"someone that matters"

The Quality of Care in Childcare Institutions in Indonesia

Save the Children

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“Someone that matters”

The Quality of Care in Childcare Institutions in Indonesia

“I want to become someone that matters...”

(Child, in an institution in Central Java)

2007

Save the Children

unicef

The International Save the Children Alliance is the world's leading independent children's rights organization, with members in 27 countries and operational programmes in more than 100.

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Save the Children fights for children's rights.

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The names and details of all the children in this research have been changed so as to respect confidentiality.

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The Quality of Care in Childcare Institutions in Indonesia

This report was written by Florence Martin and Tata Sudrajat, Child Protection Advisors with Save the Children UK based in the Indonesian Ministry of Social Affairs (DEPSOS).

It is based on the results of research carried out as a joint collaboration between DEPSOS, Save the Children and a team of social workers and social scientists from STKS Bandung, the University of Indonesia and the Islamic State University -UIN Jakarta. It was carried out with support from UNICEF and the International Save the Children Alliance.

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FOREWORD

Director General for Social Services and Rehabilitation

Social care institutions, including childcare institutions have been a core part of the work of the Ministry of Social Affairs since it was first established. These institutions have been a crucial and inherent part of the policies and program of social welfare assistance to individuals facing social problems. While it is likely that social care institutions are going to continue to play an important role in the delivery of assistance to people who are facing social problems, the social and political situation in Indonesia has changed a great deal since these institutions were first devised. As a response to the changing social situation, a review of the role these institutions play must be carried out to ensure they respond appropriately to the social challenges people/members of our community face.

In that context, I am very happy to receive this research and the findings from this report. Until now, we have had no research to provide us with a comprehensive and in-depth picture of the quality of care provided to children in childcare institutions, whether from the perspective of management, human resources, and facilities or from the perspective of the professionalism of the services provided including in the care of children. By carrying out such an assessment in 37 childcare institutions across 6 provinces, the research provides us with a picture of the situation of childcare institutions in Indonesia. This research provides very important data for the government and for organizations that support or are involved in the running of childcare institutions so that they can review the role and approach taken by these institutions in the provision of welfare and protection services for children. This research also helps us to respond to one of the recommendations of the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child which requested the Government of Indonesia to carry out a comprehensive assessment of the situation of children in institutional care. The increasing number of children who are outside of parental care and the use of institutions as the usual way of responding to the situation of these children should be reviewed. The Ministry has made the review of policies and services for children without parental care and the development of standards of care for institutions caring for children a priority.

This research is the result of collaboration between the Ministry of Social Affairs, Save the Children, and Unicef. I very much appreciate these joint efforts and I would like to warmly thank Save the Children UK, Unicef, the offices of Social Affairs at the provincial and district level, and also the childcare institutions that took part in this research for enabling this important work to take place. In particular, I would like to thank Florence Martin and Tata Sudrajat of Save the Children UK as research leaders and the research teams from DEPSOS, STKS, the University of Indonesia, and the State Islamic University.

Jakarta, December 1st 2007
Director General for
Social Services and Rehabilitation

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FOREWORD

Country Director, Save the Children UK

The adoption of Law No 23 on Child Protection in 2002 represented a milestone in the implementation of children's rights in Indonesia, in particular their right to protection from all forms of violence, abuse, neglect and exploitation. The work towards the implementation of that framework for the protection of children has begun but it will entail not only the revision of Guidelines and policies, in some cases it will entail a complete review of how services have been delivered to support children who are in need of protection. This is particularly true of the situation of children who are living outside of parental care. Indonesia has always recognised the primary responsibility of families and parents to care for and to protect their children and we know that millions of children who are not being cared for by their parents, for whatever reason, are being cared for in their extended families. The services and assistance that should be in place to enable them to do so properly and adequately, have unfortunately not always been in place. Instead, the focus of interventions by government and community based agencies has been on supporting institutions rather than supporting children and their families.

The result, as this research evidences, is deeply worrying. Not only the number of children in institutional care has been rising consistently, the crucial role that extended families and other families play in the care of these children has been ignored. Meanwhile, the quality of services provided by vast numbers of childcare institutions in Indonesia is left unregulated. The Ministry of Social Affairs has recognised the urgent need to rethink how services to children and families who are outside of parental care are provided. This joint research represents a very important first step towards the development of evidence-based policies and standards that will ensure that children's right to a family and to grow and be cared for within a family-like environment is at all times protected and supported.

page

Jakarta, 1st December 2007
SAVE THE CHILDREN UK
Country Director

Kevin Byrne

FOREWORD
UNICEF Representative in Indonesia

Children have the right to live in a caring family environment and Governments have a responsibility to develop policies and practices that support and strengthen families and communities to appropriately care for their children. Yet up to half a million children in Indonesia are separated from families and placed in child care institutions for a lengthy period of time and the numbers continue to increase from year to year. Unfortunately, this study clearly indicates that children deprived of family environment and placed in childcare institutions in Indonesia receive less stimulation, individual attention and love. Their voices are rarely heard and in the worst scenarios, they lose contact with their families and some even suffer physical and psychological abuse. The findings of this study are strikingly similar to findings of many international studies on child care institutions, which usually demonstrate that institutional care rarely meets children's developmental needs and prepares them poorly for adult life.

This study also establishes that the overwhelming majority of children in child care institutions have one, if not both, surviving parents. It also shows that many of the families are placing their children in child care institutions in order to ensure access to education. Hence, the bulk of institutional placement of children in Indonesia could be avoided, if more emphasis was placed on providing direct economic and social support to vulnerable families to enable them to care for and ensure access to education for their children. UNICEF's global experience has consistently demonstrated that a carefully tailored package of direct support to families can help the family overcome difficulties and allow children to grow up under the care and protection of their families.

The findings of this research highlight the importance of increased efforts by the Government, donors, humanitarian, religious and non-governmental organisations to support families in a variety of ways that can enable children to stay with their immediate or extended families. It also suggests the need to provide positive care options for children who require alternative living arrangements within a family environment and improve the quality of care in child care institutions across Indonesia. Above all, it is critical to ensure that institutional placement of children only occurs if and when it is in the best interests of the child, and that there is a periodic assessment and review of the decisions and circumstances relevant to the child's placement.

UNICEF urges the Government of Indonesia, local and international organizations involved in the delivery of child care services and the donor groups in the country to use the findings and recommendations in this report to guide and inform their decisions to affect positive change for the most vulnerable children in Indonesia who are currently in children's homes or are at risk of being placed away from their parents or relatives.

We thank the research leaders and the research team who were involved in undertaking this study and putting together this comprehensive report. UNICEF is also grateful to the staff of the Ministry of Social Affairs, to the collaborative work with Save the Children UK, to the staff of Childcare institutions as well as children who played an important role in achieving this endeavor.

Jakarta, December 2007

Dr. Gianfranco Rotigliano
UNICEF Representative in Indonesia

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We would like to thank, first and foremost, our wonderful research teams who worked incredibly hard to understand, learn and share their findings about the situation of children in childcare institutions across 6 provinces. We have been really privileged to work with them and are looking forward to working with them again in translating this learning into practice!

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Our thanks also go to UNICEF's Child Protection team in Indonesia for their support and contribution throughout this project.

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Finally our thanks go to our colleagues in Save the Children who have given us the support, time and advice needed to carry out this project to the end, in particular Kevin Byrne, SC UK Country Director and the entire support team in Pejaten, without whom this work would simply not have been possible.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

APBD	*Anggaran Pendapatan dan Belanja Daerah (*Local government budget*)*
BOS	*Bantuan Operasional Sekolah (*Government's Operational Assistance to School*)* A financial support scheme for primary and junior high school that was established to compensate for a decrease in Governmental subsidy for fuel
BPS	*Biro Pusat Statistik* (Central Bureau of Statistics)
BRR	*Badan Rehabilitasi dan Rekonstruksi* (The Bureau for Rehabiltation and Reconstruction, responsible for overall coordination of the reconstruction effort in NAD Province)
Dana dekon	Deconcentration fund from the central government to the provincial government
Dayah	Name for Pesantren in Aceh, Islamic Religious Boarding Schools
DEPSOS	*Departemen Sosial* (Ministry of Social Affairs)
DINSOS	*Dinas Sosial* (Office of Social Affairs) both at the Province level and at district level
FGD	Focus Group Discussion (*Diskusi Kelompok Terfokus*)
Hidayatullah	The name of an Islamic organization with national network coverage
HPI	Human Poverty Index (*Indeks Kemiskinan Manusia/IKM*)
KHA/CRC	*Konvensi Hak Anak* (Convention on the Rights of the Child)
LPA	*Lembaga Perlindungan Anak (*Child Protection Body*)*
MI	*Madrasah Ibtidaiyah (*Islamic school at primary school level*)*
MTS	*Madrasah Tsanawiyah (*Islamic school at junior hidh school
MA	*Madrasah Aliyah (*Islamic school at senior high school level*)*
Muhammadiyah	The name of an Islamic organization with national network coverage
NAD	*Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam*, the official name for the Autonomous Province of Aceh
NTB	*Nusa Tenggara Barat* (West Nusa Tenggara, Province of Indonesia)
NU	*Nahdatul Ulama (*the name of an Islamic organization with national network coverage*)*
NW	*NahdatulWathon (*a name of one Islamic organization with national network coverage*)*
ORSOS	*Organisasi Sosial* (NGO and Community Based Organization)
Pesantren	Islamic Religious Boarding Schools

PSAA/PA	*Panti Sosial Asuhan Anak/Panti Asuhan* (Childcare Institution or Children's Home, sometimes referred to as an orphanage)
PSBR	*Panti Sosial Bina Remaja* (Vocational training centre for teenagers who have dropped out of school)
Puskesmas	*Pusat Kesehatan Masyarakat (*Community Health Center*)*
SD	*Sekolah Dasar (*Primary/Elementary School*)*
SLTP	*Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Pertama (*Junior High School*)*
SLTA	*Sekolah Lanjutan Tingkat Atas (*Senior High School*)*
SIK	*Surat Izin Kegiatan* (Operational Authorization Letter)
UN	United Nations (PBB)
Ustadz/ustadzah	Islamic teacher (male/female)

I. Introduction to the research

IN 1990 INDONESIA ratified the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and it has since reported twice to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, the body responsible for monitoring the implementation of the Convention. Following its review of the last government report in 2004, the Committee made some important recommendations in relation to the situation of children deprived of a family environment. In particular, the Committee expressed concerns about the high number of children living in institutions in Indonesia. It recommended that the Indonesian Government *"undertake a comprehensive study to assess the situation of children placed in institutions, including their living conditions and the services provided".*[1]

There are an estimated 7000 childcare institutions[2] across Indonesia caring for up to half a million children. The Indonesian government itself owns and runs only a handful of those institutions, less than 40. The vast majority of these institutions were set up privately, particularly

by faith based organisations. While many receive some financial support from the government, most do not come under any type of supervision or monitoring. In fact, the government does not have any data about institutions that do not receive its financial subsidy and it only has very limited data on those that do.

Very little research or data is available about residential care in Indonesia. The lack of a proper registration and accreditation system means that DEPSOS and agencies working on child protection do not even know exactly how many institutions there are, or how many children are in those institutions, let alone which children are being cared for in them. It also means that these agencies do not know to what extent existing guidelines are being applied or are relevant to the situation in those institutions. Most monitoring of childcare institutions carried out by DEPSOS in the childcare institutions is limited to the initial registration of the organisation under which the institution operates and limited financial reporting for those institutions that have received direct financial support. Despite having adopted in 2004 guidelines for the accreditation of social care institutions including childcare institutions, which is due to be administered by a Survey Team[3], no system has yet come into force and no process of accreditation or effective monitoring has been established. In addition, the main focus of the supervision proposed under the guidelines is focused on ensuring that the institutions are fulfilling the standards in relation to having proper documentation of their activities and legal formalities rather than actual monitoring of the type and quality of care that is provided to children.

While no accurate data is available about the situation of children in care, there are firm indications that the number of children who are placed in residential care and the number of such institutions are growing. The lack of practical knowledge about the situation of these children however is hampering the ability of the government to develop policies that are based on a proper understanding of the situation of those children and the way the institutions are or are not responding to their rights and needs.

Save the Children has been working closely with the Ministry of Social Affairs to establish an accurate picture of the situation of children without parental care across Indonesia. The aim is not only to understand better the situation of these children but also to ensure that fundamental standards in relation to their care and protection, including their right to grow and develop in a family environment, are fully protected. In the aftermath of the tsunami and earthquakes that devastated much of Aceh province, Save the Children carried out with DEPSOS a survey of childcare institutions looking in particular at the situation of child victims of the disaster who had been placed in institutional care.[4] The survey pointed to a high dependence on institutional care by families and communities that felt unable to care for their children as a result of the impact of that disaster on their lives. But the research also pointed out that few of the children entering residential care were orphans and that over 85% of the child victims of the tsunami had at least one parent alive. In addition, the high level of aid directed towards childcare institutions rather than targeted directly to support families facing

difficulties, together with an established pattern of reliance on institutional care, had combined to create a situation where a very high number of new institutions were being built drawing in turn increasing number of families to place their children in institutions so they could secure basic necessities for them including food, shelter and education.

Following the findings of this research, DEPSOS, Save the Children and UNICEF recognised the need to work urgently towards a better understanding of the situation of children in residential care not only in Aceh and in a post emergency context but nationwide including in the diverse contexts to be found across the archipelago. As recommended by the Committee on the Rights of the Child, research was needed to look at the actual situation of these children and to assess the care and services they were actually getting in those institutions. As a result these agencies decided to undertake a major piece of qualitative research into childcare institutions across 6 provinces of Indonesia.

Throughout this research the lack of even basic existing data on the situation of the institutions and children within those institutions nationwide was recognised as a major challenge. At the same time it was imperative to go beyond the numbers to look at what actually happens within those institutions and how children are being cared for and by whom. The research is therefore part of broader efforts by DEPSOS and its collaborating agencies to develop a much more accurate picture of the situation of institutions caring for children including through the development of a data collection system at both national and local levels. Save the Children in that regard is helping DEPSOS to develop such a system including a database and network at national, provincial and district levels to ensure that regular data is collected from the care institutions and that an overall picture can finally be built.[5]

It was also crucial to involve key stakeholders from the very start in the research development, throughout the assessment itself and finally in the analysis of the findings. As can be seen from the very high estimated number of children in institutions across Indonesia and as was confirmed by this research, the use of residential care as the primary form of intervention in cases of personal, social or economic crisis is very entrenched in Indonesia. This is the case not only in terms of the government's own responses to child protection concerns but also in terms of the considerable work and philanthropy being done by community organisations, in particular faith based groups, to support children and families who are deemed vulnerable across the country. While Indonesia is certainly not unique in having to critically review a system where the institutionalisation of children is a very entrenched practice, it also needs to consider the enormous contribution and involvement of community and religious groups in the actual delivery of social services to children and their families at the local level. As such, it is crucial that the knowledge, the understanding and expertise of Indonesians who work and care about child protection is made a key part of this important process of review. It will not only ensure that better understanding of the context and the issues faced by children and families in their daily lives is provided but that the solutions and identification of better alternatives are rooted firmly with those that have the long term responsibility for the protection of Indonesian children.

