

Study of Corporal Punishment in Schools in Indonesia, 1966-2014

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Abstract: This study investigates the practice of corporal punishment in Indonesian schools across three major political periods—Sukarno, the New Order, and the Reform era—before implementing the Child-Friendly School Policy in 2014. Employing a historical method within a case study framework, this research draws on in-depth interviews with six purposively selected individuals who experienced corporal punishment during their school years. Findings reveal that corporal punishment was normalized in earlier eras to instill obedience and maintain classroom order. During the Sukarno and New Order periods, such punishment—ranging from beatings with rattan sticks and rulers to forced labor and public humiliation—was harsh and widespread. In contrast, the Reform era marked a gradual shift toward less severe and more symbolic punitive practices, reflecting the growing influence of child rights discourses. The introduction of the Child-Friendly School Policy in 2014 served as a pivotal policy intervention, significantly reducing the prevalence and severity of corporal punishment. Nonetheless, residual practices persist, indicating a gap between regulatory frameworks and actual implementation at the school level. This study highlights the urgent need for comprehensive pedagogical reform and targeted teacher training to eradicate corporal punishment and foster child-centered, non-violent educational environments.

Abstrak: Penelitian ini mengkaji praktik hukuman fisik di sekolah-sekolah Indonesia pada tiga era politik yang berbeda—Era Sukarno, Orde Baru, dan Reformasi—sebelum diterapkannya Kebijakan Sekolah Ramah Anak pada tahun 2014. Penelitian ini menggunakan metode sejarah dengan desain studi kasus, serta melibatkan enam informan yang secara purposif dipilih karena memiliki pengalaman menerima hukuman fisik selama masa sekolah. Temuan menunjukkan bahwa hukuman fisik diterima secara luas dan dianggap normal pada era sebelumnya sebagai upaya pendisiplinan untuk menanamkan kepatuhan dan ketertiban. Pada masa Sukarno dan Orde Baru, praktik hukuman fisik seperti pukulan dengan rotan atau penggaris, kerja fisik paksa, dan penghukuman yang bersifat mempermalukan sangat lazim dan cenderung keras. Sebaliknya, pada era Reformasi terjadi pergeseran menuju bentuk hukuman yang lebih simbolik dan tidak terlalu berat, seiring dengan meningkatnya pengaruh wacana hak anak. Penerapan Kebijakan Sekolah Ramah Anak menjadi titik balik penting dalam mengurangi frekuensi dan intensitas praktik ini. Namun demikian, beberapa bentuk hukuman fisik tetap bertahan, yang menunjukkan adanya kesenjangan antara kebijakan dan praktik di lapangan. Studi ini menekankan perlunya reformasi pedagogis yang menyeluruh serta pelatihan guru untuk menghapuskan hukuman fisik dan mendorong terciptanya lingkungan pendidikan yang berpusat pada anak dan bebas dari kekerasan.



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INTRODUCTION

The Child Friendly School Policy was launched by the Minister of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection through policies regulated in PPPA Ministerial Regulation Number 8 of 2014. This shows that instructions for implementing the Child Friendly School Policy began to be implemented in 2014 (Kemen PPPA, 2014). The Child Friendly School Policy is a response to acts of violence in Indonesia's education world. Several acts of violence in the world of education in Indonesia

before the Child Friendly School Policy were implemented, one of which was the application of corporal punishment (physical punishment) given by teachers to students.

Child-friendly schools are organized by emphasizing the guarantee of educational institutions in providing a sense of security from various acts of violence and discrimination, fostering awareness and concern for the environment, and fulfilling children's rights (Agusta & Kardius, 2019). Child-friendly schools also emphasize efforts to involve children in supervision and complaint mechanisms for fulfilling children's rights. Child-friendly schools are also used as a preventive effort to prevent violence in schools, according to the Child Protection Law Number 35 of 2014, namely school-based violence prevention and child protection (Analiya & Arifin, 2022).

