29

Keeping Fit to be a Policeman

A 18 year old SMK graduate young man told me he knew he wanted to go to police academy since SMP so he stopped smoking and took more exercise. He plays badminton for fun and does running and swimming to keep fit. He recently went to Jakarta for a health check up and to process the paperwork for his KTP (ID Card). He wants to be a police officer in Jakarta as he says 'it's easier as not many teenagers in Jakarta want to join the police'. He explained there are two types of police academies: a lower rank police school and the police academy. Not many people want to go to the police school, but he does as its cheaper, there are no monthly expenses, and his cousin is there so it will be easier for him to get a place. The academy costs he told me costs IDR 500 million in bribery.

Field Note, Peri-Urban KL

Boys are active on their phones like girls but are more likely to be playing games than participating in social media with the exception of passing round photos of themselves and 'hot girls'. Instagram they told us is a very popular place to check out cute girls and re-posting their pictures, in particular from 'Pendaki.Cantik' (beautiful climber) Instagram site. Where they have access to internet, they too search for information but less often than girls about beauty and health products, clothes and health advice.

At school inclusion in the school teams and some extra curricula activities (Paskibra) is limited to the elite and already fit dividing and marginalizing students in some cases. At a school in peri-urban KL a SMK boy student (17) told us that the PE teacher allows the 'really fat kid' who they say weighs about 125kg, to run only half the distance 'so he does not faint'. But his classmates mock him for not being able to run and the special attention of the teacher. But it can work in their favour as exemplified by thin boy student (SMK, 19 rural WL) who had his confidence boosted by a teacher who told the class, 'beware of skinny people as they have powers, and they can master Lombok karate faster than those with muscles' and by keeping a quiet air of mystery about him finds nobody teases him anymore.'



IV Study Implications

Usually RCA studies conclude with the voices of people themselves proposing the changes they want to see. As the youth involved in this study on the whole do not view their behaviours and lifestyles as a problem, at least in the short term, it is hard to avoid authorial voice in these conclusions.

Youth conflate the idea of physical activity with participation in sport and do not include the other activities they may be involved with as exercise. This distinction creates a divide between those who consider themselves to be sporty and those who do not. Opportunities for engaging sport are strongly correlated to competence as it is usually organised around competitive teams and competitions are key motivators for participation. The Paskibra (flag raising troop) comprises boys and girls but membership is dependent on having A grades at school and meeting the physical criteria for selection which emphasises height and fitness. While enjoyed by members and clearly providing a very energetic form of physical exercise, it is closed to all but a few just like sports team membership. Compulsory school sports is often the only physical activity undertaken by teens. This suggests the need for more creative ways to get the non-sporty teens into physical exercise through non team activities. The rise of crazes within communities such as skateboarding, freestyling and hip-hop dancing can be capitalised on.

Despite nearly all schools providing weekly PE lessons for all students, actual time spent exercising is very limited. The periods are consecutive and structured activity rarely lasts more than one hour during this three subject hours a total of supposedly 2 hours and 15 minutes. 'Free time' follows the structured exercises and while most boys participate in football, volleyball or basketball in this time, girls tend to spend the time chatting and hanging around. The space for PE class,

especially in peri urban schools is often limited to small cement- schoolyard outside with no opportunity for simultaneous activities to take place. Shortage of equipment also constrains choice of activities offered. Girls (and boys) see PE lessons as relief from the classroom and stress that attendance and completion of simple tasks to complete grades to a minimum level are all that is required rather than any emphasis on physical fitness outcomes.

Image is everything for this age group and affiliation with role models from TV and shared through social media are very important. Given this and the ubiquitous access to TV and social media, idols and *sinetron* story lines can be used to portray and promote healthy lifestyle and good nutrition.

Girls have internalised the notion that they should not be sporty and dislike getting hot and sweaty. This image can be reversed through aspirational role models (as one example in the study shows following the visit of a woman athlete from Jakarta). Girls need to be provided with safe spaces for physical activity especially recognising parents increasing concern with them mixing with boys and for their security. The options offered need to exploit their need for socialising, accept their reluctance to get hot and sweaty and provide image-enhancing incentives.