In order to ensure this, the research project was very much a collaborative project involving not only staff from the Ministry of Social Affairs but key senior lecturers from the School of Social Works such as STKS in Bandung, the University of Indonesia in Jakarta and the Islamic State University (UIN -Jakarta). As researchers and team leaders, those individuals were able to develop crucial understanding of the situation of children in institutions and the situation of the institutions themselves. Their knowledge and their efforts not only resulted in the findings of this research but also provide a strong basis for future efforts to reform and establish an alternative care system that is more appropriate to the needs and rights of children in Indonesia.

Footnotes:

[1] CRC/C/15/Add.223 (26 February 2004). Consideration of reports submitted by State Parties under Article 44 of the Convention: Concluding Observations Indonesia. Para 49-50, page 9. For Indonesia's second periodic report to the CRC see: CRC/C/65/Add.23 submitted on 5 February 2002.

[2] This estimate was provided by Mr Makmur Sunusi, then Director for Child Welfare Services in the Ministry of Social Affairs, Republic of Indonesia, as quoted in 'Supporting the Development of the Alternative Care System at Regional (Aceh) and National Levels in Indonesia' by International Social Service and UNICEF (2005). The term'childcare institutions' in this report refers only to Social Institutions for the Care of Children, *Panti Sosial Asuhan Anak* (PSAA), sometimes also called "Neglected Children's Homes" or "Children's Homes". It does not include other social or justice institutions where children may also be residing.

[3] Guidelines on the Accreditation of the Social Care Institution (Panti Sosial) Keputusan Menteri Sosial Republik of Indonesia No: 50/HUK/2004. Appendix III.

[4] DEPSOS/Save the Children: A Rapid Assessment of the Childcare institutions in post-Tsunami Aceh. (2006)

[5] These efforts are part of Save the Children's work in supporting the Indonesian Government through the Ministry of Social Affairs to implement also the other three recommendations made by the Committee on the Rights of the Child in relation to children deprived of their family environment:

(b) Develop programmes and policies to prevent the placement of children in institutions, inter alia by providing support and guidance to the most vulnerable families and by conducting awareness-raising campaigns;

(c) Take all necessary measures to allow children placed in institutions to return to their families whenever possible and consider the placement of children in institutions as a measure of last resort;

(d) Set clear standards for existing institutions and ensure periodic review of the placement of children, in light of article 25 of the Convention. CRC/C/15/Add.223 (26 February 2004). Para 50.

II. Scope and framework for the research

THIS RESEARCH INVOLVED identifying and assessing in depth the quality of care provided to children in a number of childcare institutions (Panti Sosial Asuhan Anak), sometimes also referred to as 'neglected children's institutions' across 6 provinces of Indonesia. As a qualitative piece of research, it does not seek to draw statistical generalisations about the situation of children in those institutions but instead provides in depth case studies of a number of those homes. At the same time, the institutions selected were chosen according to certain criteria to ensure that they are as representative as possible of the diverse range of institutions in a given province. Similarly, the Provinces were chosen according to a range of criteria aimed at ensuring that Indonesia's diverse socio, cultural and economic contexts were represented. As a result, the research and case studies provide comprehensive information about the care situation of children across a sufficiently diverse number of institutions to enable the identification of trends, approaches and understanding in relation to the care of children in institutions in Indonesia.

Clearly, the qualitative approach meant that only a small number of institutions per province could be selected for an in depth assessment. It was felt more important to get a comprehensive understanding of the care and services children are actually getting rather than get a superficial overview of the institutions which would be unlikely to yield real understanding about the situation there. The research team identified 7 basic variables which needed to be represented in the selected institutions:

1. Ownership of childcare institutions: Government or non governmental organization
2. Client/target group of the childcare institutions: only for boys, only for girls, or mixed.
3. Capacity of the institutions: < 50, 50 – 100, > 100 children.
4. Type of childcare institutions
5. Care system used by the institutions
6. Geographical setting of the childcare institutions in terms of urban or rural context
7. Organizational characteristic of the founding/parent organisation that developed the childcare institution

Similarly the Provinces were selected according to some key variables which were felt would represent a range of important factors that are present in the Indonesian context such as whether the area is predominantly under one religion or is an area known for its pluralistic make up, whether it has been affected by insecurity including as a result of conflict or disaster, as well as other social, cultural and economic factors. As a result, 6 Provinces were selected:

1. Aceh (Mainly Moslem area/ conflict and disaster area)
2. NTB (Mainly Moslem area)
3. North Sulawesi (Mainly Christian area).
4. West Kalimantan (Post-Conflict/ pluralistic area)
5. North Maluku (Post-conflict area)
6. Central Java (Pluralistic area)

Teams of 7 assessors and one team leader were established for each Province. The research was overseen by 2 research leaders from Save the Children UK who are seconded as child protection advisers to the Directorate of Children's Services in DEPSOS.

The research methodology used at its starting point the standards for quality child care developed by Save the Children UK in Eastern and Central Africa and tested in a number of countries across that region.[1] The 'quality childcare standards' provided a useful

Graph 1. Location of the research (6 provinces) within Indonesia (in orange)

basis on which to discuss an Indonesia relevant framework for assessment as they are practical standards based on relevant international standards relating to children in 'out of home care'. In addition, an international consultant who had been involved in the development of the Quality of Care standards for east and Central Africa, Neil Mc Millan, was invited to Indonesia to provide technical support during the development of the tools for Indonesia, the training of the teams and the initial piloting of the tools.

The research team including the team leaders and the international consultant discussed each of the quality standards in the context of Indonesia and developed a matrix of questions and issues to be assessed under each of the standards and added to the standards where issues relevant to the Indonesia context were not identified. The development of the methodology, the tools, the training of the teams and the piloting of the research tools took place from July 2006 to September 2006. The field research took place in 2 stages, the first from September to October 2006, and the second one from January-March 2007. A separate assessment of a DEPSOS run childcare institution which is held as a national model was carried out in May 2007.

The assessment was carried out using questionnaires detailing the profile of the institution and the children cared for by the institution, in-depth interviews with the personnel from the institution and the parent organisation including the head or manager of the institution as well as carers and other support staff, teachers from the schools, the children themselves and some parents; Focus Group discussions with staff, teachers and children and finally close observation over a 2-4 day period for each institution. Data collected was cross-checked through triangulation across respondents to ensure the accuracy of the information collected. The matrix provided the framework under which each issue needed to be qualitatively assessed and measured, as well as recorded while the questionnaires were used to record and compare quantitative data in relation to the situation of the children and the institutions.

Children's informed involvement was sought at all times as they are crucial stakeholders in the services the institutions provide. As the beneficiaries from the services, they are particularly well placed to identify whether those services actually fulfil their objectives. A child friendly notice was developed and posted in various places in each institution, informing the children of the research, identifying the aims, the ways they could get involved and the individuals to which they could report any suggestions, ideas or critic about their situation or about the research. A consent form was developed and used specifically to ensure that children were aware of how the information they gave would be used and that they would participate in a fully informed way in this research. In addition, consent forms for the use of photographs and video cameras were used.

At the same time, the research was acutely aware of the need to place children's protection from abuse, neglect and exploitation at the forefront of this research. Save the Children's Child Protection Policy requires that all individuals and organisation working with Save the Children understand the potential for the abuse of children in the context of its work and ensures that it is at all times prevented as well as responded to. In the case of this particular research, the teams were trained on the policy and it was made clear that at no stage should the protection of children in these institutions be undermined as a result of this research. Bearing in mind the nature of institutional care and the particular vulnerabilities of children living in an environment where power relations are starkly delineated, the safety of the children was made the paramount consideration. As a result, the identity of the children involved has been protected and a coding system has been used in the research reports.

The research was carried out with the full support of the Provincial Department of Social Services (DINSOS) and the District level social offices.

It was jointly financed by UNICEF and Save the Children under the guidance and support of the Director General for Social and Rehabilitation Services and the Sub-directorate for Neglected Children in the Children's Services Directorate in DEPSOS.

This research has resulted in 37 individual reports detailing the quality of care in 37 institutions (6 per province plus one institution in Central Java owned by DEPSOS and run as a national model). The reports are available in Indonesian and will be shared and used to support those childcare institutions and the relevant authorities to improve the quality of care for children and to strengthen the understanding and capacity of staffs and organisations running childcare institutions. A CD of the entire research including the 37 reports, this report and the research tools used is available.

Some of the key challenges faced by this research related to the almost total lack of reliable data either quantitative or qualitative about children in institutional care. It is particularly telling that to this day, even basic data about government run institutions which are just a handful of the total, is not available. The data that is available is also often extremely limited as it relates either to the situation prior to decentralisation in 2000 or it was gathered only in the context of providing financial assistance and provides only the name of the institution and the number of children.

Another major challenge was that there was little existing experience in the Ministry or in the Universities and School of Social Work of carrying out a qualitative assessment of services provided by such institutions. Involvement with institutions generally tended to be in the context of providing financial assistance or aid, or in the context of short term placements (practical internships) of students from some of the social welfare schools. These apparently rarely provided any room for critical observation and discussions with staff, managers or children of the situation in the institution. As a result going into an institution to carry out objective observation, to ask questions, to discuss concept and understanding, to talk to children and staff about difficulties and challenges, or to carry out in depth interviews separately as well as focus groups discussions, was seen to be a real challenge at the outset. The approach that most team members were used to was one where the manager or head of the institution would be interviewed and whatever was said would be taken uncritically. The concept of an assessment where probing may be needed was felt to be potentially confrontational and team members had to think through new ways of obtaining information without confrontation but also without taking whatever was said by figures of authority as a given. In the very hierarchical context of relationships in Indonesia that was in itself a real challenge. At the same time, this process was a very key part of the learning in this research as no quality care system for childcare institutions can be established without people who understand not only what quality care is but also that have the key skills required to carry out an assessment of services provided as well as the ability to measure and monitor the extent to which standards are implemented and understood. In that regard, throughout this research the teams demonstrated fast growing confidence, expertise and skills in carrying out rigorous and in depth assessments of childcare institutions and this now constitutes an extremely good basis for the development of appropriate quality care standards and an effective regulatory system.

It is important to note in this context that generally the childcare institutions were very cooperative and open in giving access to the research team to their institutions, their staff and the children in their care. The teams were welcome in all of the institutions and managers and staff were generous both with their time and cooperation this research. As no assessment had ever been carried out before, the research teams were unsure of whether access would always be forthcoming and whether managers would be willing to see their staff as well as children interviewed independently. In fact, almost all welcomed the teams and the government's interest in the services they provide and the work they do.

This demonstrated impressively that despite the lack of a licensing and regulatory system, childcare institutions did see a role for the government in supporting and assisting their work. In some cases, institutions had actually eagerly expected such a process to happen and requested more involvement and more guidance from the government at both local and national level. On the other hand, it was crucial for the research to move away from the usual relationship and expectation of financial assistance from the government and international agencies towards a relationship based on supporting the delivery of professional services. It will be crucial to build on this research and ensure that follow up is provided including in discussing the findings from the individual assessment with each of the childcare institutions and the local authorities, in particular the local department of social services, to ensure this constructive relationship is followed up on and real technical support provided. The research also received very positive support from the Provincial and District Offices of Social Affairs (Dinas Sosial) which not only facilitated contact with the institutions but which were in many cases themselves very interested in the result of the research and asked for continuing involvement and support from the Ministry of Social Affairs relating to the situation of childcare institutions and neglected children within their jurisdiction.

Footnotes:

[1] Save the Children UK (2005): Raising the Standards: Quality Childcare Provision in East and Central Africa and D. Swales (2006): Applying the Standards -improving quality child care provision in East and Central Africa. Save the Children UK.

LIFE STORY*:

ANA, 18 years old girl (WEST KALIMANTAN)

A. Particulars:

Status of Parents: Mother deceased, father alive.

Brothers and Sisters: Ana is the second of 5 children (one of whom passed away).

Religion: Roman Catholic

Ethnic Group: Dayak

Length of time in institution: 11 years, entered in 1996 when in grade 1 of elementary school.

B. Family Background:

Ana's father works as a farmer. He goes off to the fields every day. Her mother always used to help her father in the fields, where the family grew rice. All of her family have been to school. Ana's elder sibling has graduated from high school, while one of her younger siblings is in grade 1 of high school and the next in grade 6 of elementary school. Ana's other younger sibling passed away following an illness. Ana's elder sister has a family and lives in Pontianak.

Ana's family home is located in Selabi village, located approximately one day away from Pontianak. From Pontianak to Bengkayang by bus takes about 6 hours, and costs Rp 30,000 (USD 3). From Bengkayang to Sebalo it takes around 2 hours by minibus, and costs Rp 20,000 (USD 2). Then, from Sebalo to Ana's village takes around 2 hours by *ojek* (motorcycle taxi), and costs Rp 50,000 (USD 5). So, if Ana wants to go home to see her family, it costs her around Rp 100,000 each way, making it Rp 200,000 (USD 20) for a round trip.

C. Life before entering the childcare institution

1. *Mother's Death*

Ana's mother passed away in 1994 when she was 5. Her mother was vomiting up blood before she died. It was said that she committed suicide. Ana heard from her Granny that her mother had, in fact, killed herself. Apparently she was distraught because another woman liked her husband, and she couldn't accept this. Consumed by jealousy, Ana's mother committed suicide. After her death, the other woman began to pay even more attention to Ana's father, so that her husband became jealous and had a fight with Ana's father. As a result, her father was forced to flee to his brother's house, leaving the children alone at home.

A day later, Ana's father returned with his brother so as to resolve the problem with the family of his would-be lover. Both Ana's father and the woman were ordered to pay fines under adat (customary) law to the community's adat leader.

Since then, Ana's father has remarried, this time with a Malay woman, and converted to Islam. Ana's siblings have also followed their father's lead and converted, with the exception of the third child in the family, who decided to remain a Catholic.

2. *Timid Ana*

Ana has forgotten most of her family life before entering the institution. However, she still remembers climbing up a jackfruit tree with her friends. She climbed so far up the tree that she couldn't get down again. She was stuck and all she

could do was cry. Luckily, her uncle came along and helped her down with a ladder.

Ana's friends were all good at climbing – only Ana couldn't do it. As a result, she used to be teased by her friends. In the end she decided that she was going to climb up a tree come what may. And so she got stuck.

D. Life after entering the childcare institution

1. Background to her entering the institution

Ana entered the institution in 1996 when she was 7. She was told about it by her uncle, who lived in Pontianak, quite near to it. However, she did not enter the institution of her own volition, rather, she was duped into it. Her father tried to persuade her to enter, arguing that it would allow her to get an education. However, Ana refused as she was small and did not want to be separated from her father and siblings. In order to ensure that she entered the institution, Ana's father lied by telling her that she had been invited to visit her uncle's house for 3 days, after which she would be brought home again. Ana wanted to visit her uncle, but didn't realize that after she got to Pontianak she would be placed in the institution. After being left there, Ana wept continuously. As a result, the institution's authorities had to call her uncle, and it was agreed that she should be brought back to his house again on a temporary basis. Her uncle's house was quite close to the institution. During her time in her uncle's house, she was urged continuously to enter the institution so that she could get an education. Her uncle also tried to scare her by saying that if she didn't agree to enter it, she could walk home herself to her village. It was after this that Ana finally agreed to enter the institution.

2. Adjusting to the childcare institution

At the start of her time in the institution, Ana greatly missed her family. However, she was somewhat consoled by the fact that her uncle would visit her almost every night, and would teach her to read the Indonesian language and other subjects. He would also bring her extra food almost every week. Slowly but surely, Ana came to accept living in the institution.