The condition of education in Indonesia before the implementation of the child-friendly school policy was very vulnerable to acts of violence. Acts of violence in the world of education can be classified into several forms, namely: (1) Physical Violence, (2) Verbal Violence, (3) Psychological Violence, (4) Sexual Violence, (5) Violence Bullying or intimidation, (6) Racial Violence or Discrimination, (7) Internal Violence cyber form and (8) Violence against students with special needs (Hanandini, 2022). Various forms of violence in the world of education often occur, whether carried out by teachers against students, students against teachers, or fellow students. One of the main focuses in this research is the practice of corporal punishment applied by teachers to students during lessons before the child-friendly school policy was established in 2014.

Before the existence of child-friendly school policies, the practice of corporal punishment in schools was considered normal and was used as an approach in forming the character of students who obey the rules, are disciplined, and control student behavior from behavior that deviates from teacher regulations (Erika et al, 2023). This refers to the experience of providing education in the previous era, in order to discipline students and build order in schools, teaching staff often applied corporal punishment during learning. Some experiences of corporal punishment that often occur in Indonesia which are familiar to the 90s generation are standing in front of the class and raising your legs, showing respect to the flagpole, writing "I promise not to do it again" on sheets of folio paper with alternating lines, drying in the sun in the field, hitting a wooden ruler, running three laps of the field and throw-

ing chalk (Fadhilah, 2022).

The application of corporal punishment is the same as physical punishment. In general, physical punishment is symbolic violence. Symbolic violence in education is intended as a form of violence carried out by a teacher in carrying out his profession as an educator by giving the impression that the teacher has power over everything in the school, especially in learning activities. It shows that the teacher is superior to his students (Apriyansyah, 2021). Some forms of symbolic violence in education include threatening, forcing, intimidating, hitting, and pinching. Often, a teacher at school still uses symbolic violence methods under the guise of educational interests or disciplinary efforts and is still unaware that teacher domination in schools is a form of symbolic violence between teachers and students (Fachruddin, 2018).

There are three aspects of symbolic violence, namely the form aspect, the strategy aspect, and the function aspect. Symbolic violence in terms of its form can take the form of threats, orders, insults, curses, hitting, or using bad calls. Symbolic violence from the strategic aspect is anger, or asking difficult questions, so that students remain silent without saying a word. Meanwhile, symbolic violence, based on its functional aspect, forces students to obey their wishes and control the class without involving the students' desires (Suda, 2019). Symbolic violence can take the form of physical punishment (Corporal Punishment).

School corporal punishment (SCP) or corporal punishment in schools is still widely used in several countries. The UN children's rights committee defines corporal punishment as any punishment that uses physical force and is intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however mild. The application of corporal punishment does not only refer to schools but is also applied by parents at home (Odeyinde, 2020). The legal status of applying corporal punishment in the world is prohibited. However, based on data presented on the endofcorporalpunishment.org page, it is stated that 128 countries in the world prohibit the use of corporal punishment, but 69 countries allow the use of corporal punishment. According to data presented in 2016, Indonesia is one of the countries that still applies corporal punishment in schools (Gershoff, 2017)

One of the applications of *Corporal School Punishment* among the countries included in the 69 countries above is Singapore, namely by applying corporal punishment to male students, which will be given with a light stick in the palm or on the but-

tocks over clothing. No other form of corporal punishment may be given to male students. Meanwhile in Papua New Guinea it is permissible for a parent or someone in the place of a parent, or for a school principal, or teacher, to use, as a means of correcting, against a child, pupil or apprentice under his or her care, violence that is reasonable according to laws and circumstances. While corporal punishment applied in the United States of Mississippi is corporal punishment carried out politely, or any reasonable action to maintain control and discipline of students carried out by a teacher, assistant teacher, principal or assistant principal acting in scope of employment or function and compliance with state or federal law or State Board of Education or local school board rules or regulations, does not constitute negligence or abuse of children (Benzique et al, 2015).

Based on the introductory description above, this research will describe a portrait of the state of schools in Indonesia in the era before the child-friendly school policy, especially referring to the practice of applying corporal punishment (physical punishment) which often occurred which will focus on three eras, namely education in the Sukarno Era, education in the new order era and education in the reform era.

