

Enemy Perception and Student Brawling: A case study toward student Brawling at Bogor city Indonesia

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Hayadin¹

¹Center for Research and Development of Religious Education in Indonesia Ministry of Religious Affairs

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Abstract

This paper is aiming to explain the enemy perception as one factor of the trigger to student brawling. Paper was developed from qualitative research conducted in Bogor city in 2016 until early 2017. Data and information collected through observation, documents collection, interview of Bogor Educational office, Bogor Education Committee, Task Force of Student Brawling, schools staff, teachers, and student that include on brawling. The conclusion is that the most frequently student brawling occurs in Bogor city was triggered by the enemy perception of the student toward another school student, even toward other school groups. This perception could trigger the conflict whenever and wherever they met without policeman or teacher supervision. This enemy perception had raised a long time, as the olden generation inherit it to their younger generation, and keep maintained. Therefore, the solution to stopping student brawling in the Bogor city is to eliminate the perception of the enemy towards other schools or other school groups.

Keywords

school group; student brawling; enemy perceptions; solidarity

INTRODUCTION

In the last ten years, there have been widespread reports of acts of violence committed by students. News about fights, brawls, persecution, intimidation and other actions that often lead to criminal acts are easily found in various print and electronic media. Current acts of teenage violence in Indonesia such as those found by various media have begun to pay attention. As an example of a case that occurred in Palembang on January 23, 2006, there was a brawl between teen gangs involving at least more than three vocational schools (Wilujeng 2012).

A similar case also occurred in Probo-

linggo on September 22, 2006, when a brawl involving two BMX bicycle gangs (Indosiar.com). While in Jakarta on July 4, 2009, there was a brawl between high school gangs which killed one student (Detik.com). In the online submission of the Samarinda website on February 29, 2011, in Samarinda, a school with an average grade 2 high school involved brawls. The brawl took place again in Yogyakarta on April 22, 2011, a brawl that involved between two Vocational Schools (Kompa-

Corresponding author

Jl. Untung Suropati No.70, Bambankerep, Ngaliyan, Kota Semarang, Jawa Tengah 50211

Email

hayadin006@gmail.com

siana). Then in Denpasar Bali in mid-May 2012, in a video of violence against female gangs that circulated widely in cyberspace Youtube. The gang's persecution was due to an offense to the gang's pride shirts that were not used by gang members (Wilujeng 2012).

At last, when this research was being carried out, on Friday 31 October, there was also a brawl in the city of Bogor which caused one student of SMKN 2 in the city of Bogor to die from the clash of clits. An early very crowded case, occurred previously, covered by the media, took place on 24-26 June 2016 in Bogor city, involving students from 17 schools. Those were an important event to study because, besides the large number involved, it also occurs in the holy month of Ramadhan, as well as in the area/city of Bogor which is synonymous with the city of tourism.

Therefore, the case of student brawl is one of the major problems of Indonesian education that has not yet received a complete solution. Substantively from an educational perspective, the events of student brawl are educational anomalies, especially religious education. At school, every child should learn for a better future. Through religious education, they also get advice and teachings about goodness as necessary capital to become human beings that are useful and beneficial for themselves, their families and their environment. Not being rude and undergoing behavior and a culture of violence.

There have been many pieces of research addressed to student brawling that explained if the trigger of student brawling was too much. Malihah (2014) stated that "The brawl between students is triggered by hostility, disputes, or conflicts among student groups." While Hanurawan (2013), stated that "The students' group fighting was triggered by their cohesive and intense membership in the gang or group in schools, neighborhood, or street." The other said that "Violent discourse through language in the form of words, speeches, or swear comments, insults, or insults, which are often used in association with friends at school.

This can trigger other acts of violence, namely student fights" (Afianingrum 2016). Kanyajit (2015) said if "student brawling currently stems from students adopting their senior friends' actions." Even more, brawling could be triggered by bullying at school (McCormack 2018). The present study indicated that school environment and climate play a critical role in the development of violent behavior (Hurford at all 2010). In this case, brawling is a kind of violent behavior.