One of the problems she faced during the adjustment period was her lack of Indonesian. This is because the means of communication in the institution is the Indonesian language, in which Ana was deficient as she had only just arrived from her village.

Ana's uncle was a hard taskmaster when teaching. He would shout and bang the table a lot if he felt Ana wasn't attentive enough or was not taking in what he was saying.

3. Starting elementary school

After she entered the institution, Ana was immediately enrolled in grade 1 of State Elementary School No. 42 in Pontianak. On her first day at school, she was accompanied by a staff member, who waited for her the whole time she was at school so as to make sure that she wasn't upset. By the time a month had passed, Ana had started to adjust, and could be left at school by the staff.

4. Experiences

a. Dating

Ana is now 18. She needs a close friend with whom she can share confidences and affection. This need can only be satisfied by a boyfriend. However, dating is banned in the institution. However, Ana has already violated the rule on a number of occasions. The first time she had a boyfriend was when she was in grade 1 of junior high school.

Ana's boyfriend was also from the institution. The staff found out that the pair of them were together in the boys' residence. Ana was scolded and summoned by the head of the institution. As punishment, she was ordered to clean up the hall and make out a formal

declaration to the effect that she would never repeat the offence.

Despite the punishment, Ana was not to be put off, and continued the relationship with her boyfriend. They would meet in turns in the boys' and the girls' residences. When asked why she persisted with the relationship, Ana replied, *"We were fond of each other, in love, right?"* As a result of her feelings, she was not afraid of being caught and punished again. The second time she was caught, both her and her boyfriend were ordered to run around the yard five times. In addition, the pair were also ordered to make out formal declarations that they would not repeat the violation.

Some time afterwards, the relationship ended. This was because of a girlfriend of Ana's from the institution, who was anxious to see Ana break up with her boyfriend. She laid a trap by inviting a male friend of Ana to meet them there. Ana's boyfriend became jealous, and the relationship came to an end.

Not long afterwards, Ana's friend started a relationship with her former boyfriend. The staff found out and the two of them were expelled from the institution. This was because they were caught sleeping together in one of the girl's rooms. In fact, two couples were sleeping in the same place.

Before being expelled, they were also punished. On the night in question, all of the children were woken up at 2 a.m. by the staff beating on the windows. The children were then assembled in front of the institution and ordered to hit the four offending children. They were to hit them as hard as they could. If the children didn't use all of their strength, they themselves would be hit by staff members. All 4 of the offending children were reduced to tears. The next day, a formal disciplinary meeting was held, and, as a further punishment, the children were ordered to run around the institution until they were out of breath. The carrying out of this punishment was ordered by the Head of the institution and witnessed by all of the staff. After that, the four were kept in isolation for 2 months, and then expelled.

After breaking up with her first boyfriend, Ana then became involved in a relationship with a boy named A from outside the institution. They often met up outside or at the house of her older sibling. The institution's authorities were aware of Ana's relationship but no action was taken as the couple met outside the institution. If A were to come to the institution, he would be ordered home within 5 minutes by the security guard. However, while Ana was not punished for engaging in a relationship, she was nevertheless frequently warned not to return late in the evening and not to become too intimate with the boy.

b. Absent from school

Ana was absent from school for 13 days in a row as she was visiting her home village. Her friend failed to write a letter explaining where she was. As a result, Ana was recorded as being official absent without good reason for 13 days. When she arrived back, she erased a number of the absent marks so that there would not be so many. However, she was found out by Mrs. N (head of section) who then questioned her. Ana answered truthfully and admitted what she had done. *"I was honest, and yet I was still punished,"* she explained. Her classmates often did the same thing, but would never admit it, so that they escaped punishment.

As a result of Ana's honesty, Mrs. N refused to sign or hand over her report card. In addition, she had to face a formal disciplinary hearing, and the wrath of all of the staff members.

c. Returning late from school

The reason Ana frequently returned late from school was because she liked hanging out at the mall, or would visit her

sister or uncle in Pontianak. The public transportation minibus was also frequently late. She never asked permission if she wanted to visit her sibling's or uncle's house. *"Applying for permission is really complicated. Anyway they'd never give it."* Permission would be refused on the grounds that chores were scheduled for the time in question, or for some other reason, even though, in reality, nothing was in fact scheduled.

Coming home from school "late" meant no later than 4 p.m. She would never be out at night, except when she was staying over in her relations' houses. Ana said that some of the other girls often came home late at night. *"See X, she stays over in her boyfriend's house. She's always getting into trouble. Her window's open from when she went out in the morning to night, so the staffs know."*

Coming home late from school is the offence that Ana is most guilty of. *"I don't count, but, yeah, two times a week. If I were to count it, it'd be a lot over a month, not to mention a year. But I don't count."* Ana could never learn her lesson about coming home late. *"It's so boring being stuck inside all the time, no sport. It's just really boring. And it's difficult to get permission."*

If a child wanted permission to stay out late, he or she would have to make out a letter requesting permission, which would have to be signed by one of the senior staff and a childcare worker. *"It's up to them whether to sign or not."* Ana found this procedure onerous, because if the senior staff said no, the childcare worker would also say no. Even if the senior staff said yes, there was no guarantee that the childcare worker would also grant permission.

d. Wrong Information

One incident made the Head of the institution, very angry. He had been informed that Ana had been recounting critical stories about the institution to her teachers at school.

That evening, the Head called the duty childcare worker in the institution, the psychologist and the staff member in charge of the school fee payments (SPP). Ana was summoned by one of the Staff who scolded her, saying she had been told to do so by the Head.

"She said that what I had done was unacceptable and that I should have kept my mouth shut," Ana recalled. She protested as she didn't believe she was guilty of disparaging the childcare institution, particularly to her teachers at school. The Head said he had been told what Ana had said by a friend of his, who coincidentally was a teacher at Ana's school.

After being scolded by this staff, Ana was also summoned by a number of other staff, to explain herself.

The Head of the institution had heard that Ana and her friend hadn't paid their school fees for 4 months. As a result, he called the staff in charge and instructed him to get to the bottom of the matter. So, Ana was summoned by the staff. As the person in charge of paying the school fees, he was upset by the fact that other people might think he had embezzled the money earmarked for the children's school fees. When summoned by that member of staff, Ana had been about to start her evening study but he was waiting for her. *"(He) was clearly upset and emotional. He said that the Head had said the school fees hadn't been paid for 4 months. 'Why did you say that?'* He said he had already paid the money, except for this month, and that was because the money hadn't come through yet. He also said that if there was any problem, it shouldn't go to the Head. *"Who reported it to the Head,"* he demanded to know. He accused Ana of running to the Head and warned her never to do so again.

The next day after returning to the childcare institution from school, Ana was summoned again by 3 other staff members. Ana was accused of spreading damaging stories about the type of food served for

the breaking-of-the-fast meal, and other aspects of life in the institution. She was scolded by all three adults. *"I couldn't accept it as I felt I had nothing wrong,"* said Ana.

The whole affair had embarrassed the Head of the institution, who couldn't believe that children from the institution would spread such stories (*"How could children tell stories like that?"*). Two days later, he summoned Ana and her friend. The Head said, *"Don't ever talk in public like that again. It will be you yourselves who will suffer if it ever gets into the newspapers. This childcare institution could be closed. If this place is closed, it will be you who will suffer, not us. We will continue to be paid."* This was how the Head of the institution summed up the situation according to Ana.

And so that matter was closed. *"I wanted to explain, but (the Head) didn't want to hear."*

5. Punishments

a. Summons

Every violation of the rules results in a summons. The child is first be spoken to by the senior care staff and then by all the others in turn. When summoned, the child concerned would be subjected to a scolding and would be told what improvements were expected.

b. Declaration

Whenever a child was caught committing a violation, he or she would be required to make out a declaration stating that the offence would not be repeated. Such a declaration might read as follows:

"Declaration

I promise not to repeat this violation of the rules. If I do repeat this violation, I am willing to accept a harsher punishment than the one I received this time. I am also willing to accept expulsion from the childcare institution."

"They must have a lot of them. I don't know where they keep them," said Ana when asked how many such declarations she had signed.

c. Ordered to run around the institution's complex

This punishment had been imposed on Ana twice. The first time was on account of her relationship with her boyfriend. The second time was when she, along with all the other children, had been ordered to run around the childcare institution as a form of collective punishment for a number of offences that had been committed by different individuals. Such collective punishment might be imposed, for example, in cases where individuals had neglected to do their chores, failed to go to bed on time, or were found in the opposite sex's dormitory. *"(The Head) said that if they were punished separately, then they would only get sympathy from their friends. So, it was fairer if everyone was punished."* Even though all were punished, none of the children were angry: *"If you want to get angry, get angry with your friends, he said. But who wants to get angry. If you get angry with others, they'll be angry back to you"* said Ana."

d. Cleaning Rooms

This sanction was also imposed on Ana for violating the ban on having boyfriends. "The rooms were all different," Ana said, when describing what she had been instructed to do.

She was ordered to clean the study room and hall. These rooms had to be swept, mopped and dusted. Ana had to do this for three days after returning home from school.

e. Formal Disciplinary Hearing

"I can't remember how many times," said Ana when asked how many times this punishment had been imposed on her.

The holding of a formal hearing was described by Ana as follows: All of the staff would ask the child why he or she had done what they did. Then, they would take turns at scolding the child. No matter

what the child said, it wouldn't be accepted. Not only the childcare institution staff would be present at such a hearing, but also the other staff from the complex so that the entire office would know what the child had done.

"Sad, angry, afraid, ashamed, remorseful," were the words used by Ana to describe how she would feel during such a formal hearing. *"If I was called before a hearing, I'd be too afraid to say anything, so that in the end everyone would presume I was guilty. Even if you did have a good excuse, it wouldn't matter as they wouldn't believe you. It would only make them angrier."*

Being called before a hearing was the worst form of punishment for Ana. *"If I was ordered to clean up, no problem. But being called before a hearing ... ooohhh!"* said Ana, while covering her face with her hands.

3. Daily activities in the childcare institution

The schedule of daily activities in the childcare institution was as follows:

Time	Activities	Description
05:00	Get up	Bathing, morning study if repeating tests
05:00-06:00	Getting ready for school	
06:00-14:00	School	
14:00-18:00	Rest, talking with friends, doing homework, watching TV	Watching TV in childcare worker's house. *"Watching TV in childcare worker's isn't nice, but there's no other place"*
18:00-18:30	Supper	Before entering the dining room, the children would line up first in front of the dining room and repeat the students' oath
18:30-21:00	Study in the study room	*"I can ask Mr. W or Ms. W for help if there's something that's really hard or I don't understand"*
22:00-05:00	Sleep	

At one stage it had been proposed to the Head of the institution that special staff who understood the subjects the children were studying at school be appointed to oversee evening study. But nothing came of it. This suggestion had been made directly to the Head when everyone was gathered in the dining room.

E. Ana's hopes

If something comes to the attention of the institution's authorities, they should not just take it as gospel without first verifying it. They should listen first to what the child has to say and why he or she did what they did. The punishments imposed for infringements of the rules shouldn't be too severe, especially punishments like be ordered to run, crawl in the drain, and being subjected to collective punishment by the other children (slapping, pinching). There was also no need for formal hearings to be attended by so many people as this only frightened the child so much that he or she would not be able to speak.

The childcare workers in the institution shouldn't show favouritism. Normally, the Javanese side with other Javanese.

F. Others' comments about Ana

Ms. W (childcare staff): Ana is OK. There are others who are a lot worse than she is. Ana is still afraid of the staff, and also she's polite.

Mrs R (staff): In reality, she's a quiet, withdrawn child. As far as causing trouble goes, she's just normal. The only problem was that there was a case of misleading information recently. (The Head) received a text message saying that Ana hadn't paid her school fees for 4 months, and that she was fond of talking about what went on in the childcare institution to outsiders. She also said that children in the institution weren't given breaking-of-the-fast meals.

T (a child in the institution): She's nice. She isn't stuck-up, and she doesn't make distinctions between people. She often breaks the rules.

*) *The text of all the Life Stories has been kept as near as possible to the original narrative given by the children so as to ensure maximum authenticity.*

III. Social welfare and childcare institutions in Indonesia

A. Residential Care in Indonesia today: numbers and trends

In its 2004 Manual on the Standardization of Social Institutions, the Ministry of Social Affairs recognises 15 types of institutions that provide social assistance including 6 that are specifically targeted at children. The other 8 types of institutions provide services for both children and adults while only one is specific to adults, the institution for the elderly. The Manual recognises institutions for children who have retarded development, institutions for the care of 'neglected children', institutions for 'naughty children', institutions for the guidance of teenagers who have dropped out of school, institutions for children who are substance abusers and institutions for the day care of children whose parents are working. Only one of those institutions for children is non-residential (the day care centres for children of parents who work). Institutions that care for both children and adults do this on the basis of their social or personal situation such as being disabled, or being a beggar, being homeless, working as a prostitute or having a mental illness.

In addition, the Ministry of Social Affairs has developed in recent years three new types of institutions to provide care and services for children: the *Street Children Shelters* (*Rumah Singgah*) developed in the aftermath of the economic crisis of the late 1990s, the *Special Protection Homes for Child victims of Trafficking or other Abuse* (*Rumah Perlindungan Sosial Anak*) developed in 2004, and finally the *Social Development Centres for Street Children* developed in 2006. Despite the extended range of institutions for children identified by the Government under the Social Welfare system, the reality is that the great majority of such institutions in Indonesia come under the 'neglected children'/'orphanage' format and are run and owned by private organisations.

Prior to the decentralisation of government in 1999, DEPSOS owned and ran 66 institutions that focused on providing assistance to children[1]. Out of these 18 were childcare institutions (PSAA). After decentralisation, 16 of these institutions were handed over to the local government and DEPSOS retained control and ownership of only 2 childcare institutions, one in Central Java (Pati) and one in Jambi in Sumatera Island. In 2006 it took over responsibility for one more childcare institution from the local government in Aceh in the post Tsunami context, bringing the total number of childcare institutions run and managed by the Ministry to 3. The actual number of childcare institutions that are presently owned and managed by local government at provincial or district level is unknown because of the lack of data kept across government structures. A recent survey carried out by DEPSOS with Save the Children's help has so far identified 17 local government childcare institutions across 16 provinces. If that average is confirmed across the other 17 provinces it would mean that there is likely to be a total of 35 childcare institutions run by government agencies across Indonesia. That would mean less than 0.5% of the total number of childcare institutions if the 7000 estimate is correct. No accurate data, however, is available about the number of childcare institutions run by private organisations and foundations because there is no centralised licensing, registration or monitoring system in place. The central Government only keeps data on those institutions it runs and some basic data on those for whom it provides financial assistance.

While it runs only a few institutions, DEPSOS provides financial support to a substantive number of social care institutions, including the childcare institutions, through the *Government Subsidy Program for Additional Food Costs for Social Care Institutions* started in 2001. This Program is part of the government compensation for the rise in the price of Fuel (BBM) and aims to support the continuation of social assistance through the childcare institutions. This assistance is only provided to subsidise the cost of food for those being cared for in the institutions, whether government or private ones.[2] This aid is disbursed through the Post Office system.