METHOD

This research uses a historical method with a case study design. The primary data source in this research is data from in-depth interviews with research subjects. Subjects/informants in this research were selected using purposive techniques. Purposive techniques are used to select research subjects by considering specific purposes for research data needs. The purpose of determining informants was based on the criteria for determining informants as students who had experience of receiving physical punishment while at school, according to the era categories, namely (1) Sukarno Era, (2) New Order, and (3) *Reformasi*. Primary data were collected through in-depth interviews with six purposively selected informants who had firsthand experiences of corporal punishment in schools during these respective periods. The informants consisted of two individuals from each era, ranging in age from 21 to 78 years, and were interviewed between June 24 and 29, 2024. Interviews were conducted using semi-structured questions to explore the types of punishment, their intended purpose, and the psychological and emotional impacts perceived by the participants. The data analysis technique in this research refers to the Miles and Huberman analysis tech-

nique with four stages of analysis, namely (1) data collection, (2) data reduction, (3) data analysis (source triangulation), and (4) concluding.

THE CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN SCHOOLS BEFORE 1966

The practice of corporal punishment during the Sukarno Era, based on information from two informants in this study, illustrates that corporal punishment during the Sukarno Era was still a punishment that drained the physical energy of the students who were punished. Based on information from two informants who have experience in receiving corporal punishment during the Sukarno Era, it can be observed through excerpts of interview data as follows:

...when I was in elementary school, our teachers often hit us with rattan sticks, which were used as pointing tools when they taught using a blackboard, when they found students making noise or not listening to the teacher while teaching... (Interview, Mariaten 75 Years, 24 June 2024)

The experience of the informant above shows that during the Sukarno Era, the practice of corporal punishment (physical punishment) occurred by using tools as a medium to punish students by hitting. Often in historical records, using a rattan wooden hammer is one of the tools categorized as a characteristic of how teachers taught in the Sukarno Era. Apart from being used as a learning medium, the rattan wood is also used as a tool to hit students who are disobedient in class. The informant's statement above is also relevant to the following informant's statement:

... Yes, I once received punishment from my teacher. When I was still in elementary school, I was ordered to clean the school field because I broke the rules, namely coming in late until I was exhausted, because at that time the field still had lots of grass and weeds, not like today's fields, which have lots of paving..." (Interview, Joni 78 Years, 27 June 2024)

The informant's experience above shows a connection with previous informants that during the Sukarno Era, educational practices in Indonesia were inseparable from the application of corporal punishment. The cause of the practice of corporal punishment in Indonesia during the Sukarno Era, according to other research, was influenced by the situation in Indonesia after the colonial period, especially Japanese colonialism. The education system that prevailed in Indonesia during the Sukarno Era was still adapted to the Japanese colonial style military education system (Abadi, 2022). One of Japan's

doctrines for teachers in Indonesia is *Hakko Ichiu*, which means Eight Threads Under One Roof, namely Japan's ambition to unite Greater East Asia under the command of the Japanese emperor. Apart from *Hakko Ichiu*, another doctrine in Japanese-style education is *Nippon Seisyin*, which means military training and the Japanese spirit.

The impact felt by students who had a learning experience in the Sukarno Era was based on statements from two informants in this study who had relevant statements regarding the impact of corporal punishment, which can create fear and unforgettable memories, so that it can be a trigger for the next generation and the future. The impacts felt by research sources regarding corporal punishment are listed in the following interview data:

...when my teacher hit me with a rattan, I felt very afraid of doing something wrong. Being hit with rattan does not hurt, but the feeling I felt when I was punished made me afraid of doing something wrong..." (Interview, Mariaten, 75 Years Old, 24 June 2024)

Based on the excerpt from the interview data above, the experience of the interviewee shows that the impact felt by students who have experienced corporal punishment is that it creates a fear of doing something wrong. Apart from the opinions of the sources above, the experience of receiving corporal punishment at school has an impact as an unforgettable memory. As stated by the informant in the following interview data:

...even now I still remember very well the memory of the punishment for cleaning the field. In my opinion, these memories can give rise to feelings of dislike and even revenge for the next generation who become educators like me if they are not accompanied by an understanding of the essence of implementing punishment in schools. So there is a possibility that the practice of corporal punishment will continue into the next era... (Interview, Joni 78 Years, 27 June 2024)