Those many research had given such perspective to cope and solve the problem of student behavior. This paper will put another perspective on student brawling. The paper explores the case of student brawling that had been researched from the enemy perception point of view. The paper was developed from the student brows cases in Bogor city in 2016 – early 2017. The research focused at senior high school student in Bogor city. The student at which on adolescence phase, and has aggressive behavior potential. The researcher took qualitatively study by visiting the schools where the students were indicted and arrested and attained by Bogor Police resort; interview to teachers, and head schools, and also took in-depth discussion with Bogor Regional educational office and committee, and also task force of student brawling.

A Little Bit Information Of Bogor City

Bogor is a city in West Java, located approximately 50-kilometers south of Jakarta. The city is also known as a rain-cool city, and become a popular tourist destination for Jakarta citizen. In the center of town, there is a botanical garden as the legacy of the Dutch colonial, and also a Presidential Palace. Historically, the city of Bogor is also associated with the kingdom Pajajaran who have had a significant influence on the Majapahit era. One of the famous relic special weapons is Cleaver (kujang), which is also known as a symbol of heroism.

The size of Bogor city area is 11.850 ha and administratively consists of six sub-districts, 38 villages, 210 hamlets (kampung), RW 623 citizens association (rukun warga), and 2712 neighborhood (rukun te-

tangga) (<https://kotabogor.go.id> 2019). There are many schools, spread in Bogor city. Elementary school as many as 330, consist of 112 public and 118 privates; Junior high school as many as 166 consist of 21 public and 145 privates; senior high school as many as 71 schools, consist of 12 public and 59 privates; vocational senior high school as many as 102 schools consist of 5 public and 97 private (<http://referensi.data.kemdikbud.go.id>).

Student Brawling Cases at Bogor City

Student brawls have been happening in Bogor city since long time ago, and still, do until this nowadays (while the research was conducting in 2017). An alumnus of a senior high school in Bogor city stated that “since 1970, the Bogor city is famous to Student brawl. They brawl against students in Jakarta Intan 2016).”

Other than brawling, the students also noted as doing the juvenile crime. Based on data at Bogor Resort Police (2016), the scope of juvenile crime by students currently in Bogor city consists of:

- Bring the sharp weapon. Usually found when back home from schools. The weapons are stored in a hidden place when they were at school.
- Brawl and violence on the street. Some time ago, the brawl was a student senior high school regular agenda. There's a “glorious Friday ‘ the Friday as a special day where students prepare to take action, a fight in the street. Almost every week on Friday, they would brawl, either after school hours or on time of prayers hour. Some groups of student met at a certain place to fight. They felt free in doing so, while the teachers and other school staffs were doing Jum'at praying.
- Drink alcohol. Commonly found at night in several groups of alumni who still unemployed, but often also followed by an active student.
- Drugs. Thought small, yet have attracted and included the student in it.
- Theft, as a way to get money for purchasing of secondary needs (not a ne-

cessity), stuffs, mostly cigarettes or for gathering at cafes.

- Torture/beatings. Done by the group of student from certain schools to other students, as an act of revenge or caused by jealousy.
- Murder. Usually occurs following the mob or riot or brawling.
- Traffic violations. Done on the way to and back from school or at night when they followed ‘motorcycle gang’ roaming.

Those data describe if brawling was just one kind of juvenile crimes did by the students in Bogor city. Based on the data acquired from the students' task force of Bogor city (2016), there were a few times the brawl involving many schools and fell victim of the students. Here are some student brawling events occurred in Bogor city, namely:

- March 2016, at Sempur street, between 2nd State Junior High School (SMPN 2) and 11th State Junior High School (SMPN 11), made two wounded jabs of the student from SMPN 11.
- March 28, 2016, at Jalan Raya Bogor Street, 48th kilometers, between Yapis vocational senior high school, (SMK Yapis) and Tri Darma vocational senior high school (SMK Tri Darma), made one victim dies of SMK Yapis.
- March 31, 2016, held at Helang street, occurs between 6th senior high school (SMAN 6) and seventh senior high school (SMAN 7), yet no casualties made.
- March 31, 2016, held at Bantar Jati, occurs between PGRI senior high school (SMA PGRI 1) and seventh senior high school (SMAN 7).
- July 2, 2016, a set of Sahur on the road (SOTR) on Ramadhan month, located in front of the Police's Bogor office, Soleh Iskandar street, involved various senior high schools (SMA / SMK / MA) in Bogor city.
- May 24, 2016, occurred at Pangrango/Lodaya street between Yatek vocational senior high school (SMK Yatek)

and PGRI2 vocational senior high school (SMK PGRI 2).

- September 22, 2016, occurred at Bantar Jati between 2nd senior high school (SMAN 2) and seventh senior high school (SMAN 7), made one victim of the jab.
- October 28, 2016, occurred in Jalan Raya Bogor street, Sukaraja between 2nd senior vocation high school (SMKN 2) and 1st Tridarma vocation senior high school (SMK Tri Darma 1), made one victim died from SMKN 2 hit by the sickle.

The other information about student brawling at Bogor city in the year 2015, based on data obtained from Bogor city police. There were a series of criminal cases involving students, which is as follows.

- June 1, 2015, a student named Revan Purnama 18 years old, brought Sharp Weapons (illegally) out of school, he arrested by police and accused of possessing a weapon without a permit.
- September 18, 2015, some students named Zaenal Abidin (16 years old), Mas Haris (15 years old) Sugiana (16 years old) all from PGRI 2nd vocational senior high school (SMK PGRI 2); brought sharp weapons illegally out of school. They were arrested and accused of possessing a weapon without a permit.
- October 4, 2015, several students were caught and arrested by Bogor police officers namely: Riski Apriansyah (17 years old) from YKTB vocational senior high school (SMK YKTB 1); Asep Suhendar (15 years old) from Mechanics vocational senior high school (SMK Mechanics); M. Iqbal (16 years old), from Mechanics vocational senior high school (SMK Mechanics). They were also found to possess a weapon without a permit.
- October 4, 2015, two students were also arrested by police, namely: Rizky Setiawan (17 years old) from seventh senior high school (SMAN 7); Ahmad Januar S. (17 years old) school dropped out. They were also found to possess weapons without a permit.

- October 6, 2015, a student named Irfansyah (16 years old) from one of vocational senior high school in Bogor, was caught of carrying a weapon without permission.
- February 22, 2015, a student named Angga Abdul Syukur (16 years old) a vocational senior high school at Bogor, molested by an unknown person who never be arrested yet. He those became a victim was standing alongside the road at 5:00 pm, then attacked by a bunch of motorcycles driver and stabbed by samurai that caused severe injury.
- February 14, 2015, a student named Rizky Rapiyudin (15 years old) from Ciampea junior high school (SMP Ciampea) heated by a sharp, hard gear weapon and caused injury on his face.
- August 30, 2015, two students were being victims, named Joan Atifan (19 years old) victim dead, and Fahmi Baharudin (19 years old) victim injured. They were persecuted by a student gang from a certain school in Bogor city. Policy arrested Yuda (17 years old); Apriyadi (19 years old), Nurdin (25 years old) and Danu (20 years old).

Some favorite places where the brawling occurred were at Mall Bogor (Bogor Trade Mall or BTM), Kopen, and Pomad. In addition to the several places in the suburbs of Bogor like in Jalan Sholeh Iskandar, also a favorite place of students to do fight and brawl.

There were three main groups of school that frequently brawl in Bogor. Each school group consists of some schools, more than three. Within the school group, there is solidarity between them. Therefore if one school attacked by others school, some of the students within the school group would support and turn to the road to attack back and brawl together. This sometimes makes the simple little case become a more extensive and terrible conflict.