During 2007 this program reached across 33 Provinces and 395 Districts and Municipalities. The total number of Social Care Institutions that were reached throughout Indonesia was **5053 including** childcare institutions, institutions for the Disabled, institutions for the Elderly and Shelters for Homeless people.

The total number of childcare institutions that received this assistance in 2007 is 4,305 with subsidy provided for 128,016 children in their care. This amounted to more than IDR 105.2 billion (US$ 11.69 million) being disbursed to the childcare institutions by the central Government. The Food Assistance given per child per day amounts to IDR 2.300 (US$ 0.26) for a period of 365 days or IDR 839.500 per child per year (US$ 93.28) but not all institutions received the assistance for the full year.

The data collected through the BBM subsidy is presently the only source of information on childcare institutions across Indonesia, although it is itself very limited. In terms of the 'Neglected Childcare Institutions', the data available through the BBM subsidy indicates that the number of childcare institutions receiving that assistance has increased steadily each year since 2003 (2865

childcare institutions received the BBM assistance in 2003). There was, however, a significant increase of 513 childcare institutions that received assistance from 2003 to 2004 and between 2006 and 2007 an additional 632 childcare institutions received the subsidy. While the number of childcare institutions receiving assistance is growing, the number of actual children it is meant to cover has remained fairly stable throughout those years pointing to the fact that the assistance is likely to be contributing a smaller proportion of needed funds for each recipient institution every year.

The BBM assistance does not actually cover the total number of institutions in a given province or the actual number of children being cared for in those institutions. Instead it covers a fixed number of both, calculated to extend the available assistance across sufficient numbers of the institutions. Generally the set number of children in receipt of the BBM subsidy revolves around 30 to 40 children per institution. The subsidy is also rotated between institutions in each province every year as the BBM fund would not be sufficient to cover all the institutions in most Provinces. The percentage of institutions reached as a result varies from province to province making estimating the number of childcare institutions and the number of children in those institutions on the basis of the BBM subsidy extremely difficult. A great number of factors also seem to come into play in terms how much BBM assistance each province will be able to access including the available total financial assistance available, the number of institutions and the local Government's skills in advocating for their particular situation.

As no census of childcare institutions has ever been undertaken except in Aceh Province, it is difficult to estimate how many institutions per province are actually getting the BBM. In some of the Provinces where the number of childcare institutions was found to be very high such as Central Java, the local Department of Social Services estimated that the BMM reached no more than 50% of the childcare institutions. In Aceh where the census was carried out and the BBM subsidy was well 'socialised', it was found to have reached 82% of these institutions. [3] If we take these figures as ball park figures, we can estimate that there could be anything **from 5250 to over 8610 childcare institutions across Indonesia**.

Rough figures for the number of children in those institutions are much more difficult to draw from the BBM data bearing in mind the real differences in terms of number of children per institution across the provinces. The average number of children receiving the BBM subsidy across all Provinces under the 2007 data was 30 children per institution. In NAD Province, the only Province were a census of the childcare institutions was actually carried out, it was found that in 2006 the BBM covered fewer than 60% of the children who were actually in those institutions. [4]

We have no way of knowing how representative the data in Aceh is in that regard but if we assume that the number of children covered by the BBM subsidy is anything between 50 to 70%, that would mean under the 2007 data that there is between 43 to 60 children per institution. On this basis we can estimate that there is anything **from 225,750 to 315,000 children** if the actual number of institutions is in the lower range of **5250** or **up to 370,230 to 516,600 children** if the number of institutions is as high as **8610**. These are very rough figures of course, which mostly serve to highlight the problem faced by not having an effective data collection system. Yet these figures do give us some sense of scale in relation to the situation of children in childcare institutions across Indonesia.

Despite its clear limitations, the BBM data also provides some idea of the distribution of childcare institutions across the country and as such highlights some real differences in terms of the number and density of childcare institutions in each province. The island of Java holds the 3 provinces that have the highest numbers of childcare institutions. East Java tops the list with 794 childcare institutions in receipt of the BBM subsidy in 2007 followed closely by West Java at 652 and Central Java at 380 childcare institutions.

Compared to those figures, the Province that has the highest number of childcare institutions outside of Java according to the 2007 BBM data is South Sulawesi with 268 institutions and West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) with 211. At the bottom end of the scale is Bengkulu with 14, Maluku with 20 and Gorontalo with 21.

If we compare those figures with population data for each Province[5], however a different picture emerges as can be seen from the Table below,

Table 1. Average Number of childcare institutions according to BBM figures per 100.000 population per province.

Province	Population according to 2000 Census (BPS)	Number of PSAA under BBM 2007	Number of people per PSAA	Number of PSAA per 100,000 people
Nanggroe Aceh D.	***3,930,905***	***187***	***21,021***	***4.8***
North Sumatera	11,649,655	90	129,441	0.8
West Sumatera	4,248,931	93	45,687	2.2
Riau	4,957,627	63	78,692	1.3
Jambi	2,413,846	55	43,888	2.3
South Sumatera	6,899,675	100	68,997	1.4
Bengkulu	1,567,432	14	111,959	0.9
Lampung	6,741,439	149	45,245	2.2
Bangka Belitung	900,197	23	39,139	2.6
DKI Jakarta	8,389,443	87	96,430	1.0
West Java	35,729,537	652	54,800	1.8
Central Java	***31,228,940***	***380***	***82,181***	***1.2***
DI Yogyakarta	3,122,268	55	56,769	1.8
East Java	34,783,640	794	43,808	2.3
Banten	8,098,780	169	47,922	2.1
Bali	3,151,162	50	63,023	1.6
West Nusa Tenggara (NTB)	***4,009,261***	***211***	***19,001***	***5.3***
East Nusa Tenggara (NTT)	3,952,279	102	38,748	2.6
West Kalimantan	***4,034,198***	***95***	***42,465***	***2.4***
Central Kalimantan	1,857,000	38	48,868	2.0
South Kalimantan	2,985,240	67	44,556	2.2
East Kalimantan	2,455,120	96	25,574	3.9
North Sulawesi	***2,012,098***	***43***	***46,793***	***2.1***
Central Sulawesi	2,218,435	98	22,637	4.4
South Sulawesi	8,059,627	268	30,073	3.3
Southeast Sulawesi	1,821,284	59	30,869	3.2
Gorontalo	835,044	21	39,764	2.5
Maluku	***1,205,539***	***20***	***60,277***	***1.7***
North Maluku	785,059	24	32,711	3.1
Papua	2,220,934	78	28,474	3.5
INDONESIA	**206,264,595**	**4,305**	**47,913**	**2.1**

NTB has the highest density of childcare institutions per population than any other provinces in Indonesia with a ratio of 5.3 institutions per 100,000 people. It is followed closely by Aceh (NAD) with 4.8 and Central Sulawesi at 4.4 and East Kalimantan at 3.9.

At the other hand of the scale, North Sumatera only has 0.8 childcare institutions per 100,000 people while Bengkulu has 0.9 while, surprisingly, DKI Jakarta comes next with 1 institution per 100,000. These figures, though, can only provide some idea of the distribution of childcare institutions across the country. As we have seen above, the percentage of actual institutions reached under the BBM subsidy may actually vary widely across Provinces. On the other it does give us some idea of the wide differences that can be found across Indonesia in relation to the density of childcare institutions.

In that regard, out of the 6 provinces selected under this research, NTB and Aceh were the top two provinces in terms of number of childcare institutions per population. West Kalimantan and North Sulawesi were near the national average, while Maluku and Central Java had relatively lower numbers of institutions per population.

The lack of accurate data also makes it difficult to understand the trends in terms of increase or decrease in the number of children being placed in residential care as well as fluctuations in the numbers of these institutions. The BBM data seems to indicate a significant rise in the number of such institutions every year but this could be the result of an increase in the number of institutions actually being reached by the subsidy (as well as the number of institutions seeking to register to access the assistance) rather than new institutions being established. More reliable data is available in Aceh province as a result of the Rapid Survey conducted there in 2006 by DEPSOS and Save the Children. The research found clear evidence of a marked rise in the number of childcare institutions from the 1980's onward with "91.84% of Children's Homes having been established after 1980. In addition, a staggering 43.88% of all Children's Homes in NAD were established after 2000."[6] Without similar data from other provinces, it is impossible to know whether this dramatic shift towards the use of residential care for children also took place across Indonesia and within the same time scale or period. Intriguing data, though, submitted by the Indonesia Government in its report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child in 2003 refers to data from 1997-1998 pointing to the existence of 1647 'orphanages' caring for 91,051 children.[7] The same report goes on to point out that "*The table indicates fairly rapid growth in the number of alternative care/alternative placement facilities, which almost doubled between 1990/1991 and 1997/1998.*"

Should this data be accurate it would mean that the number of childcare institutions in Indonesia has again more than doubled within the last ten years. This would be the case even if we were to refer only to the number of institutions that are known to receive the BBM subsidy. If the higher estimates are correct on the other hand, this would mean that the number of childcare institutions has more than quadrupled within a ten year period.[8]

Despite the lack of proper data on childcare institutions, the one thing that is clear is that the overwhelming majority of them are privately run and owned. From the figures above we can estimate that the government only owns and runs about 0.7 to 0.4% of the total number of childcare institutions in the country. In addition there is anything from 19% to 50% of childcare institutions in the country that are provided with no support by the government authorities. In fact their whereabouts, situation or the services they provide are not known by the Government. This means that there are vast numbers of childcare institutions and children in residential care who remain completely outside of government supervision, regulation or support. Even in the case of the childcare institutions that do get some support through the BBM scheme, that support is purely financial and does not entail any monitoring of the services provided but only an auditing of the money spent for food costs under that scheme. The auditing process itself only covers a small

percentage of the institutions that receive the BBM subsidy.

There is also no doubt that most of the private organisations running childcare institutions in Indonesia are faith based but as a result of the lack of data, it is not possible to determine what percentage of childcare institutions are established and run by faith based organisation and what percentage are run by organisations using other socio-cultural frame of reference. The vast majority seem to be run as independent initiatives by local religious or community members although significant numbers are also linked to national level religious organisations. *Nahdatul Ulama (NU)* for example has 103 childcare institutions under its network while *Muhammadiyah* has 338 childcare institutions.[9] *Hidayatullah* has around 246 branches and most of these run childcare institutions but not all.

With around 87% of Indonesian citizens being Muslims, it is highly likely that the great majority of these institutions are being run by Muslim organisations but there are also significant numbers of institutions being run by organisations following other faiths including Christian, Hindu and Buddhist. The fact that a childcare institution is run by a particular faith group does not mean that the services it provides or the approach taken are necessarily the same as we will see from this research. In addition, childcare institutions that are not run by a faith organisation, including government run ones, often use religion as a key approach to their services. As a result, without proper data it is impossible to provide any real sense of the breakdown of childcare institutions in relation to religion.

The lack of data also means that no proper gender analysis can be provided in terms of the children cared for in these institutions including whether more boys than girls actually enter institutional care or vice versa. The Survey that is being carried by DEPSOS with Save the Children's help, while not yet complete, seems to indicate that more boys than girls enter institutional care with 57% of boys compared with 43% of girls in the childcare institutions from the 16 provinces who have responded so far. This seems to confirm what was found in the context of Aceh province, the only province where a census of childcare institutions was ever undertaken. A majority of boys were found in these institutions with boys constituting over 59% of the total population of children in institutions while girls made up 41%. Among the tsunami affected children placed in those institutions, there were also more boys with 57% of boys and 43% of girls. Why more boys are being placed in institutional care raises some important questions that need to be answered if the different issues facing boys and girls in terms of their care and protection are to be responded to properly.

It is clear that residential care institutions in Indonesia are seen to play a huge role in the provision of social services for children and families deemed in 'need'. This role seems to have significantly increased in the last couple of decades. It is however also important to note that while the numbers of children in institutions in Indonesia are alarmingly high, the great majority of children who have lost primary carers or whose parents are unable to care for them, for whatever reason, are being cared for by their extended families and in their communities in Indonesia.

Data on children under 15 years of age extracted from a national population survey carried out in 2000 to complement the 2000 National Census and covering all Provinces at the time except Aceh and Maluku shows that there were 60 million children under 15 years in Indonesia living in households within their communities.[10] Of those, over 3.4 million were living with their mother but not with their father; just over 1 million were living with their father but not their mother and over 2.15 million children were not living with either parent. Interestingly the data shows that 72.5% of the children not living with their parents still had both parents alive, only 10.1% had lost both parents[11] (217,582 children) and 15.5% had lost one parent (330,805 children). The situation or whereabouts of the parents for the remaining 1.9% of children was not known.

It is clear from this data that significant numbers of children under 15 years of age in Indonesia are being cared for by families that

do not include their own parents. The survey data also shows that 58.6% of these children were living with their grandparents while 29.3% were living with other relatives. These figures clearly indicate that kinship care in Indonesia remains the primary response for children whose parents have died with 88% of children not living with their parents being cared for by their extended family.

The fact that over 6.5 million children under 15 are either living in single parent families or within extended families reflect the strong recognition in Indonesia of the role and responsibility of families, including the extended family for the care of children. At the same time, the growing reliance on residential care raises some important questions about whether that role may be shifting and if so why. It also opens up the question about what is being done to support children who have lost one or both biological parent and whether that approach is in the best interest of these children and their right to care and protection. The key challenge for the government now at national and local level is to understand those trends and identify what this means for the care and protection of children in Indonesia today.

B. The policy context: the role of childcare institutions.

The recognition that the State has a responsibility to step in where for any reason a family is unable to care for their children was established firmly as far back as the 1945 Constitution of Indonesia. Article 34(1) of the Constitution states that "the indigent and abandoned children shall be cared for by the State". The establishment of residential institutions for orphans and neglected children pre-dates the Constitution, however, and it is thought that the more formal concept of State controlled child care institutions in Indonesia developed during the colonial period.[12]

The concept of child care in Indonesia is firmly rooted in a welfare approach that requires the State and the community to step in to protect and care for 'neglected or abandoned' children or children 'with problems', usually through the provision of institutional based care services.[13] This focus on the provision of social welfare through residential institutions, *Panti Sosial*, is also true for other forms of social interventions for 'people with social problems' (*Penyandang Masalah Kesejahteraan Sosial- PMKS)* such as people with disabilities, those suffering from substance abuse, women deemed 'destitute' or involved in prostitution, the homeless, the beggars and the elderly among others.[14] Within that framework, 'children with problems' were also identified as a particular target of social welfare services as articulated in Government Regulation No 2 (1988) on *Improving the welfare of Children with Problems*.[15]

The term 'neglected children' has been used in that context to refer to any child whose parents 'for one reason or another, are incapable of providing for the child's needs', as a result of which the child suffers neglect or abandonment[16]. As such the approach seems mostly non-judgmental and merely seeks to remedy the impact of socio-economic factors on the capacity of parents and families to care for their children. Yet in practice, these categories have been further defined to include certain categories of children and families identified according to set norms and

assumptions. The Ministry of Social Services has traditionally included in this category not only orphans, fatherless and motherless children, but also children who are disadvantaged (literally who "do not have the capacity" - *tidak/kurang mampu*) whether as a result of economic or social reasons.[17] Other categories formally identified under the category of "neglected children" have been '*children left without fathers, children left without mothers, […] children who drop out of school, children from disadvantaged families, child victims of natural disasters, child victims of conflict/civil disorder, etc...*' and children whose *'parents are separated or divorced.'*[18]

The 1979 Child Welfare law clearly articulated that the primary responsibility for the fulfilment of a child's physical, psychological and social wellbeing was with the child's parents. At the same time it also provided that children who do not have parents have 'the right to be cared for by the State or other body', while children who are 'disadvantaged' have the right to access 'assistance in order to ensure that they are able to grow and develop reasonably in their family environment.'[19] While it did not specifically assert a child's right to grow up in his/her family, the requirement of assistance to 'disadvantaged' children *through* their families constitute an important prioritization of family based care.