Boys, who are more physically active than girls lament the loss of open and public space to play sports as land is taken up by construction. Futsal has replaced football as a result in many areas but courts have to be hired and there is more demand for than supply of facilities. This study highlighted a rare example where a Village Head had used Village Funds for badminton, volleyball and table tennis equipment and RCA studies in other areas have highlighted similar but also rare examples (see

In a village in Aceh where I stayed for the UNICEF Child Poverty Study, sports facilities are seen as a priority. A children's playground has recently been built near the beach and young children and their parents gather there everyday from 3-5pm. They also have a large football pitch for all to use, and the Village Head is planning to build a gym on the top floor of the village office. This is being funded from the Village Funds.

Field Notes, Aceh (UNICEF Child Poverty Study)

Box Story 30). The RCA study on village government indicated that since the introduction of the new Village Funds, their use has been rather conservative and often favours road infrastructure suggesting that encouragement may be required to use these funds creatively for healthy lifestyle and good nutrition ends.

Boys explained that banning smoking has no effect on their smoking behaviour and while most worry about the proposed increased cost of cigarettes, in reality this may not curb their smoking habits. Given that those who want to pass fitness examinations, for example to enter the police or military are some of the few who choose not to smoke, a strong connection to fitness and graphic depiction of longer term health consequences geared to this age group as well as use of positive role models may lead to reduction in smoking.

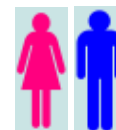
Food is increasingly taken outside the home and is chosen and paid for by adolescents themselves. Given this, programmes designed to help them to make informed choices need to be considered and regulations around advertising and selling food, especially at school, adapted to encourage healthy options. At home and within the community, the convenience to buy both cooked and packaged food reinforces some poor consumption behaviours. The ready availability of instant and highly tasty packaged food, especially sugary drinks, instant noodles and fried foods are accessible through mobile vendors and warung (food stalls) ubiquitous in the surroundings. This insinuates the need for programmes targeted at communities and families to improve their

knowledge on what entails healthy, nutritious food and on the risks of unhealthy consumption. Seeking opportunities to revive youth groups in the community level to function as a space for knowledge sharing and discussion is there, along with Posyandu by widening its target audience to include the adolescents as future parents, may prove to be valuable. Schools have become a place where school-going adolescents spend their time the most on a daily basis; therefore, the school management should be more involved in promoting and ensuring healthy eating and drinking in the school premise to support effective learning process. Whether by providing a better operated and more standardised *kantin sekolah* or by providing a clear guidelines for outside vendors to take part if a school lacks a space to provide *kantin* adequately accommodating the number of students attending.

Without clear operating standards and guidelines, the provision of food and drinks at schools can face a sizeable barrier in promoting good nutrition, as some teachers may have personal interest and stake when being involved in the selling either through *kantin* or *koperasi sekolah*. Another aspect to consider is that parents already expect to provide pocket money to their children for breakfast and lunch, and there is an indication that parents are willing to pay directly to schools for food provision as long as the healthy and clean features are reassured. This suggests another way of food provision for schools to manage, i.e. catering service through hiring of third parties. These parties would be required to compete for catering contracts based on an obligation to supply nutritious food which is value for money. Moreover, the finding suggests that in cases where a teacher has personal passion to share knowledge outside what is designated in the curriculum, information about mindful eating, being aware of what is written in food wrapper before purchasing is listened to by the students, as those kinds of information are highly applicable in their daily life. To follow up on this potential, is to make this sharing of information more standardised and systematic, not only depends on the teacher's own calling. Knowledge on healthy vs. unhealthy options and consequences should either be reinstated as part of school curriculum in junior and senior secondary levels – as it was in the early primary level, or be made as a regular thematic discussion accessible through extra-curricular activity or student organisation's event.