Based on the data above, the impacts resulting from the practice of corporal punishment in the Sukarno Era could be the beginning of education in Indonesia, still not being free from acts of violence. The application of corporal punishment is the same as physical punishment. In general, physical punishment is symbolic violence. Symbolic violence in education is intended as a form of violence carried out by a teacher in carrying out his profession as an educator by giving the impression that the teacher has power over everything in the school, especially in learning activities. It shows that the teacher is superior to his students (Apriyansyah, 2021).

The aim or motive behind the application of corporal punishment, according to the perspective of students who received corporal punishment in the Sukarno Era, was aimed as a form and effort to build a culture of obeying the rules and realizing an attitude of discipline. The statements from the sources in this research regarding the purpose of physical punishment given by teachers are found in the following interview data and notes:

...apart from being beaten by teachers in the past, if students disobeyed, the punishment was not only physical but also mental, such as stupid, naughty reproaches which made us remember, but our teachers always told us that what he did was aimed at making us become a generation that is disciplined and obeys the rules... (Interview, Mariaten 75 years, 24 June 2024)

As the data in the interview above shows, teachers' punishment was physical and psychological during the Sukarno Era. The purpose or reasons behind the application of corporal punishment in the Sukarno Era were socialized by teachers as a form and effort to build an attitude of obedience and discipline in students. The informant's statement above is in line with the statements of other informants in the following interview data:

... the aim of applying punishment in my opinion is to form a disciplinary character. Because at school, as I experienced when I was late coming in, I was punished for cleaning the field, which is a risk if I don't act disciplined... (Interview, Joni, 78 years old, 27 June 2024)

Corporal punishment in schools is used to build a culture of obedience and discipline among students. This is in line with the concept of the Prussian education system, which has the main aim of producing a generation that is obedient, disciplined and does not break the rules, identical to the characteristics of *the Prussian School System* which originated from the Prussian kingdom and then merged with the German empire in the 18th century. *The Prussian School System* is an education system famous in Europe (Germany) designed to produce soldiers and hard workers (Cardoso, 2016).

The Prussian education system emphasizes that the school curriculum carries a heavy burden of lessons, formulas, and memorization that are never used in real life, so children's brains tire easily and therefore lose creativity early on. This education system uses fear and punishment in teaching so that people are afraid of making mistakes, afraid of failure, and have no initiative and cannot identify problems (Kusmawati et al, 2023).

The Prussian School System is currently still

Table 1. Corporal Punishment During the Sukarno Era

No	Types of Punishment	Forms of Punishment	Education Level	Purpose of Implementing Punishment
1.	Corporal/Physical Punishment	(Smack) Hit the Rattan Wood	Elementary school	• Forming an Obedient Attitude • Forming a Disciplined Attitude
2.	Corporal/Physical Punishment	(Hard Physical Work) Cleaning the School Grounds		
3.	Psychic Punishment	(Reproach) The term stupid or naughty		

being adapted in several countries, one of which is Indonesia. One characteristic of the Prussian education system that is applied in the education system in Indonesia is the learning method. Learn, memorize, understand, and do the questions to get good grades. Physical punishment (corporal punishment) is also often applied in several schools (Lapasau, 2017). These two examples show that the Prussian education system still drives the education system in Indonesia by monopolizing learning, instilling fear to form discipline (a culture of obedience) like a soldier.

During the Sukarno Era in Indonesia, corporal punishment in schools was often carried out in quite harsh and sometimes inhumane ways. Several forms of corporal punishment commonly carried out in schools at that time can be summarized in the table 1.

The forms of physical punishment summarized in Table 1 above are often carried out without consideration of the psychological and emotional impacts they can have on students. These practices, although considered in their day as a way to enforce discipline, are now considered inhumane and incompatible with more modern educational principles that emphasize positive development and rewarding good behavior.