Following ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (CRC) in 1990, Indonesia adopted a new law on Child Protection, Law No 23 (2002), which sought to integrate the CRC into national legislation. It defined a "Neglected/Abandoned Child" as a child "whose reasonable needs, whether physical, mental, spiritual or social, are not fulfilled", thus making the definition more child focused rather than parent focused but leaving open the question of who is responsible for fulfilling those needs and what they are.[20]

This law for the first time brought concepts of child protection and child care under a child rights framework instead of a pure social welfare one. In particular, Article 7 and Article 14 recognised that a child has the right to know and be brought up by his or her parents and that separation should only be required where that is in the best interest of the child and as a last resort.

It also restated the principle that "should for any reason his/her natural parents not be able to guarantee the child's growth and development, or the child has been neglected and/or abandoned, then the said child may be fostered or adopted as a foster or adopted child by other person in accordance with the provisions of the laws and regulations in effect (Article 7(2) of Law No 23 (2002)). As such it brought together a framework for alternative care that includes fostering, guardianship, adoption as well as residential care.

Following the adoption of this law, DEPSOS updated its guidelines and provided sets of directives for the care of children in institutions and the care of children 'outside of institutions'.[21] While the concepts clearly evolved to recognise the importance of family based care, the emphasis remained firmly on the provision of care services for children either in or through the childcare institutions.

The aim of the *Panti Sosial Asuhan Anak* (Social Institution for the Care of Children or Childcare Institution) was originally to act as alternative "parent".[22] At the same time social welfare concepts developed in the Ministry of Social Services increasingly saw these institutions as playing a broader role, becoming focal points for the delivery of services for children and their families at the community level. The **2002 DEPSOS General Guidelines for the Operation of Childcare Institutions** and the **2004 DEPSOS Guidelines for the Provision of Child Care in Institutions** identify a range of key functions for care institutions:

"A childcare institution provides children's welfare services based on a social work approach.[23] Accordingly, the functions of a childcare institution may be enumerated as follows:

1. *Serving as an institution that provides welfare services to children.*

   A childcare institution provides the services that would otherwise be provided by the child's parents.

2. *Serving as a source for information, data and consultation on children's welfare.*

   A childcare institution provides information and data that is required by third parties, particularly as regards the rights of children, their needs, available alternatives for resolving their problems, the resource systems normally employed and their potential, the services models used, etc. These institutions can serve as vehicles for accessing and supplying the resources that are required by all parties involved. Accordingly, they also function as consultative institutions, that is, by providing consultation services to those who require them. A number of issues require attention in this regard, including the following:

   a. *a comprehensive children's welfare information system and social mapping will be required;*

   b. *the dissemination of information about childcare institutions through promotions, publications and campaigns should be undertaken. In order to do this, outreach techniques will need to be mastered;*

   c. *special units need to be established to handle information, data and access under the supervision of social workers;*

   d. *research and studies need to be undertaken so as to develop appropriate service models that are in line with the changes taking place in society.*

3. *Serving as referral institutions*

   Childcare institutions serve as referral institutions for families, the community, the state and other parties. Such referrals are not solely confined to services, but also involve the referral of children to other institutions in particular cases. In their capacity as referral institutions, each childcare institution needs to apply standard regulations regarding recruitment and referral patterns. Accordingly, each childcare institution needs to be fully familiar with the resource systems that will be employed as part of its collaborative network in making referrals.[24]

4. *Serving as agencies through which the public may become involved in providing welfare services to children. Childcare institutions provide an opportunity to the public to play a role in helping improve the welfare of children. The public need to be encouraged to provide support for and to become involved in the process of providing services to children. In order to realize this, the following matters require attention:*

   a. *Childcare institutions need to be open to the public, particularly in the context of seeking support from the community.*[25]

   b. *The community needs to be fully involved in the various service programs undertaken by childcare institutions.*

   c. *Childcare institutions should become involved in the efforts to resolve social problems in the community, especially where these concern the welfare of children.*[26]

This emphasis on the provision of social services to children through residential care is also reflected in the **Government Guidelines for the Provision of Services to Neglected children outside of institutional care** (2004). While the focus is primarily non residential as the title indicates, the delivery of the services continues to rely primarily on the availability of residential care institutions. The Guidelines state that *"the provision of welfare services to neglected/abandoned children in non institutional settings" shall mean a system of welfare service provision through an outreach approach by childcare institutions and in the community for the purpose of providing protection, counselling and guidance to children as regards their physical, mental, and social well-being so that such children can live, properly grow and develop and fully participate in society."*[27] This 'outreach' approach whereby childcare institutions provide, in addition to residential care services, support to some children within their families is a step forward towards supporting family based care but there are some real practical challenges to its realisation as this report will show.

In addition, both sets of guidelines see as the targets for such services a broad category of 'neglected/abandoned children' that includes

orphans and other 'disadvantaged children' without emphasizing the primary responsibility of parents or the need to ensure that an approach that seeks to reinforce family based care and prevent separation is prioritised. In fact the parental role is understood solely in the context of the parents' socio-economic capacity to provide what are deemed the 'basic needs' of children. The role of parents is defined as fulfilling the following needs of their children:

'a. Provision of/assistance with accommodation, food, and clothing;

b. Provision of assistance for children's education, including, for example, scholarships, bicycles, and school requisites;

c. Provision of assistance with healthcare, including medication, medical treatment, and nursing care;

d. Provision of vocational and other skills training;

e. Facilitating socialization of a recreational/educational nature in the community;

f. Provision of mental/spiritual services.'[28]

Little if any reference is made to the critical role of parents and families in providing children with the fundamental relationships enabling the development of attachment, love and the emotional security and attention that is known to be crucial to child development. Nor is any reference made to the role of the family as the key enabling environment for children's socialisation. While it is recognised briefly that Indonesian law including Law No 4 on Children's Welfare '*provide that a child's family is the institution that has the first and primary responsibility to ensure his physical, psychological and social wellbeing. The problem is that not all parents are capable of ensuring that their children's rights are fulfilled.*'

Bearing in mind the emphasis on the capacity of families to access basic services for their children and the percentage of Indonesian who continue to live below the poverty line and do not get to access to these services, it is not surprising that huge numbers of children can thus be categorised as being 'neglected or abandoned' and their families as having 'failed' to provide those basic needs.

In the introduction to the Guidelines on the provision of social services to children in institutions, a figure of almost 3 million neglected or abandoned children of 6 to 18 years of age is provided for 1998 and a further 10 million children are considered at risk of neglect or abandonment. The lack of an effective system for data collection on child protection cases at all levels in Indonesia and the absence of a system to assess or let alone measure parental capacity to care indicate that broader social and economic factors have been used to measure the level of neglect and abandonment.

This broad based data is then used to justify the need for residential care institutions for children in Indonesia. "*Given these sort of social situations, it is no longer feasible to rely on families to deal with the problems of neglected/abandoned children. Instead, institutions are required that are capable of substituting for children's parents. This is why childcare institutions have been developed as institutions that are capable of providing professional services to children.*"[29] By equating low economic and social status with lack of capacity to care and placing residential care as the solution to parents' inability to access basic services, the Guidelines actually move away from the Child Protection Law's recognition of the importance of parental care and responsibility. This illustrates the fact that despite the adoption of the Child Protection law and its emphasis on the right of the child to grow and develop within his or her family and not to be separated from them unless clearly in their best interest, social welfare interventions towards children continue to place residential care as the primary option to ensure children's access to basic services rather than the last resort that it is required to be under Indonesian and international standards. Thus, while the theoretical framework has moved on, the practical implication of this new approach has not yet been reflected in the way Social Welfare Agencies understand their roles in the protection of children. These agencies still view

the role of the State as replacing parents rather than supporting parents and families in their crucial responsibility towards their children. They also continue to equate the crucial role of parents and extended families as primarily meeting basic needs rather than also enabling children's rights to grow, live and develop fully as social and emotional individuals.

It is interesting to note that the one category of children which is not referred to at all in those Guidelines as potentially being in need of alternative care are children who face abuse, violence and deliberate neglect from their families. This is the case despite the fact that the Child Protection Law moves away from the 'children with problems' conceptual framework and introduces the concept of children in need of 'special protection' which places 'neglected/ abandoned children' together with abused, exploited children as well as children facing emergency situations under a broader group of children 'at risk'.[30] In fact, for the first time this law recognises the right of every child to protection against '*harsh treatment, violence and abuse*', '*neglect*', '*exploitation of an economic or sexual nature*', '*injustice*', '*discrimination*', and '*other forms of mistreatment*' by his or her '*parents/guardians or other persons who are responsible for his/her care*'.[31]

This is an important indication that the Guidelines fail to see the parental role as more than providing for what it understands as the 'basic needs' of children. The concept of '*neglect*' used to determine that families are unable or unwilling to care for their children in the Government Guidelines does not seek to address or assess that fundamental role of parents but rather only the capacity and ability of those parents to access basic services for their children. In that sense, institutions are seen not really as care institutions but rather as a medium to address what is deemed to be the impact of poverty on families.

The Child Protection law, on the other hand, not only recognises the primacy of the parental role, it also sees that role as much broader than simply providing for the basic needs of children. It refers not only to parents and families' responsibility for '*caring for, maintaining, education and protecting children*' but also to their responsibility in '*ensuring the growth and development of the child in accordance with his capabilities, talents and interests*'.[32] At the same time, it also requires the Government to '*ensure the maintenance and upkeep of neglected and/or abandoned children, whether in the context of an institution or outside an institution.*'[33] The law also refers to the need for a legal decision both for a finding that a child is neglected or abandoned as well as for the revocation or modification of parental rights. Thus an institution, family members or 'an authorized officer' can file an application for a court order '*declaring a child to be neglected*' and identifying '*where the child is to be accommodated and maintained*' or for a revocation of parental rights and the identification of who is to '*act as guardian for the child*'.[34] This implies that a legal decision is required by those who seek to obtain responsibility for the care of the child on the ground that the child is neglected as a result

of a '*failure of his/her parents to exercise their responsibility for some reason*' or because his/her parent neglected '*their obligations*'.[35] What is left problematically unclear in the law is whether such orders are required in all cases or only where there are no parents or the parents are not consenting to the transfer of parental responsibility for the child.

The Government Guidelines for the care of children in or out of institutions, on the other hand, do not refer at all to any type of legal process or requirement for the determination that a child is indeed in need of alternative care nor for providing a legal basis for the placement of a child in alternative care including in an institution.

There are a number of important factors that can be seen to have played a significant role in shaping the way social welfare for children has been understood and delivered in Indonesia and which must be considered if we are to understand how residential care became the primary means of social intervention for children deemed 'with problems' or in need of protection in Indonesia.

C. Childcare institutions as social services

Financing social services through institutions?

Without accurate data it is simply not possible to fully understand the trends regarding the establishment of childcare institutions and as such it is also difficult to identify what may be triggering an expansion in the use of residential care in Indonesia. One aspect though that cannot be ignored and that was clearly evidenced in the post tsunami context in Aceh is the significant impact of funding, particularly regular funding such as the government BBM scheme[36]. Financial assistance schemes directed to institutions and provided per child is certain to be an incentive to 'recruit" children to childcare facilities whether in their best interest or not. At the same time if direct support services to families are not provided and prioritised there is a real risk that the capacity of families to care and cope at times of crisis will be severely undermined. Without access to both social protection schemes such as safety nets and cash transfers and psycho-social support including through social services, families may see no other alternative at times of personal and social crises than to place their children in an institution in order to access assistance. By channelling such assistance through the child care institutions, the government and communities themselves may actually be fuelling a situation where residential care is seen as the best option rather than the last resort it should be.

Ministry of Social Affairs is composed of three main Directorate Generals under which a number of Directorates sit[37]:

1. Social Empowerment (Family Empowerment; Empowerment of Social Commnunity Institution; Empowerment of Isolated Cultural Communities; Impoverished People Empowerment; and Veterans Affairs, Pioneers, and Social Solidarity)
2. Social Services and Rehabilitation (Social Services for Children, Social Services for Elderly, Social Services and Rehabilitation for the Disabled Persons, and Social Services and Rehabilitation for Socially Troubled People).
3. Social Assistance and Security (Social Assitance for Natural Disaster Victims, Social Assistance for Social Disaster Victims, Social Assistance for Violence Victims and Migrant Workers, Collecting and Managing Social Fund Resources, and Social welfare Security)

The total budget for the Ministry of Social Affairs for 2006 amounted to 251 Million USD. Out of this budget the four following Directories were given the biggest share of the budget:

- Directorate for the Impoverished People Empowerment: USD 52 million
- Directorate for the Social Assistance for Social Disaster Victims: USD 42 million
- Directorate for the Social Assitance for Natural Disaster Victims: USD 20 million

- Directorate for the Social Services for Children: USD 19 million

In addition, the Directorate for the Family Empowerment came 9th in terms of its share of the Ministry of Social Affairs budget and got 5 million USD. The prioritisation for the Ministry in terms of its role in providing social assistance was clearly focused on the poor and those victims of what are called social disasters such as inter-communal conflicts, political unrests etc.

Out of the USD 19 million budget for the Directorate for the Social Assistance to Children, 1.3 million was allocated to the running of the Directorate and its sub-directorates while 17.6 million went to local government as the Deconcentration Fund (DEKON) to be spent by the provincial government on social services. This Fund is handed over annually by the Central Government to the Provincial Government to provide social services for groups of pre-determined vulnerable children including neglected children, street children, disabled children and 'naughty children'. DEPSOS provides guidance on the way the fund is to be distributed or used such as training, small business enterprises, scholarships, subsidy for social institutions, socialisation of relevant laws etc. The Provincial Government then decides how to distribute the Dekon throughout the Districts through predetermined programmes rather than a generic fund to the District authority.

In 2006 out of the USD 17.6 million allocated by the Directorate to the provinces through the Dekon, 9 million were identified as being for 'neglected children'. If we compare this to the 11.7 million given directly to the childcare institutions by the central Government in 2007 (about USD 10.5 million in 2006), we can see that the level of assistance given to these children through the childcare institutions is even higher than that given to the local Government through the Dekon. In addition, it is important to note that a significant share of the Deconcentration Fund is in turn allocated by each of the provincial authorities to the childcare institutions within their territory although no data is available to identify how much of that budget goes into institutional care.