Annex 1: List of People We Conversed With

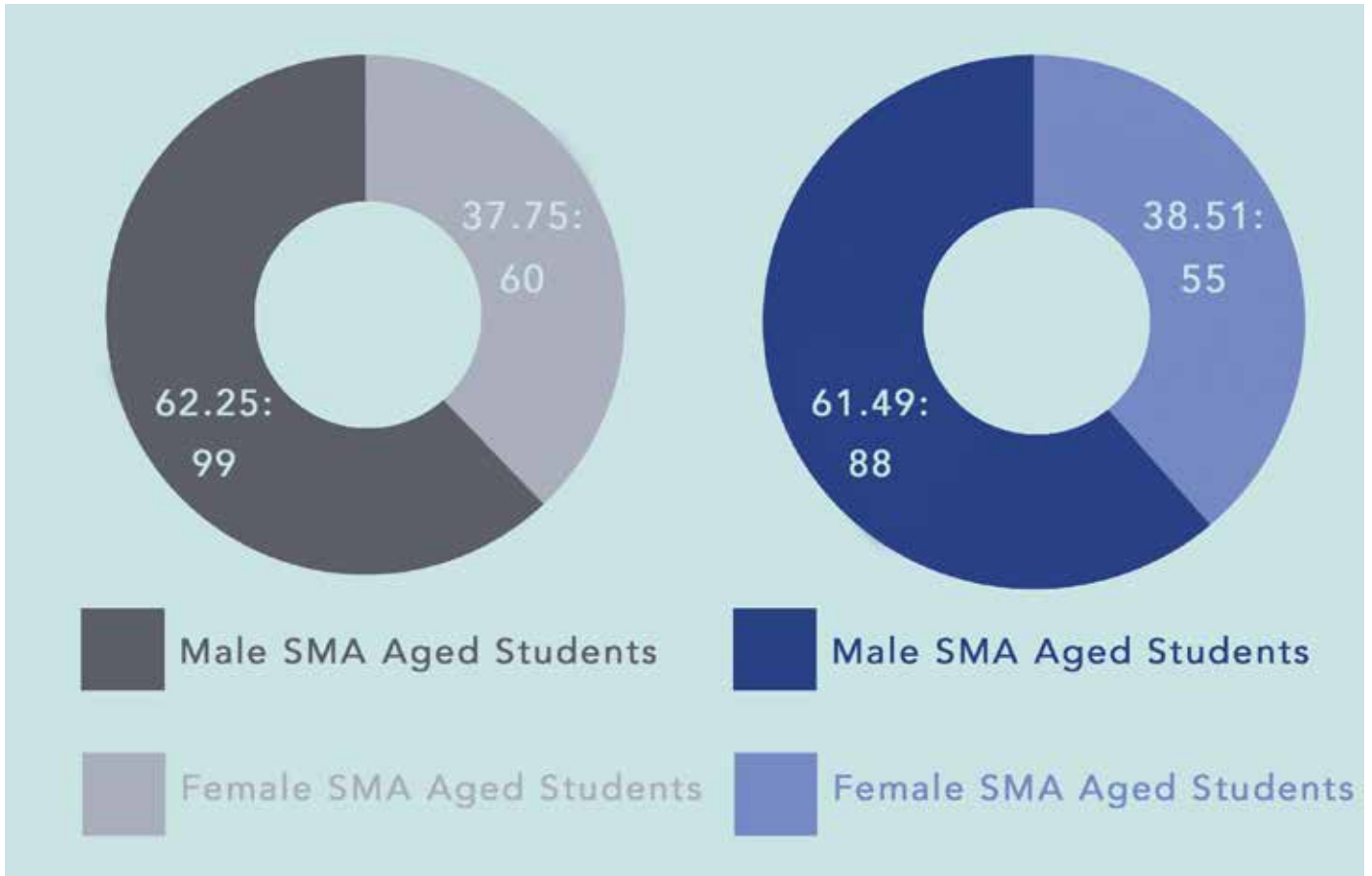


HHH			
HHH adolescents (SMP age)	3	5	8
HHH adolescents (SMA age)	8	10	18
HHH adults	27	36	63
HHH children	13	14	27
FHH			
FHH adolescents (SMP age)	37	16	53
FHH adolescents (SMA age)	33	29	62
FHH adults	66	78	144
FHH children	43	44	87
Other adolescents (SMP age)	48	34	82
Other adolescents (SMA age)	58	21	79
School			
School Principal	1	0	1
Teachers	9	3	12
Other school staffs*	4	0	4
Kiosk owners/food and beverage sellers	52	61	113
Other			
Health service providers*	5	10	15
Community development committee*	13	4	17
Youth group:			
Leaders	9	1	10
Members	19	4	23
Entertainment providers* (e.g. warnet, pulsa, futsal, etc)	7	1	8
Others*	24	2	26
TOTAL	+ 487	+ 373	860