A conflict between one student among two different schools from a different group could become a conflict between school groups. The events like annual competi-

on among schools in sports or art exhibition could turn in to conflict, clash and more extensive brawl on the road. This case similar to Malihah (2014) explains and conclude that the established group solidarity leads the students to conduct the brawls when their group is under threat from the other groups. The students will also do the brawls when there are conflicts among students groups, and they fail to fulfill their developmental needs as a teenager.

The Raising Of Enemy Perceptions

Enemy perception describes the out-group bias in which we perceive those who are against us. It commonly occurs in war and hostile social disagreements. People view the opposing side as being different, hostile, and generally bad. While positive and noble qualities (like loyal and heroic) are attributed to “our” side, negative ones (like being treacherous and ruthless) are applied to the opposing side. Both sides do this to each other (<http://www.alleydog.com>). Perception is essentially the interface between the outer and inner worlds and the first step in social cognition. Perception also leads to conception, and conception leads to action (Bodenhausen 2019). Perception is the process by which organisms interpret and organize sensation to produce a meaningful experience of the world (Pickens).

The high frequency of student clashes and brawling in Bogor city had formed groups of school such as school alliance (consisting of several schools) that are allied to fight or defend themselves from the influence and attack of other school groups. Those groups, according to the Bogor community, consist of three major groups. Each of these groups consists of any senior high school or vocational senior high schools.

The groups have been formed for years and continuing from generation to generation. These groups were a solidarity group of students, which is on the positive side also support each other for the betterment conditions of its members. In some events, the group has always encouraged members to be excellence and get the job done fastly and more excellent. They always share infor-

mation about employment opportunities to fellow members. Also, in the process of daily life, a certain group tried and efforted to dominate the competition and got more significant opportunities, both regarding access to jobs or certain business.

On the negative side, each group has solidarity to defend the interests of group members, and tend to attack other groups if they felt their position and status were threatened. Each school in the group help each other to attack their opponents. At the extreme level, school identity becomes a source of the threat. The frictions and fights will occur easily when they met or passed with someone whose their identities and costumes were different and come from other school groups (the enemy). This is also the reason why many students (especially men) in the Bogor city, using a jacket that could mask the identity of the school costume when they got into public transportation or in to outside the school. However, at the same time, wearing a jacket was also the way to hide weapons within.

In the context of student groups, Malihah (2014) found that the solidarity leads to the sense of equality, uni-ty, friendship, trust, mutual accountability, mutual help, and mutual interdependence among group members. The solidarity which is formed within the group can lead to the brawl between students, especially when there is a threat from another group against their group. The brawl also happens when there is a conflict involving their groups and students group of different schools. Conflicts between dif-ferent groups of schools will always exist because the group maintains the conflict from one generation to generation. That description of the case of student brawling in Sukabumi where Malihah did research is similar.

In Bogor city, three school groups maintain the enemy perception among and toward other schools or others school groups. Each school groups consist of four schools up to seven schools. Mostly are private schools.

How enemy perception works in triggering brawling among student could

be shown at two events in which occurs under observation. They were Ramadhan holy month brawling, and holy Friday brawling in 2016.

Ramadan Holy Month Brawling

The case of student brawl at the end of Ramadhan 1437 H/June 2016 M was so horrific and widely reported by local television and newspaper. It happened in the holy month of Ramadhan, and at the time of sahur. It derived from the 'sahur on the road (SOTR) event held by several student councils in which have been routinely in the last few years carried out by students.

Usually, the sahur on the road (SOTR) program is conducted by the Student Council to distribute sahur food to the poor on the road or at the mosque. Some student councils of senior high school in Bogor city held this such program on behalf of their school. School identity and school symbols took part together while on the event. This symbol and school identity become the distinction among them. In this event, some teenagers out of school who were friends with students and yet act as members of Geng Motor participated in the SOTR group. In the process, the SOTR group and the Geng Motor mixed a line in the road. Some of the member of Geng Motor went on to contend of anythings, fussed, squabble, and became the trigger for the brawl action. It happened to be out of control. The SOTR programme entered people outside the school. Some students fight with other students from other schools. Some schools grouped and were allied to strike and attack other groups of school. The SOTR committee cannot supervise and control the participants.