It is clear that financial assistance plays a significant role in the growing number of childcare institutions across Indonesia. Access to the BBM subsidy for the childcare institutions has been promoted and socialised across Indonesia both by the central Government and local government as a key form of assistance to organisations providing services for children. In 2006 it has been renamed by DEPSOS as the Subsidy for the Additional Costs of Fulfilling Basic Needs. Increasing numbers of organisations have been seeking funds to establish or expand their childcare institutions. At a recent meeting in 2006 to socialise the subsidy to the childcare institutions in Central Java, the provincial DINSOS authority found that instead of the 300 or so institutions they expected to attend, over 600 attended to register to receive the subsidy. Staff from DINSOS Central Java recognised that they simply did not have a system in place nor the capacity to check all of these institutions to verify that they are genuine, or indeed childcare institutions, let alone to look at the services they are intending to provide. In Buru Island, Maluku, of the six childcare institutions established there, the research found that at least two were pesantren (Islamic boarding schools) that had not established a childcare institution or provided any services beyond what they normally provided. The heads of these pesantren explained though that they had registered as childcare institutions under the advice of the local social authorities so that they could access the BBM subsidy funds for childcare institutions.

It is also important to note that no data is collected or available about private funding to childcare institutions across the country. If the research in Aceh in the context of the post-tsunami is anything to go by, private funding through religious organisations, foreign governments, international organisations, private companies, as well as individuals donations through the door is considerable. The extent to which this funding is also

contributing to the apparent increase in the number of childcare institutions is simply not known and is unlikely to be known as long as these institutions are not required to keep any financial record of the assistance they get.

Indonesia: a social welfare society?

A second important factor that has affected the way social services are delivered in Indonesia is the fact that even before the establishment of the Indonesian State, the role of the community and non governmental agencies including religious organizations in ensuring the social welfare of its people was understood as critical. The community and religious groups understood their roles in social terms and their responsibility towards the members of their communities was clearly linked to improving their welfare situation. Social responsibility underlies both religious and cultural values and the care of those vulnerable, particularly children, is understood to be both a state and a community responsibility. In that sense, Indonesia has been referred to as a 'welfare society' rather than a welfare 'state', highlighting the key role that community organizations had from the start in ensuring the welfare of their members.[38]

Community support for social welfare was a clear part of the fight for self determination in Indonesia as the community took on the role of supporting those who were fighting and their families. The value of social solidarity became the foundation of the policies and programmes of DEPSOS. The Ministry has made the 22nd December the National Day of Social Solidarity in order to encourage social solidarity as a key value for the community and encourage its role in the delivery of social services.

Ensuring and providing for the welfare of the most vulnerable members of society, especially orphaned or fatherless children, has traditionally been an important part of the social welfare role of the community in Indonesia. Members of the communities that were better off took on the responsibility of either caring for or supporting children who were either without parental care or who were deemed neglected. This practice was very entrenched in the communities of Java, Sumatera as well as other parts of Indonesia where the system of extended family would also include members of the community who had no blood relation to the child but who still took on responsibility for his or her care. This practice was further reinforced by religious values which encouraged providing support in particular for orphans and other vulnerable children. In Islam, providing support to orphans and fatherless children is a key part of demonstrating one's commitment to religious faith and practice. Those that help children who are orphaned will be rewarded in heaven and are seen to be particularly worthy individuals. [39] A recent quote by some World Bank volunteers in Indonesia speaking about the day out they had organized for children from a childcare institutions in Aceh illustrates this well, *"In our culture we have a belief that those who serve in orphanages will obtain eternal bliss after this life"*[40]. Similarly Christian communities refer to the teaching of their faith to emphasize the important role that charity towards the most vulnerable members of their communities, in particular orphaned children and widows, plays in religious practice.

In that context, supporting children who are in need in the community can be done either directly by caring for the individual child or by supporting children in need through an institution. The way care or support is provided does not have to follow a particular approach but is left to the individual to decide according to their beliefs and situation. Muslims are also required to show their faith through donations including land (*wakaf tanah*), an annual donation of 2.5% of one's wage (*zakat maal*), as well as other donations and contribution in kind and financial particularly during the month of Ramadan. During this period, assistance to the orphans including food and money gifts, eating or visiting them or paying for them to pray on one's behalf becomes a particularly important activity.

The emphasis in Islam on providing support to the orphans has been an important factor in the establishment and growth of

childcare institutions in Indonesia, especially through the work of a number of Islamic organisations such as Nahdatul Ulama, Muhammadiyah, Hidayatullah and Nahdatul Wathon. The institutions under these networks are organised around the structure of management and the approach used by these organisations. As this research shows, the establishment of a childcare institution under these networks is not only about providing care to vulnerable children but also to create new recruits and members of the organisation (cadres) in order to fulfil the overall aims of the organisation and implement its programmes. This in turn illustrates the fact that these institutions are seen by these organisations as a means to reach communities at the very local level and extend their networks both geographically and in terms of the number of its followers. As a result it also leads to an increase in the number of childcare institutions.

While this research is looking at institutions whose primary purpose is to provide care for 'neglected and abandoned children', the social welfare role that Islamic organizations have played in Indonesia through the establishment of Islamic boarding schools (pesantren) also must be understood. There are an estimated 14,655 pesantren in Indonesia that provide Islamic education for 3,364,180 children[41]. Islamic boarding schools have traditionally played an important role in providing religious and in some cases formal education to the poorest members of their community. For the majority of the very poor, sending their child to an Islamic boarding school for education is not just a religious choice but an economic necessity as the fees and costs tend to be very low compared to those of state schools, at least in the great majority of traditional pesantren. As a result many children from particularly vulnerable families including children who are orphaned or neglected have been 'cared' for traditionally through the pesantren.

While the aims and the social role and status of a pesantren are clearly different to that of a childcare institution, whereby the former is focused primarily on the provision of education to children, the reality is that children studying at a pesantren also spend the greater part of their childhood living permanently in these facilities. Starting generally from around 6 years of age, children leave the pesantren at about 18 to 20 years of age. While contact with family is maintained and visits generally occur once a year for Ramadan, the reality is that the child's care and development is also in the hands of the pesantren and the organization running them. In fact it is becoming increasingly harder to differentiate between religious boarding schools and childcare institutions, particularly as more and more pesantren are also formally opening and registering childcare institutions. In that regard, while recognizing the different focus of religious boarding schools, it is clear that any institution which is primarily responsible for a child's well being and life on a daily basis will need to ensure that some very fundamental standards of care are met. While at this stage no regulatory system exists, it will be crucial for standards of care to apply not only to the childcare institutions but to the religious boarding schools and any other facility which takes on the primary care role for children.

Joint responsibility or no responsibility?

The key role of community and religious groups in Indonesia in social welfare has not only influenced the way social services have been delivered but also the way responsibility for the welfare of children has been understood. Joint responsibility between Government and the community (members of society) for social welfare has been clearly articulated under the law. While Law no 4 on Child Welfare (1979) states that parents have the primary responsibility for the care of children, it also emphasizes that social welfare efforts towards children will carried out by '*the State and/or the community*', the focus of the State's own efforts being to '*direct, guide, support and monitor the delivery of services by the community*'.[42] Furthermore it states that those services are to be delivered through '*childcare institutions (Panti) as well as outside those institutions*'. [43]

The Law on Child Protection places responsibility jointly on all actors: '*the state, government, community, the family and parents shall all be responsible and accountable for protecting children.*' [44] It differentiates between the roles mainly in terms of the State and the Government being responsible for 'putting in place infrastructures and facilities designed to provide protection for children' and an ill defined oversight role. Meanwhile the community is to fulfil its obligations and responsibilities in protecting children through the implementation/delivery of protection at that level. While the law is confusingly silent on what this means, there is certainly an implication that it is primarily in the delivery of services that the community is seen to be playing a fundamental role. DEPSOS in its *Guidelines for the care of children in need of special protection (2004)* defines the division of responsibility between the Government agencies and the community or 'the public' in terms of mutual collaboration but acknowledges also an overall responsibility on the part of the Government '*to provide an adequate institutional and legislative framework, exercise supervision and control, provide protection to all who require it, to effect initial intervention, to assist in the treatment of the child and to facilitate referrals*'. [45] Meanwhile it qualifies the role of the community in relation to children with special protection needs as mainly '*preventative*' while also referring to its role in creating '*a conducive environment for the proper growth and development of children, so that children in need of special protection can quickly recover.*'

Yet it is also clear from the list of 'community' mechanisms that the Guidelines goes on to identify, that it would be '*the Institutions that provide services directly to children, their families, and the community, including child protection services*' that would be the actual implementers. Among those listed apart from the schools and play groups, it is primarily the childcare institutions that are likely to be the main actors as few if any of the other services listed are available at the community level in Indonesia, particularly outside of major economic centres or urban centres. [46]

The lack of clarity in terms of the joint roles and responsibilities of the State and the community in the delivery of social services including for children has led some to see this as an attempt by the State to evade its ultimate responsibility towards children in Indonesia. Certainly, the lack of basic data on children and the childcare facilities across Indonesia indicate that at the very least the Government is unable to 'keep up' with the services that are provided at the community level by a range of local and national organisations.

Decentralisation: the changing role of DEPSOS.

Another crucial factor that affected the way social services for children have been delivered in Indonesia was the dissolution of the Ministry of Social Affairs for a whole year in 1999 followed by the radical decentralisation process that took place in Indonesia in 2000 and which included transfer of responsibility for social services to the District and provincial levels. The capacity of that Ministry to support and supervise children's services at the local level was always very limited, both as a result of insufficient resources and a lack of effective mechanism to ensure the implementation of national standards and policies at the local level.

It became even more so when the entire Department was temporarily disbanded under the administration of President Gus Dur in 1999.[47] Although it was re-established a year later and its mandate reinstated, the radical political decentralisation process that begun in 2000 further undermined both the capacity and the role of DEPSOS in relation to the provision of child care in institutions across Indonesia. Since then, apart from the financial support it provides to institutions, DEPSOS has seen its role as primarily a standard setting role and it has focused on developing policies and guidelines for the provision of children's services as well as piloting 'best practice' childcare institutions.[48] Government Regulation Number 2 of 1988 on Social Welfare Efforts for Children with Problems clearly sets out the Ministry's role over such institutions as a regulatory one, including setting 'the requirements and procedures for the establishment of childcare institutions' as well as 'to supervise child welfare activities undertaken by the community'. In practice though, DEPSOS has taken more of a promotional approach to this mandate rather than a regulatory one, possibly reflecting the shift in the balance of power towards the provinces and districts which may or may not be open to oversight from the central government.

Yet, as we have seen, the Ministry has continued to be one of the primary sources of funding for the childcare institutions both through the DEKON and the BBM subsidy. This should put it in a constructive position to ensure that only institutions that follow some clear minimum standards would be entitled to receive the funding from year to year, thus yielding considerable power to ensure better standards are applied. In reality though, little supervision and monitoring has taken place and only within the very narrow remit of ensuring that money received has been spent in that context. The focus has been almost entirely on financial accountability and not at all on accountability towards standards of care for children. The fact that data collected by the Ministry in relation to childcare institutions only relates to the BBM subsidy and the couple of institutions it runs and that this data is purely quantitative, points to a major gap in the implementation of the regulatory role that the Ministry was given under Government Regulation No 2 1988 and that was yet again reaffirmed even in the context of the decentralisation process.[49]

Law No 32 of 2004 on Local Governance reaffirmed the central government's overall responsibility for ensuring the application of minimum standards in social welfare in the context of local autonomy while local government is responsible for the delivery of the actual services.[50] As a result DEPSOS has continued to develop and update policies and guidelines in relation to the delivery of social services including children in childcare institutions and outside. It has also 'socialised' these in the Provinces and with the local authorities responsible for social welfare across Indonesia. Nonetheless it has had few mechanisms for assessing the extent to which these are being followed and for ensuring their enforcement except in the childcare institutions that are government run. In the absence of an established licensing system and a clear supervisory mechanism for all childcare institutions, DEPSOS and the local welfare authorities have limited scope for ensuring that minimum standards are understood and respected.

The Ministry though, has also focused its efforts on the 'Social Laboratorium' provided for under the special sphere/area under the Local Governance Law, where the central government retains direct control and where it 'pilots' social welfare interventions such as the Units of Technical Interventions (UPT), residential social institutions which are run by DEPSOS and are meant to implement good practice[51]. DEPSOS runs two childcare institutions for example for 'neglected children' in Central Java and Jambi where professional training and development is highlighted. The extent to which the Ministry is able to ensure that such 'models' are actually replicated in other provinces and districts is limited to enabling study visits by managers of other institutions who are interested and leaders of local authorities.

The Ministry of Social Affairs is responsible for the development and implementation of minimum standards for the delivery of social services by local authorities and by private organisations and community groups in a context where local autonomy has been newly asserted and the overwhelming majority of childcare institutions are owned and run by private organisations. This has represented a real challenge for the Ministry and the sub-directorate responsible for children's services. In some cases, this has led the sub-directorate to focus its efforts on its own institutions and local government ones, viewing its role in relation to the other childcare institutions as mainly the provision of financial support through the BBM subsidy and the promotion of guidelines and policies.

This has in turn led to a situation where it knows little about the situation of children in institutions across Indonesia and in some instances has relinquished its ultimate responsibility to ensure that the rights of all children who are in care whether residential or nor residential are protected. It is in recognition of this situation that this research has been fully facilitated and supported by the Ministry, to ensure that it gains not only a much better picture of the situation of children in childcare institutions across Indonesia but also of the extent to which minimum standards are being implemented and if not, how the Ministry can better play its crucial regulatory role to protect children nationally.

Footnotes:

1 In addition to the 18 childcare institutions, prior to decentralisation the government ran 36 vocational training institutions for children who have dropped out of school (PSBR), 7 institutions for children who have learning difficulties (PSPA) and 5 Day care centres (PSTPA). Since decentralisation the government has not kept data about how many of the institutions handed over to the local government are still running and how many new ones have been established by the local government at either provincial or district level.

2 Manual of Technical Guidelines for the delivery of the Subsidy Program for Additional Food Costs for Social Care Institutions (2005) DEPSOS RI. p.1-2

3 SC/DEPSOS: Rapid Assessment p.28

4 SC/DEPSOS: Rapid Assessment p.28

5 BPS 2000 Population Census: http://www.bps.go.id/sector/population/table1.shtml

6 SC/DEPSOS Rapid Survey p. 24

7 CRC/C/65/Add.23: Table 7 Page 42

8 It is unclear where the data for the 1990/1991 and 1997/1998 comes from and DEPSOS has not kept data records for the previous decade on the situation of childcare institutions. The data however seems at odd with the data which the government advanced in its first report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child where it referred to "4,305 foster care centres in Indonesia". It is also unclear what those centres include and what the source for that data is. See CRC/C/3/Add.10 (14 January 1993)

9 Interview with staff of PP Muhammadiyah, August 2007

10 Population Modul Survey (MK) 2000, PBS. Data extracted for the Inter-Agency Family based care Working Group.

11 According to this data, the percentage of children under 15 who are orphans (father and mother have died) and are living in the community is 0.36%.

12 General Guidelines for the operation of childcare institutions. DEPSOS. 2002. p.5

13 Article 11(2) Law Number 4 of 1979 on children's welfare (Official Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia 1979 Number 32, Supplement to the Official Gazette of the Republic of Indonesia Number 3143; See also Government Regulation Number 2 of 1998 on improving the welfare of children with problems;

14 See 1992 DEPSOS booklet but also "Standardisasi Panti Sosial" Perubahan Keputusan Menteri Kesehatan dan Kesejahteraan Sosial Nomor 193/MENKES-KESOS/III/2000 tentang Standardisasi Panti Sosial (50/HUK/2004) pp 4-6.

15 Government Regulation Number 2 of 1998 on improving the welfare of children with problems.

16 General Guidelines for the Operation of Childcare Institutions as Part of the Provision of Services to Neglected Children. (2002) DEPSOS. Part D, 2 (E).