THE CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN SCHOOLS 1966-2014

The practice of corporal punishment during the New Order era, based on information from two informants in this research, illustrates that corporal punishment during the New Order era experienced slight changes in the form of punishment, which was explained by research informants through interview excerpts as follows:

...when I was still in junior high school, the most phenomenal and common form of physical punishment was hitting students with wooden rulers, when the children had raids on cutting their nails or hair, which was not by the rules..." (Interview, Nunuk Emi 53 Years, June 27 2024)

The practice of corporal punishment during the New Order era, according to the information from the informant above, stated that the form of

punishment by hitting a ruler was a severe corporal punishment in that era. This is similar to the Sukarno Era period, where, during the Sukarno Era, the way to punish students was by hitting rattan wood. However, the hitting tool was transformed into a wooden ruler during the New Order. The type of punishment above does not look at gender, whether male or female. This is in line with the experiences of other informants who also stated that they experienced punishment that did not look at gender in the following interview data:

... once in my class at that time, my female friends were busy and joking to themselves when the teacher explained. Then they were thrown using a broomstick until the broomstick came loose... (Interview, Riduwan, 59 years old, 25 June 2024)

Based on the two experiences of forms of corporal punishment in the New Order era above, it can be analyzed that both have similar methods, namely using tools/objects as a medium for administering punishment. It is just that the difference lies in the method of punishment, namely, a ruler is used to hit while a broomstick is thrown. Apart from the two examples of punishment during the New Order era above, the following are types of punishment in the New Order era that were extreme and had different characteristics from the Sukarno Era, according to the following interview data:

...at that time I was in junior high school, then my friends and I skipped teacher A's lesson because we went to the sugar cane fields which were being harvested. When we arrived at school, my friends and I were punished by being told to eat sugar cane and its juice, we chewed as long as possible and then we were allowed to spit out the sugar cane juice. In the end, we really gave up and didn't do it again..." (Interview, Riduwan, 59 Years, 25 June 2024)

The informant's experience in the interview data above shows that there is a form of corporal punishment that is a threat for doing something that cannot be done in general. So, the above punishment does not pay attention to the human element. Apart from the experiences of the informants above, the experiences of other informants are also

Table 2. Corporal Punishment during the New Order

No	Types of Punishment	Forms of Punishment	Education Level	Purpose of Implementing Punishment
1.	Corporal/Physical Punishment	(Blow) Hit the Ruler Throw the Broomstick	Basic Education (SMP)	Controlling student behavior so that it does not deviate
2.	Corporal/Physical Punishment	(Threat) Swallow sugar cane juice Stand in front of the class in a certain position		

similar to the form of punishment using threats, which is explained through the following interview data:

...apart from being hit with a ruler, other punishments that were often applied were when I was ordered to stand in front of the class with one leg raised, in a respectful position and other positions... (Interview, Nunuk Emi 53 years old, 27 June 2024)

Before the Child-Friendly School Policy was introduced, there was a term for student punishment in the past called "Setrapped," which became a term that was always remembered by students, both those who had experienced it and those who had never experienced it directly. Being trapped is a punishment that asks students to stand before the class. This position is varied by lifting one leg or pinching both ears. This punishment has become popular from the elementary to the high school levels. If a mistake made by a student makes the teacher feel very angry, punishment can be carried out outside the classroom. So it has an extraordinarily embarrassing effect (Suharjo & Pribadi, 2021).

The various experiences described by informants in this research can be analyzed to show no decrease in the intensity of physical punishment during the New Order. However, instead, it became more varied and was still carried out with specific aims and objectives. The purpose of this punishment was implemented according to the opinion of informants who had experienced corporal punishment at school during the New Order era, as described in the following interview data:

...in my opinion, the punishment given by our teachers at that time was aimed at limiting our behavior so that we would not deviate from the rules set by the school..." (Interview, Riduwan, 59 years old, 25 June 2024)

The informant's statement above is in line with other informants who stated that punishments are given to control student behavior so that they comply with school rules, as seen in the following data:

...the punishment designed by our teachers at that

time was to make us obey so that our behavior remained well controlled... (Interview, Nunuk Emi, 53 years old, 27 June 2024)

The aims behind implementing corporal punishment in schools in the Sukarno Era, as presented in the interview data above, cannot be justified. This is because physical punishment is part of symbolic violence, which can take the form of physical punishment (Corporal Punishment). School corporal punishment (SCP) or corporal punishment in schools is still widely used in several countries. The UN children's rights committee defines corporal punishment *as* any punishment that uses physical force and is intended to cause some degree of pain or discomfort, however mild. The application of corporal punishment does not only refer to schools but is also applied by parents at home (Odeyinde, 2020).