The next night, there was no SOTR again actually, but the brawling of student participated in Geng Motor. The students mixed with gang motor member. The school group allied and mixed with gang motor also. There was almost one week of brawling with student participants. The potential problem of student brawls between schools has also been ignited, where every school gang that considers other schools (rivals) as opponents must be humiliated, or defeated.

On 23, 24, 25, until 26 June, a joint team from the Bogor Police and the Civil Service Police Unit (Satpol PP) carried out the 'Cipta Kondisi' operation. The result at that time 321 teenagers were caught. They were students and teenagers as members of any motorcycle gangs (Geng motor) in the Bogor, and Depok. There were 100 people who are identified as students from 17 senior high schools in Bogor. The students stated that they got permission from parents to attend SOTR school events. They lied to parents to go out and take part in gatherings with their gang.

Tragedy on Holy Friday (Jumat) Brawling

Friday as holy gathered praying event in mosque shifted to holy-day of brawling. It has gone on frequently times in Bogor city. Students did brawling on Friday because there was no supervision and monitoring personnel whether form policeman, civil police service, and teachers in which held praying. Students feel free without fear of arrested police officers or noticed by the teacher (Muhammad 2016).

On that day, because of Friday, all the task force members were in school and had just finished Friday praying. The tragedy was on 28 October 2016, Friday afternoon, where there was a brawl between so-called Allbase and the BRAK student groups at Sukaraja sub-district, near the Sukaraja police station. In this event, one student from Bogor 2 Vocational Senior High School (SMKN 2 Bogor) died of being hit by stabbing. The victim named Subagya, died at the Bogor PMI hospital, on Monday, October 31, 2016.

Based on information from the Bogor 2 Vocational Senior High School (SMKN 2 Bogor), the two students who were attacked in brawling went home immediately and did not join the holy gathered Jumat praying in school. Because of the limited volume of the school mosque, it could not load whole of the student for gathered Jumat praying. The number of SMKN 2 Bogor students is approximately 1,500 persons. Every Friday, students were rotated by only one class which is available to perform Friday praying in the

school mosque, while others may go straight home. Subagya was one of the students in which was not join the holy gathered Jumat praying in school. On the way home, they passed and met a brawl between Tri Dharma 1 Vocational Senior High School (SMK TD.1) and PGRI Vocational Senior High School (SMK-PGRI).

According to Juliatna, that day (Friday 28 October 2016), after Friday prayers, he and Subagya (deceased) went home from school and wanted to play futsal with his friends somewhere in the Cibinong area. They still use laboratory machinery jackets, which have symbols of school identity. SMKN₂ Bogor itself is located on the border of Bogor city and regency (near of Cibinong).

On the way home, they passed two trucks. The first truck was boarded by students of SMK PGRI₂ Bogor (an ally of SMKN₂ in the city of Bogor), and the second truck was boarded by students from SMK TD₁. In a traffic jam, suddenly students from the second truck took to the streets and attacked them. He (Juliatna) did not know the cause. The motorbike he drove with Subagya was pushed by several students who got off the truck. They could not avoid it in the middle of a traffic jam in Bogor.

They were beaten, kicked and dropped, and hacked. Juliatna was stabbed in the upper arm, while Subagya who was sitting in the back got stabbed in several parts such as the abdomen and chest. After falling, Juliatna tried to run away to save herself. While Subagya, had fallen, and could not rise. One student (Bahri Ramadhan) from the attacking group recognized that the victim of the stabbing was his neighbor. He tried to stop his friends. The perpetrators of slashing sharp weapons fled away. Bahri Ramadan (friend of the victim when he was in elementary school and neighbor) with Juliatna, a friend of the victim from SMKN₂ Bogor, took the victim using the motorbike, to the nearest hospital to get temporary help. Because of the severity of the wound suffered by the victim, then he was rushed to the PMI Bogor hospital (Juliatna, Subarhah, Ramadhan 2016).