17 See Article 1, Law Number 4 of 1979 on children's welfare. See also Badan Pelatihan dan Pengembangan Sosial Departemen Sosial, 2004: 5)

18 Guidelines for the Provision of Social Services to Neglected Children outside of institutions, (2004): DEPSOS, Chapter II, B. 1.

19 Law No 4 of 1979 on Children's Welfare, Articles 4, 5 and 9.

20 Law No 23 on Child Protection (2002), Article 1(6).

21 General Guidelines for the Operation of Childcare Institutions as Part of the Provision of Services to Neglected Children. (2002) DEPSOS, Directorate General of Social and Rehabilitation Services, Directorate of Children's Social Services; General Guidelines for the Provision of Social Services to Children in Childcare Institutions (2004) DEPSOS, Directorate General of Social and Rehabilitation Services, Directorate of Children's Social Services; Guidelines for the Provision of Social Services to Neglected Children outside of institutions, (2004) DEPSOS, Directorate General of Social and Rehabilitation Services.

22 DEPSOS's General Guidelines for the Provision of Social Services to Children in Childcare Institutions (2004) defines a childcare institution as 'a professional service provider that is responsible for the provision of care to neglected children in such a way as to substitute for the roles of their parents'. Chapter 1 C 2. (Directorate of Children's Social Services, 2004: 4).

23 "A social work approach represents a professional application that is based on a combination of art, skill and knowledge as tested based on professional norms. The social work approach stresses cross-sectoral, cross-profession, and cross-discipline efforts as part of a service network, which nowadays is known as case management."

24 "By collaborative networks is meant cooperative networks that are coordinated as between the childcare institution in question and other parties in the context of improving the quality of services provided to children."

[25] Every childcare institution requires social support if it is to be maintained. Without such social support, it may be taken for granted that the sustainability of the service will face difficulties.

[26] General Guidelines for the Provision of Social Services to Children in Childcare Institutions (2004) DEPSOS, Chapter II B.

[27] Guidelines for the Provision of Social Services to Neglected Children outside of institutions, (2004): DEPSOS, Directorate General of Social and Rehabilitation Services. Chapter I D.3.

[28] Guidelines for the Provision of Social Services to Neglected Children outside of institutions, (2004): DEPSOS, Chapter II, D.5.

[29] General Guidelines for the Provision of Social Services to Children in Childcare Institutions (2004) DEPSOS. Chapter I, A.

[30] Law No 23 (2002) on Child Protection, Part V, Articles 59-71.

[31] Law No 23 (2002) on Child Protection, Article 13.

[32] Law No 23 (2002) on Child Protection, Article 26.

[33] It is important to note that the Indonesian text of the law uses the word "*lembaga*" which can be translated in English as "*institution*" but also as "*organization*" and thus not necessarily referring to an actual residential care facility. At the same time, the context in which it is given and the references in the related articles to "*accommodation*" and "*raising/taking care of*" children imply that what is referred to is either the residential care facility or the organization running some form of alternative care. See Law No 23 (2002) on Child Protection, Article 55.

[34] Law No 23 (2002) on Child Protection, Articles 57, 58

[35] Law No 23 (2002) on Child Protection, Articles 30, 31. The language used by the Child Protection Law is confusing in that regard and will need to be clarified through Government regulations. The Articles referring to the need for a Court Order use the word "*may*" submit an application to the court both in the case of a Court Order for revocation of parental rights or supervisory measures or for a Court determination that a child is neglected, leaving it unclear as to whether this is a requirement or not in all cases. In addition, the Articles relating to fostering which is again can be carried by an institution or through an institution does not stipulate any requirement for the determination that the parents are "*unable to guarantee the [child's] proper physical, mental, spiritual and social development*" (Article 37). It is thus unclear whether institutions require a court order to 'foster' such a child.

[36] SC/DEPSOS: Rapid Assessment, p.27,

[37] Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia, Social Minister Regulation of The Republic of Indonesia No: 82/HUK/2005 on Organization and Working Mechanism Ministry of Social Affairs (2005)

[38] Presentation by Mr Makmur Sunusi, Director General of Social Services and Rehabilitation to the Alternative Care Regional Workshop organized by UNICEF Bangkok (28 – 29 November 2005)

[39] Reference is in particular made in this context to the Holy Quran, Surah 107. Al-Ma'un (Small Kindnesses, Almsgiving, Have You Seen?).

[40] 'World Bank staff volunteer effort: Visit to Orphanage', August 22, 2007 at http://go.worldbank.org/BQEQ99HFF0

[41] Directorate General of Islamic organisations, 2003-2004

[42] Law No 4 of 1979 on Children's Welfare, Article 11(2), (4).

[43] Law No 4 of 1979 on Children's Welfare, Article 11 (3) and Government Regulation Number 2 of 1998 on improving the welfare of children with problems. Article 6 (3).

[44] Law No 23 of 2002 on Child Protection; Articles 20 and 25.

[45] Guidelines for the Care of Children in Need of Special Protection (2004) DEPSOS Chapter III. A. 2

[46] The institutions listed in the guidelines as 'providing services directly to children, their families, and the community, including child protection services' were: Play groups and crèches, Schools, Childcare institutions (PSAA), institutions for children with learning difficulties (PSPA), Shelters for homeless/street children, Rehabilitation centres, family counselling centres (LK3), Protection homes/shelters, trauma centres, crisis centres, integrated crisis centres (PKT), hospitals, special service rooms (RPK), police and disaster management centres (Satlak PBP).

[47] Presidential Decree Number 101 of 2001

[48] The two 'pilot' childcare institutions run by DEPSOS are located in Pati, Central Java and Jambi, Sumatera. For an assessment of Pati see Section XIV.

[49] Presidential Decree Number 102 of 2001 on the status, duties, functions, powers, organizational structure and working procedures of government departments including article 53 which among other things requires the Department of Social Welfare to develop technical standards and policies which must be followed by local authorities.

[50] Law No 32 (2004) on Local Governance. See in particular Articles 2(3), 13, 14 and 16.

[51] Law No 32 (2004) on Local Governance. Article 1(19) and Elucidations on Law No 32 (2004) Chapter I (2).

IV. National standards for childcare

THE SETTING OF MINIMUM standards and the regulation of childcare institutions is, as we have seen, under the responsibility of the Ministry of Social Services. As a result, its Directorate for Children's Services has regularly produced and updated technical guidelines and manuals for the delivery of social services to children in particular in institutions and outside of institutions. Despite this, the Ministry has traditionally separated its responsibility for the registration of social organisations from its responsibility for ensuring minimum standards in the services provided by those organisations. Separate Directorates are responsible for each.

According to Decision No 50/HUK/2004 by the Minister for Social Services on the Standardization of Social Care Institutions, these institutions *"must have proof of their legality from the competent authorities in order to get recognition and professional guidance".*[1]

Three documents are identified under the existing standards to fill this requirement, an organisational statement establishing the aims and purpose of the social organisation (AD/ART), an Act of Notary and a Letter of Authorization for its operations such as a *Surat Izin Kegiatan (SIK)*.[2] The SIK is a formal document of registration for Social Organisations which is provided by DEPSOS or DINSOS at the national, provincial or district levels. The SIK provides evidence of registration and permission to operate as a social welfare organisation. It includes only the name of the organisation, the address of the Secretariat, the name of the Chairman/Director, the area and types of activities, and the date of expiration. It does not provide any indication of qualification or capacity to operate as a social organisation or for that matter authority to operate a specific institution such as a childcare institution. Letters of Authorization must be renewed periodically, usually every two or three years by DEPSOS or the local Office of Social Welfare at Provincial or District levels. The DEPSOS department responsible for handling the registration of social organisations is the Directorate for the Social Commmunity Institutions which is located in a different Directorate General than the one responsible for technical standards.

As a result there is no system for the registration of the individual institution itself. This means that those who establish a childcare institution do not need to register as long as they have some sort of SIK or registration number showing that their parent organisation is registered as a social organisation. In addition, research has shown that various authorities use a different SIK system so that for example, depending on its jurisdiction and which authority it has approached the social organisation may get its authorisation from the district level authorities or instead from the Provincial or even the national level. There seems to be no common system between the different level authorities or any rules regarding which authorization is needed by which social organisation.

As a result of using the SIK system, social agencies do not have any comprehensive system of data collection that would enable them to know how many childcare institutions are located within their territory or what new institutions are being planned or set up and by whom. In addition, as the SIK system is neither related to an individual childcare institution nor to the work of authorities responsible for ensuring minimum standards, no criteria for the establishment of childcare institutions have been provided. Anyone who can successfully argue that he or she is running a 'social' organisation has sufficient legal basis for establishing a childcare institution regardless of whether they have any experience in the matter, they have the required skills, resource or desired competencies to take care of children. This means that there is in effect no licensing system in Indonesia for childcare institutions. Anyone is deemed able and competent to run such an institution provided they possess these 3 documents.

In 2004, the Ministry produced a Manual for the Standardization of the Social Assistance Institutions (Panti Sosial). Covering the range of institutions caring for vulnerable groups as defined under the social welfare framework of DEPSOS including the 15 types of institutions referred to above. After initial 'socialisation' of the standards in a number of Provinces in 2005, the Manual was amended and a new version published in 2006. The standards are deemed to be applicable to all such institutions, whether government run or privately run and are divided into standards that are common to all such institutions and additional required of each type of institution. The standards are primarily focused on the managerial aspects of these institutions and particularly to the fulfilment of certain reporting requirements. Beyond the requirement to have the three documents certifying the legality of the institution as explained above, the standards refer primarily to the type of staff and the type of reports which these institutions should have. Starting from documentation about the vision and mission of the organisation and its organisational structure, it further requires a range of reports on its budget, on its staffing and on the assistance and services it provides.

The focus is on the institution having a specified number of posts, infrastructures and financial reporting in place. For example, every social institution should have a leadership team with: a head of the institution, a deputy head and head of units, an operational team comprising a social worker, an instructor, a spiritual counsellor and guide, a functional officer, a paramedic, other professional and a support team that includes a 'head of barrack' or dormitory, a carer, a cook, a cleaner, a guard and a driver. [3]

In relation specifically to childcare institutions (PSAA), the standards refer to a number of steps which must be followed in terms of services provided including:

1) an outreach stage that includes the socialisation of the institution's programme in the community, the recruitment of potential 'client', the selection of these candidates and the process of registration and placement as well as case conferencing.
2) A stage of recognition and understanding of the problem which involve an analysis of the condition of the client, of the condition of the family, of their environment; an analysis of the characteristics of the 'problem' and the root causes and implication of that 'problem', finally an analysis of the existing capacity to overcome that 'problem' and resources that can be called upon, together with case conferencing.
3) A stage of planning for the assistance to be provided including its aim, its type, the resource that it will call upon and case conferencing.
4) A stage of implementation of the programme that may include physical and health guidance, mental and psychological guidance that includes religious, discipline and psycho-social support, social guidance, vocational training, educational guidance and support, individual guidance including individual counselling and social therapy, group guidance which includes group work and counselling, and finally the preparation of the social environment including family, community and school or work.
5) A stage of 'post assistance' (similar to 'after care') which includes the termination of services to the client, referral and return/ reintegration into the home, as well as orientation towards the work place, training place. Finally, the follow-up that involves the monitoring and supervision of the client who has returned either to his/her family or entered the workplace. [4]

Reports and documentation illustrating all the above should be available. In addition, the standards provide a staff to client ratio for childcare institution which should be:

- Social worker: 1 for every 5 children
- Doctor: 1 for every 5 children
- Teacher: 1 for every 5 children.[5]

The extent to which childcare institutions fulfil these standards and criteria is supposed to be the subject of assessment and monitoring from a 'Commission on the Accreditation of Social Assistance Institutions (Komisi Akreditasi

Panti Sosial -KAPS) and its Survey Team.[6] This system has yet to come into force and no process of accreditation or monitoring has so far been established. The focus of the accreditation guidelines however is on ranking the institutions including the childcare institutions according to 3 categories (A, B, C) based primarily on whether they fulfil these operational requirements rather than any assessment of the quality of services provided. In addition it is not made clear what the implications are for an institution should they fall under any of these categories and whether being relegated to a lower category has any implication for the financial support for example received by the institution or the level of support its requires to ensure its standards are improved.

While the standards go some way to respond to the clear legal responsibility articulated in Child Protection Law No 23 in relation to the 'oversight and supervision' that must be carried out by the Ministry of Social Affairs[7], their focus on organisational structures and administrative requirements that must be met leave entirely open the fundamental question of what should be the objectives of those institutions, who they should serve and how, and what quality of services is required by the Government in that regard.

Clearly the standards should be understood in light of other related policy documents such as the DEPSOS Guidelines for the provision of child care in institution or the Guidelines for the provision of child care outside of institutions although the Manual fails to refer to them. The Guidelines do provide some important guidance as to the role childcare institutions are expected to play as well as some of the overall principles for the operation of such institutions. In particular, it articulates some of the '*values on which service provision should be based*':

'1. *Upholding, respecting and holding in high regard the rights of children*
2. *Every child has the right to determine his/her own destiny*
3. *All children shall have the same opportunities, free of any form of discrimination*
4. *Professionalism in service provision*
5. *Accessibility and Relevance.'*[8]

The recognition that such services should be based on the rights of the child and respond to the uniqueness of each individual child and his/her particular situation represents a very important statement of principle. In order however to ensure that such principles underpin the provision of all services in institutions providing care to children in Indonesia a clear articulation of what this means in practice is needed. This should be reflected not only in terms of how services are provided but which children would most benefit from such services and in what context. The Standards should be playing that crucial role and enabling child care institutions and the Ministry of Social Affairs to measure the quality of the services provided. Without the development of more comprehensive standards specific to childcare institutions linking the values and principles on which these institutions should operate together with the required services and processes which they should provide for children at a minimum, the Ministry of Social Affairs is simply not going to be in a position to know whether any of the important policy and technical guidelines it has issued are actually being implemented.

It is important to note in that regard that both the Guidelines and the Child Protection Law refer to the fact that children's participation in decisions that affect them in the delivery of services is a key principle to be followed. The child's right to '*determine his/her own destiny is […] founded on the belief that every child possesses the ability to make decisions about matters that are of importance to him/her.'*[9]

The Child Protection law requires the government in the performance of *'its duties of maintenance and upkeep'* for neglected children' to '*make efforts to ensure that a child can participate, express his/her views […], receive both oral and written information in accordance with his/her age and development; organise and associate; have sufficient time to rest, play, have recreation, express his/her creativity and engage in artistic expression and have play facilities that meet health and safety requirements'*.[10] None of

these requirements are at all included in the Manual of Standards for Social Institutions. The rights of children in care to participate and receive relevant information are not mentioned at all. In fact the Survey Team is not required to speak to children or any other target of the services provided by the Social Care institutions in their work to assess whether the standards have been met. The explanation of the ways of working for the Survey Team under the Manual for the Accreditation of Social Care institutions only requires the team to interview '*those people who have the competency according to their work/function and who are given permission to provide an explanation.*'[11]

While DEPSOS has attempted to promote the standards with the Managers of institutions, as we have seen it has not linked implementation of these standards to any of the assistance programme it is providing. This undermines seriously its ability to regulate the provision of services for children. On the one hand its efforts are encouraging an expansion of the number of such institutions through financial support that is using no other criteria than the number of children being cared for and the number of institution. On the other hand it is attempting to ensure minimum standards of care are applied by the very same institutions. This contradictory approach is likely to undermine the capacity of the Government at both local and national level to ensure that childcare institutions are run as professional social welfare institutions that are in the best interest of vulnerable children.