During the New Order in Indonesia, corporal punishment in schools remained a common practice to enforce student discipline. Although there were efforts to regulate punishment so that it was more controlled, several forms of corporal punishment commonly carried out at that time were summarized in Table 2.

The practice of corporal punishment in schools during the New Order era was often carried out without considering the long-term impact on students' physical and mental well-being. Despite efforts to regulate and limit corporal punishment, this approach often still leads to the use of violence as a method to control student behavior.

THE CORPORAL PUNISHMENT IN SCHOOLS 2014 AND AFTER

Forms of corporal punishment during the reform period began to experience a shift in methods, and methods that were different from those of previous eras. The forms of corporal punishment applied in this era are more humanistic than those of previous eras. Several experiences of forms of corporal punishment that occurred in the reform era from 1998 to 2014 were explained by two informants in the

Table 3. Corporal Punishment During the Reformation Period

No	Types of Punishment	Forms of Punishment	Education Level	Purpose of Implementing Punishment
1.	Corporal/Physical Punishment	(Light Physical Activity) Collecting 100 Pebbles, Writing for pages.	Basic Education (SD -SMP)	Building awareness of a sense of responsibility and awareness of behavioral risks
2.	Corporal/Physical Punishment	(Strenuous Physical Activity) Push-ups, running, sit-ups		

following interview data:

...when I was still in elementary school, I was once punished by being told to collect 100 pebbles in the school field because I fought with my friend..." (Interview, Afandi, 21 years old, 29 June 2024)

Based on the informant's narrative above, it can be analyzed that the punishments applied by teachers in the reform era were no longer as severe as those in the New Order era or the Sukarno Era. This is also supported by the statements of other informants as follows:

...when I was in elementary and middle school, I was punished for writing words I promised not to repeat on several sheets of folio paper because I missed congregational prayers at school..." (Interview, Anisa, 27 years old, 28 June 2024)

The form of physical punishment described by other informants' experiences shows that the punishment given by the teacher is a form of consequence for violating student responsibility. However, the physical punishment that applies can be identified with a form of exploitation in handwriting on sheets of paper that has nothing to do with it. with the learning process or existing learning materials.

...the most severe punishment in my opinion is push-ups, sit-ups for being late for school. Or sometimes I run several laps, and after that I am punished in class and I can't attend lessons because my body feels tired... (Interview, Afandi, 21 years old, 29 June 2024)

The information from the informant above shows that the punishment for push-ups, running, or sit-ups is a relatively severe physical punishment. This aligns with the research results, which explain that the *push-up* punishment is complemented by *squad jumps*. These two physical-themed punishments are relatively severe and have the most *painful effect* on students. Other physical punishments include being dried in the sun on the field and run-

ning around the field, which is not only done in one lap but can be done in two to three laps. The existence of physical-themed punishments makes students' uniforms wet with sweat from the physical activities they carry out, so that when they continue learning activities, this can trigger discomfort and at the same time prevent them from focusing on studying because they are tired (Ariani et al, 2022).

Based on explanations from two research sources, the purpose of implementing corporal punishment during the reform period is not limited to building discipline in students or controlling student behavior. More than that, physical punishment aims to be the final (coercive) effort to provide awareness of a sense of responsibility and the risks posed by behavior that shirks responsibility. This is following the following informant's interview statement:

... in my opinion, the purpose of being given a punishment like the one I experienced is to teach a lesson about the importance of being responsible for all the risks of our behavior... (Interview, Anisa, 27-year-old, 28 June 2024)

During the Reformation in Indonesia, there was a significant change in the approach to corporal punishment in schools. The practice of harsh and inhumane physical punishment is increasingly being criticized, and there are efforts to change policy to be more progressive and pro-child rights. Although not all were completely abolished, several forms of corporal punishment were common during the Reformation period, including those presented in Table 3.