One of the students who arrested by

the police on that day was coming from SMK TD₁ named Tama, majoring in the machine at class 11. According to the teacher, the students also on the same day did not participate in gathered Jumat praying at school. Simultaneously, two religious teachers were unable to lead Friday praying at school. There were no monitoring from teachers towards student as usually do in Friday before Jumat praying. The students choose their mosque around the complex or/and some students went straight home. Tama was one of the students who went home and didn't hold Jumat praying at school's mosque or mosque around the school. Tama directly joined a group of students from other vocational schools whose was in the same direction at his home. He lives in the vicinity of Cibinong. Everyday commuting went through several another vocational senior high schools and was psychologically opposite and in a hostile situation. In daily life, Tama was a diligent student who has never skipped school or be quiet. However, on that day, he follows a group of student that would attack others group of student from another school group (Miftah dan Suhali 2016).

DISCUSSION

Based on the above-described information and data, it merely appears that the triggering factor of the student brawls in the Bogor city is 'enemy perceptions' of other schools. That is the perception built in memory of the students who participated in a brawl that students from particular schools or other then his school or group at where his school allied is the enemy of their school. Therefore the students from those schools were the enemy as well. They were on hostile to those others school (some schools). This perception always made suspicion against, vigilance, and high resistance toward the student from other schools when they met outside the school, or at social activities and even on religious activities. The case of enemy perception among school groups, similar to the perception of between countries in world war II (Csete 2000).

Enemy perception toward other

schools and other school groups awakened since long time ago, by their previous generation or alumni. The alumni were also the main actors who fostered and continually keep the problems remain, hostility or also a grudge against other schools or group of school. There were some informants stated that some teachers who taught at several schools (allied) also consciously or unconsciously involved in maintaining these perceptions. The role of the school in lowering the enemy perception is not maximized, also in fostering mental students to prevent them from brawling.

In the context of the social function of the school, teachers and head school and supervisor of education have a responsibility to cut the enemy perception. The enemy perception that raised from the most frequent events of brawling, fight, hostility, and even competition among schools must be under schools supervision. In the context of sociology, school is a part of a social system and has functioned at serving the social need of the community, build social integration, facilitate to social mobility/social class perpetuation (Cheng 1996). In the context of social safety and school climate, teacher and head schools and staff should tackle the potential perpetrators of violence in school, to save their own lives and jobs security in school (Chapinm, Coleman 2006). If not, some others times they will become the victims of student brawl or violence in schools. There have been many incidents where school personnel being the victims of student violence (Petersen 1996).

The case of high frequencies of brawling reflects the failure of educational institutions because education and school as the institution of education were aimed to create social integration. In the broader perspective, UNESCO (united nation of education, social, cultural organization) addressed it as 'learning how to live together,' as the most top level of the goal of education and learning.

CONCLUSION

From the description facts and data above,

some conclusions can be stated as follows.

1. The student brawl in the Bogor city that occurred since a long time ago has made negative mental attitude and enemy perception on some students. This perception has built in mechanisms of surviving and defending themselves, which is used as a reasonable excuse to carry sharp weapons to school. Enemy perception toward other schools also spawned solidarity to fellow of students Geng/ally. The school identity became a symbol identification of friend or foe, that in certain circumstances trigger to violence, even on the religious events, such as "Sahur on the Road" event, where the students of one school identify other students coming from other schools as enemy, and delivery mechanisms to outdo each other uncontrolled.
2. The brawl actors who allegedly located outside and inside the school should be addressed systematically. The Institution such as Student Task Force should expand attention. In addition to students, the Task Force should pay attention to these actors, and involve them in a persuasive or educative way even instructively by coercive ways. The teachers who teach at multiple schools must be used as active agents of peacemaker as well as to alumni.

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