Annex 2: Gender Compositions for All Adolescents

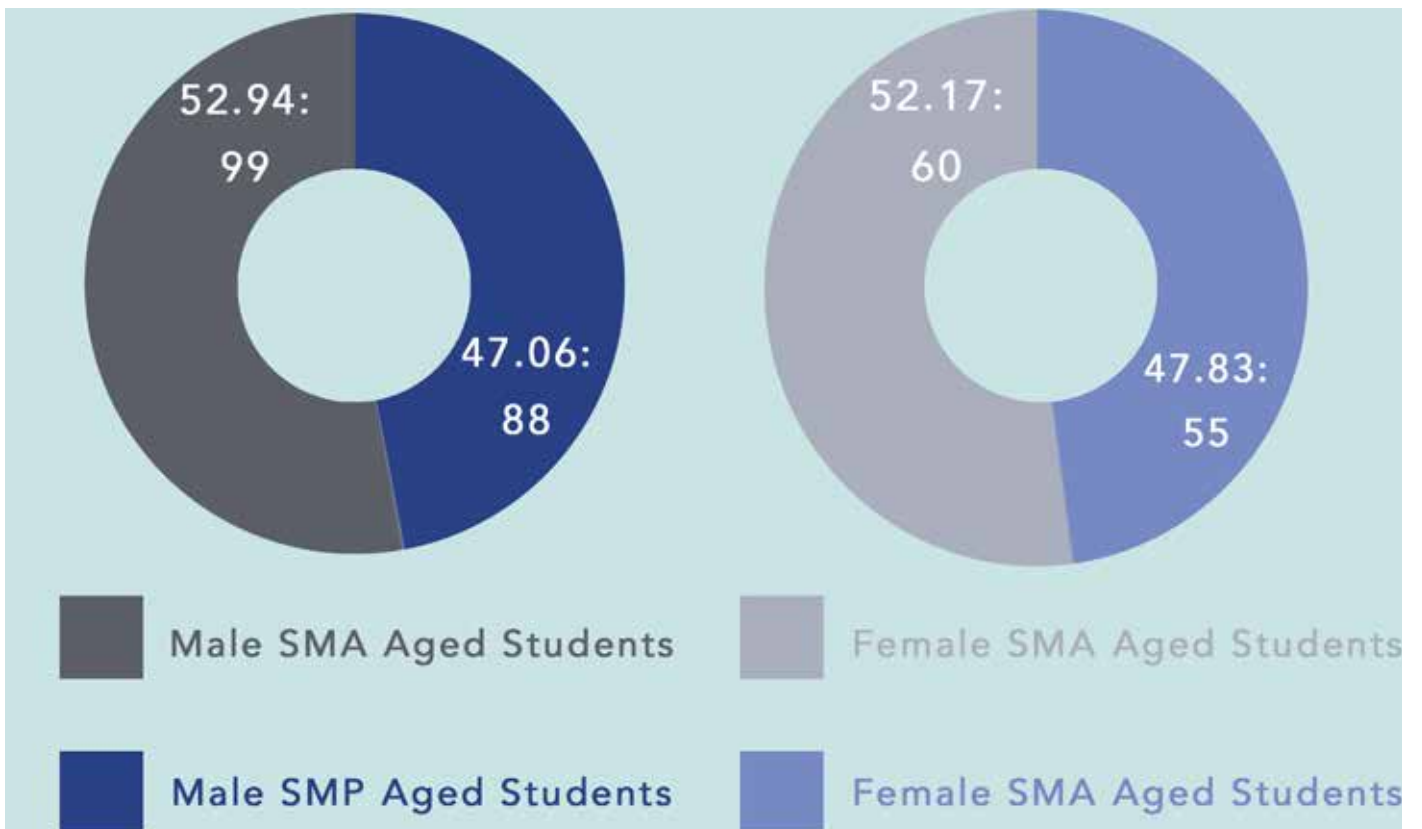
SMA Aged Gender Ratio

SMP Aged Gender Ratio



Male Education Age Ratio

Female Education Age Ratio



Annex 3: Study Team Member

STUDY TEAM LEADER

PETER RIDDELL- CARRE

CO-TEAM LEADER

REVYANI SJAHRIAL

TECHNICAL ADVISOR

DEE JUPP



KLATEN

Elizabeth Napitupulu
Invi Atmanegara
Iqbal Abisaputra
Khobbab
Nelti Anggraini
Revyani Sjahrial
Rizqan Adhima
Rudi Yudho Sartono
Putu Adi Sayoga
Thalia Shelyndra
Zikry Auliya Ghifary



LOMBOK

Beringin Kusuma
Invi Atmanegara
Izzan Fathurrahman
Rudi Yudho Sartono
Siti Alifah Farhana
Yulia Sugandi

Annex 4: Area of Conversation

Areas of Conversation

Context

Urban/rural/per-urban. Remoteness / topography / physical access. Size of community, main livelihoods, culture/religion, access to facilities (related to health and edu), **GENDER DIFFERENCES** (particularly in each of AoC)

Your household/family

Profile of the adolescents: age, education, gender, culture, religion. Skills, dependents, work. Hobbies, aspirations. Family: (family tree), ages, gender, education, livelihoods. (Decision-making, communication) dynamics amongst family members & between siblings (of different genders), lifestyle, status/identity, domestic responsibilities/roles, investment in education & social activities. House: location, building materials, layout, toilet/drinking water facilities, kitchen facility, key assets (land, livestock, work related equipment, electrical equipment, phones etc.), distance to public services (schools, health centre, market, local authority office).

Physical Activity & Living Environment

Kinds of social, leisure/free-time & physical activities performed, where they do them, frequency (in & after school, etc.), how & why. Distance and access to those places. (Most/least) favoured hanging out/'hiding'-solitude places. Screen-use behaviours: frequency & duration of TV, mobile phones, video games, internet, etc.

Awareness & knowledge on benefits and consequences: of physical & screen-use activities, short & long terms. **Parents' & teachers' engagement & role modelling + peers & youth groups' participation** in such activities, parents'/adults (de-)motivating behaviours. Changing trends, attitudes & preferences.

Means and affordability of **keeping fit**. Conscious effort to keep fit, access to school clubs, exercise programs, own initiative, school role, etc. **Different lifestyles & contexts contributing** to frequency of physical activity (chores, water collecting) + coping with competing interests.

Types of surrounding environment & nearby community: densely populated, socio-econ mix, ethnic & religion mix, green/open space, migration/missing generations/vacant homes), safe/dodgy. **Effects of these types of environment on physical and social activities** (positively, negatively), on physical & mental health (stress/relaxed, fresh/polluted, noisy/quiet), on lifestyle & income earning opportunities.