Thus, the Reform period brought about a positive change in the approach to school discipline, where corporal punishment was increasingly seen as a last resort and should be carried out with very careful consideration of the welfare and rights of students. If examined using learning theory analysis, the administration of corporal punishment during the Sukarno Era, New Order, and reforms in Indonesian schools can be examined using the SR (Stimulus and Response) behavioristic learning the-

ory by BF Skinner. Behavioristic theory emphasizes changes in behavior as a result of experience and training in the relationship between stimulus and response (Safira & Fitriani, 2024). Punishment can be identified as a form of stimulus that aims to cause changes in behavior to become rule-abiding and disciplined.

Although this study chronologically reveals the transformation of corporal punishment practices from the Sukarno era to the Reformation, a deeper analysis can be done by viewing this practice as part of the operation of disciplinary power within the framework of Michel Foucault's theory (1977). In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault explains that modern power no longer operates through open violence, but rather through internalizing control through institutional systems such as schools. Thus, corporal punishment is not merely an act of punishment, but a mechanism for forming disciplined subjects who obey authority.

The use of corporal punishment during the Old Order and New Order shows that schools became a means of the regime of truth, where knowledge and power intertwine to shape children as obedient citizens. Education became part of the state project to create an "ideal human," a goal that aligns with the New Order's development ideology, which emphasizes stability, order, and obedience (Safei & Hudaidah, 2020). In this case, corporal punishment can be seen as a manifestation of the disciplinary state (Althusser, 1971), which works through state ideological institutions such as schools.

Furthermore, it is important to note that the shift in corporal punishment during the Reformation period was not merely the result of changes in educational norms but rather the result of increased awareness of children's rights and the globalization of human rights-based educational values. Adopting the Child-Friendly Schools policy aligns with Indonesia's commitment to the Convention on the Rights of the Child, which has been ratified through Presidential Decree No. 36/1990. In this context, corporal punishment began to be seen as a form of state violence against children, which is contrary to the principle of non-violence in education. However, as stated in this study, forms of corporal punishment have not completely disappeared post-2014. This shows that policy changes have not fully penetrated the practical level in schools. From the learning theory perspective, corporal punishment in Indonesia shows that classical behaviorism still dominates teachers' approaches to changing student behavior. Although Skinner (1971) suggest-

ed punishment is less effective in the long term than positive reinforcement, teachers still use physical punishment as the main deterrent. This indicates the need for a more humanistic reformulation of pedagogy, such as that offered by constructivism theory (Vygotsky, 1978), which emphasizes the development of awareness, dialogue, and empathy in the learning process.

CONCLUSION

This study demonstrates that corporal punishment in Indonesian schools—across the Sukarno, New Order, and Reform eras—reflects a broader trajectory of educational discipline shaped by political ideologies, historical legacies, and evolving interpretations of children's rights. In the Sukarno era, physical punishments such as rattan beatings and forced labor were commonly used to instill obedience, mirroring remnants of militaristic and colonial educational systems. The New Order period institutionalized more varied and object-based forms of punishment, such as ruler strikes and broomstick throwing, accompanied by public humiliation, aiming to ensure conformity within an authoritarian educational framework. In contrast, the Reform era witnessed a gradual reduction in the severity of corporal punishment, especially following the introduction of the Child-Friendly School Policy in 2014. While this policy marked a critical normative shift toward child protection, the persistence of milder forms of physical punishment indicates a lingering disjuncture between policy and practice. The findings suggest that while top-down regulatory reforms are essential, they must complement cultural transformation at the school level, particularly in teacher beliefs and pedagogical practices. Ultimately, this study emphasizes the urgency of comprehensive pedagogical reform that prohibits corporal punishment legally and promotes empathetic, dialogical, and child-centered approaches to discipline. Reforming teacher education and empowering schools to uphold child rights principles are key to building safer, more humane, and rights-based learning environments.

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