Adolescent Attitudes & Behaviours on Diet & Physical Activities

Eating & Drinking Behaviours

What an average day involves: activities considered routine & "out of ordinary": scheduled & unscheduled; difference between weekdays, weekends, holidays. Source of money for & autonomy in purchasing.

Eating routine: Frequency of meals, snacks, breakfast/earliest & latest meals of the day. Eating out/ in, not eating, going hungry. **Where & when:** at school/work, while watching TV/playing computer games/reading/other recreational activity, while hanging out, at relatives/neighbours. Whether there are days/occasions they eat more/less/mindless eating.

Dieting/binging: awareness/practice, diet type (carb, juicing, detox, weight watcher, Bikini Body Guide - BBG, etc.), preference in avoiding/focusing on particular diet. Goal of diet: appearance (skinnier/fuller), health, peer acceptance, special occasions. **Reasons for eating/not eating at different time/place:** hunger, stress, recreational, etc. Eating for prestige, because of peer, follow a role model, family/home influence, reason for not eating/going hungry.

As above for drinking routine & reasons why: water, milk, coffee, tea, juice, sugar-sweetened beverages, alcohol, drugs, smoking, etc.

Chat, explore, probe, present scenarios 'what if', introduce debate 'some people think', listen, draw, explain, dream, play

Personal Perception & Knowledge

Perception of a healthy/sick body, beautiful/ugly body, role model (older people, own peer, people of authority, parents, celebrities, etc.) & why. Concept of ideal & from where (peer, boy-girlfriend/spouse, parents, media, ads, culture, religion, etc.). Knowledge of health, nutrition and unhealthy choices.

Self-image & self-efficacy: happy/not about their body & why, parts of body they are (un-)happy about. Perception on diet, make-up, hairstyle, outfit, plastic surgery. **Preference** for size for different body parts & why, preference for weight + height & why. Perceptions of femininity/masculinity. Understanding of short & long terms benefits/consequences of (un)healthy eating & drinking.

Appearance effect on: personal & social relationships, education, career, etc., experience of discrimination/exclusion/favouritism.

Food & Drink Types, Sources & Handling

What is considered nutrition. Meal composition: veggies, carb, protein, sugar, fruit, sweet, etc. **Types of meal:** raw, home cooked, fast, canned, packaged, instant, microwaved, convenience foods. (Most/least) favoured foods & drinks & why. **Types of foods, snacks & drinks** considered traditional/not, healthy/not, necessary/not (fortified food, vitamins/mineral supplements – iron for girls, appetite suppressants), liked/needed but can't get/afford. **Where raw material, foods, snacks & drinks are bought and cost differences:** raw, cooked, delivery, warungs, store bought, street vendors, peddlers, restaurants, schools from celebrations (weddings, funerals, etc.).

Prep & clean up: knowledge on food preparation, who prepares food & cooks. Raw food handling (wash food, wash hand). Raw food storage (refrigeration, salted, smoked, out in the open, put in warehouse/barny/stock pile). Left over storage (in cupboard, out in the open, under lid, etc.).

Influences & Aspirations in

Eating, Drinking, Physical Activities

Immediate social circle - whose opinion matters: parents, family, peer, boy/girlfriend/spouse, people of authority. Concerning: education, career, personal, social, etc.

Parental feeding practices/habits as early influences & their effects: feeding certain child more/less, babies/toddlers feeding at different age, breastfeeding practice (length, exclusivity), occasion of purging/puking, if any. Parents' views of & influences on children diet

Society: role models, idols, aspirations, news, fitting in and identity issues, social & cultural norms (food sharing, etc.). Role of peers, youth culture & youth groups, clubs. **Role of school & teachers + health workers (syllabuses, types of info & activities),** street vendors, recreational service providers. Role & view of (social) media/advertising/marketing, global influences.

Changing trends on marriage/dating/sexual relationships, on eating, drinking, physical & social activities. What would make change happen: desire to change, best/worst kinds of influence & role model, what's needed to support preferred change, how to make important but 'boring' messages like nutrition appealing to youth.



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