Footnotes:

1 Standardization for Social Care Institutions (2004) p.11. Social Welfare Education and Research Board, Ministry of Social Affairs.

2 In addition, under Law No 16 of 2001 on Private Foundations, these organisations are required under Article 11(2) to get their Founding documents certified by the provincial office of the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights.

3 Standardization for Social Care Institutions (2006) p.22. Section for Training and Social Development, the Ministry of Social Affairs.

4 Standardization for Social Care Institutions (2006) p.22. Section for Training and Social Development, the Ministry of Social Affairs.

5 Standardization for Social Care Institutions (2006) p.40.

6 Guidelines on the Accreditation of the Social Care Institution (Panti Sosial) Keputusan Menteri Sosial Republik of Indonesia No: 50/HUK/2004. Appendix III.

7 Law no 23, Article 55 (4).

8 General Guidelines for the Provision of Social Services to Children in Childcare Institutions (2004) DEPSOS, Directorate General of Social and Rehabilitation Services, Directorate of Children's Social Services Development. Chapter II, Section D.

9 General Guidelines for the Provision of Social Services to Children in Childcare Institutions (2004) DEPSOS. Chapter II, Section D.

10 Law no 23 Article 56.

11 Guidelines on the Accreditation of the Social Care Institution (Panti Sosial) Keputusan Menteri Sosial Republik of Indonesia No: 50/HUK/2004. Section D. Appendix III.

V. International standards relating to children without parental care

INTERNATIONAL LAW has established a number of fundamental principles in relation to children's rights to care and protection. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, ratified by indonesia in 1990, reaffirms the crucial role that the family plays '*as the fundamental group of society and the natural environment for the growth and well-being of all its members and particularly children. […T]he child, for the full and harmonious development of his or her personality, should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding*.' [1]

In line with this, the Convention places the primary responsibility for the care and protection of children on parents and families. The State's overall and ultimate responsibility is in ensuring that those carers are able to fulfil fully their role towards children by supporting them and ensuring that they have access to the fundamental services and conditions which are essential to ensure that their children's rights are fully respected and implemented. [2]

The Convention articulates clearly the principle that children should not be separated from their parents against their will unless it is deemed to be in their best interest and this can only be done through a determination by the competent authorities that is in accordance with the law and can be judicially reviewed. The examples given by the Convention point to cases where the child is being abused or neglected by the parents or where as a result of separation a child goes to live with one of the parents.[3] In cases where it may be in the best interest of the child to be removed from his/her parent or where parents are dead or have abandoned the child, the emphasis should be on placing the child with the remaining family including extended family. This is further underlined in the 1986 Declaration on Social and Legal Principles relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children which states: '*When care by the child's own parents is unavailable or inappropriate, care by relatives of the child's parents, by another substitute –foster or adoptive-family or, if necessary, by an appropriate institution should be considered*'.[4] As a result international standards firmly point to the family environment, including from a non blood related family, as being the preferred option in all cases where children are either parentless through death or abandonment or in the cases where the child has had to be removed from the parental care for his/her own safety. Institutional care is clearly identified as a last resort and as the least desirable option.

This emphasis on a family environment was developed partly as a result of evidence from research internationally that has shown the crucial role of the family context on the proper growth and development of the child not only physically and emotionally but also socially.[5] As the international body in charge of reviewing the implementation of the Convention, the Committee on the Rights of the Child, pointed out recently '*Socialization and acquisition of values are developed within the family and human relations within the family context are the most important links for the child's life in future*.'[6]

Equally, growing evidence of the negative impact of institutionalisation on the development and well being of children has reinforced the need to see institutional care as a very last option and only a temporary one. In light of this the Committee on the Rights of the child has repeated its call on Governments to '*develop the use of alternative measures in order to avoid long-term placement of children in institutions that do not provide the type of setting children need, not only for survival, but also for development, including psychological, mental, spiritual, moral, and social development, in a manner compatible with human dignity and to prepare the child for individual life in a free society, in accordance with article 6.2 of the Convention.*'[7]

International law thus points to the role of the State as enabling parents to fulfil their crucial role and where they are unable to do so, to look to the child's extended family or to provide an alternative family setting for the child through fostering or adoption rather than looking at an institutional care setting as the desirable alternative.

In addition, it has been emphasised that the fact that a family is poor and unable to provide their children with adequate access to food, health, education, housing, food should not be the reason for separating a girl or a boy from her or his family but instead the State has a responsibility to ensure that the most vulnerable families and children are able to access the support needed to make sure that they do.[8] States parties should '*ensure that poverty as such should not lead to the separation decision and to the out-of-home placement*' and as a result they *should 'increase efforts to provide material assistance and support to economically and/or socially disadvantaged children and their families.*' [9]

Beyond the prioritisation of family based care and supporting children within a family environment, international law also stipulates a number of crucial requirements in relation to the care and protection of children.

These include:

- ✔ **Right to special protection for children deprived of their family environment.** Whether a child is deprived of that environment temporarily

or permanently, that child is entitled to special assistance that should include the provision of alternative care including foster placement, kafalah of Islamic law, adoption, or, if necessary, placement in suitable institutions for the care of children. (UN CRC Article 20, Article 9, Article 19, Article 22, Article 38)

- ✔ **Review of placement:** Any placement for the purpose of the child's care, protection or treatment should be reviewed periodically. The aim is to ensure effective monitoring of the child's situation as well as a review of whether a particular placement is still in the child's best interest. (Article 25, Article 19, Article 21)
- ✔ **Maintaining contact with the family:** The importance of a child retaining regular contact with his or her parents and family is restated in all circumstances where a child is separated from them, whether temporarily or permanently. The child has a right to maintain 'personal relations and direct contact with both parents on a regular basis'. The child has also the right to preserve his or her identity including […] family relations; the right to know and be cared for by his or her parents. (Article 9(3), Article 10(2), Article 8(1), Article 7(1))
- ✔ **Family reunification:** Bearing in mind the emphasis on children remaining with and being cared for by their families, the need to ensure that children are reunified with their parents and families is specifically provided for, whether separation results from the death of a parent, breakdown of marriage or relationship, abandonment or the result of a conflict or emergency. (Article 7, Article 9, Article 10, Article 11, Article 20, Article 22)
- ✔ **Preservation of identity:** A child's right to a legal, social and cultural identity is in most circumstances directly linked to a child's family. The right to a name and to be registered at birth is crucial to the protection of that child's identity and his/her citizenship and should be provided without discrimination. Therefore birth registration should be provided to all children regardless among other things of the marital status of his/her parent. Preservation of identity is also linked to the child's right to know and maintain contact with his or her family. In relation to children deprived of parental care, an important criteria in the choice of suitable alternative care should be the 'desirability of continuity in a child's upbringing' and to the child's ethnic, religious, cultural and linguistic background. This reinforces the importance not only to prioritise the child's extended family as potential carers but also families coming from within the child's own particular community. (Article 7, Article 8, Article 20, Article 30).
- ✔ **Standards of care:** The Convention on the Rights of the Child stipulates clearly the State's responsibility to ensure that 'institutions, services and facilities responsible for the care and protection of children shall conform with the standards established by competent authorities, particularly in the areas of safety, health, in the number and suitability of their staff, as well as competent supervision'. (Article 3(3))

In other words, beyond the responsibility to ensure that care providers fulfil the full range of children's rights, there is also a specific responsibility on the State to ensure that they abide by 'minimum' standards in relation to the actual facilities and services they run. This entails not only the State defining and developing those Standards but clearly putting in place mechanisms to support, monitor and enforce such standards. While the Convention itself could not go into details about what these standards should include, a number of other standards including those developed in the context of the administration of juvenile justice were deemed to be applicable to all institutions whether private or public in which 'a person is not permitted to leave at will', thus providing some basic framework of standards.[10] In recent years, the

Committee on the Rights of the Child has underlined the need to develop more specific standards to be applicable to all care institutions for children. Many national authorities and some regional bodies have already developed their own standards and there is now considerable agreement internationally on some of the core standards. As a result, international standards for alternative care are being developed on the basis of the national and international experience of childcare.[11]

- ✔ **Children's participation:** The right of children to form their own views and to express these views freely in all matters affecting them is one of the fundamental principles underpinning international law in relation to children. It recognises children's constantly evolving capacity which is a crucial tool for measuring the extent to which children are able to understand and make informed choices and decisions of their own, and the extent to which parental and other adult direction and guidance may be needed. On the other hand, it also recognises the importance of taking into account a child's views on decisions which will affect him or her and provides for those views to be given 'due weight in accordance with the age and maturity of the child.' There can be few decisions as fundamental as those relating to the care situation of a child and as such there is a clear obligation to seek at all possible opportunities the view of the child as to his or her care situation but also in relation to all the matters that relate to every day living in care. Children have the right to be heard in all proceeding affecting them, whether administrative or judicial and this should include any decision relating to their care situation such as the appointment of a guardian or foster parent, adoption proceeding or proceedings relating to their placement in institutional care. (Article 5, Article 12, Article 17)
- ✔ **Professional care and services:** The requirement to establish fundamental standards of care for children in alternative care does not only relate to the conditions under which the child is going to live but also the competence, number and suitability of staff that work towards the care of these children. Thus the Government is not merely required to develop standards for the care itself but also professional standards for the delivery of those services. In relation to the care of children deprived of parental care, this does not only mean skilled and professional care givers, social workers, health workers, police and law enforcement officers able to support fully and appropriately these children but also the establishment of professional support systems to prevent inappropriate separation from parents and families, reinforce parental skills, assess and address the risk of abuse and neglect, as well as carers that can understand and respond to children's developmental and social needs. (Article 3, Article 19)
- ✔ **Protection from all forms of violence:** Children's right to protection from all forms of abuse, neglect and exploitation is clearly stipulated to apply to any such violence committed while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child. This establishes not only a clear prohibition for any such acts but an actual positive obligation to prevent, address and redress such violations of children's rights. The reference to 'all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse' underlines the fact that it is the physical and personal integrity of children which must be protected and that any treatment or punishment that humiliate or degrade a child is prohibited under international law. Thus, there can be no justification including education, discipline, punishment, legal sanction, cultural or religious practice or economic necessity that can be given to justify any of the above actions.

  The fact that this prohibition includes all forms of corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment

was reaffirmed more recently by the Committee on the Rights of the Child.[12] In the context of institutions caring for children, any such acts including the use of solitary confinement should not only be totally prohibited but reporting systems established to ensure that such acts are detected and that immediate and appropriate responses are available and accessible including by children themselves.[13] Children's right to be protected from all forms of sexual and economic exploitation also clearly apply to children in alternative care and prohibits any forms of child labour that is *'likely to be hazardous or to interfere with the child's education, health or physical, mental, spiritual, moral or social development.'*

In addition to preventing and responding to violence committed against children, any care system should ensure that violence by children against children including bullying should be clearly understood to be unacceptable and that appropriate measures are in place to prevent and respond to such cases. (Article 19, Article 32, Article 34, Article 35, Article 36)

International law establishes clear obligations on all those who have responsibility for the care and protection of children including children who are not in the care of their parents. These obligations go beyond the fulfilment of the child's right to life and maximum survival and development, the right to health, education, adequate standards of living as well as the fundamental right to play and recreation. They articulate the fundamental approach which must be taken by any individual, organisation or body that has children in its care and the responsibility for which they must be held accountable. Childcare services by definition should therefore be at the forefront of the delivery of children's rights and their responsibility to each and every individual child in their care should be clearly measurable and accountable.

Save the Children's Quality Standards for childcare provisions

In its work across the globe for the protection of children, Save the Children has supported national and local government authorities, individual care givers as well as professional welfare associations in understanding how best to implement international standards for the care of children including children in alternative care. As part of those efforts, it developed and piloted in East and Central Africa a simple but comprehensive framework of Quality Standards for childcare provision including indicators upon which quality childcare can be assessed and measured. The Quality care standards are firmly based on the international standards but articulate further what their implementation entails. [14]

The Quality Care standards were used as the starting point for developing a more comprehensive framework to assess the quality of care in childcare institutions for this research across 6 provinces of Indonesia. Together with the national standards highlighted above, the standards were developed into a matrix of quality care and the research tools used to assess what quality care should look like in Indonesia's childcare institutions. The process of articulating what Quality Care means in the Indonesia context with research teams composed of key stakeholders in this process, the Ministry of Social Affairs in particular the Children's Services Directorate, the research and policy planning departments together with senior social workers and lecturers from the Schools of Social Work was a crucial part of the learning process and therefore the research as it enabled a first and important process for determining how international standards in childcare can and should be made applicable.

As a result the research sought to understand and assess the quality of care in the childcare institutions according to the following framework:

I. Profiles of institutions and the children	• Ownership • Type • Number of children • Age of children • Parental status • Home Location • Placement length • Education • Number and type of SDM • Funding sources etc.
II. Care philosophy of the Institutions	• Values underpinning Institutions. • Aims and objectives
III. Professional practice	• Referral/outreach • Admission/placement • Care planning • Review • Rehabilitation, throughcare and after care • Procedure for children who leave care • Aftercare • Child protection policy • Child protection practice
IV. Personal care	• Diet/Food • Health • Education • Play and recreation • Children's work • Privacy • Choice • Dignity • Social Relationships • Children's sense of identity • Supervision, control and sanctions • Children's voices • Special needs including babies and young children
V. Staffing	• Recruitment and selection • Supervision and support • Deployment/roles • Professional development and training
VI. Resources	• Location and design • Relationship with Community • Accommodation
VII. Administration	• Records • Confidentiality • Role of manager, owners • Government supervision and monitoring

LIFE STORY:

Sumi, 17, Grade 2 Junior High School, (CENTRAL JAVA)

SUMI HAS LIVED in the institution for the last two years. Her mother (40) is a trash-picker/scavenger in Semarang, while her father (45) doesn't work. She tends to be quite withdrawn and introverted. She has three siblings, one of whom also lives in the childcare institution. She says that her younger sibling is always throwing tantrums. If she wants something, she has to get it, or else she will fly into a rage, sometimes even throwing things around.

Previously, Sumi lived in a pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Demak (about 1.5 hours from Semarang) for 3 years from the age of 12 to 15. She didn't attend school, but studied in the pesantren. While her mother worked in Semarang, her two younger siblings lived with her father at the family home in Mijen. In Semarang, her mother would get about Rp 10,000 per day (USD 1) selling cardboard, newspapers and other things she collected.

Sumi returned home once per month – sometimes she had no money to go back again. The fare home was Rp 2,000 if she wore her uniform, or Rp 4,000-6,000 if not. When she returned home from the pesantren, she would often stay there for between three and five months. She would only return to the pesantren if they inquired as to her whereabouts. The pesantren was quite far away, and the fare could cost up to Rp 10,000 (USD 1)

Over the course of her 1 year in Demak, she went home regularly. In the end, she was told to go home to look after her younger sibling, who was still a baby. After that she was sent to another pesantren in Magetan (about 1 hour from Semarang). Even though she was only in this pesantren for 1.5 years, she continuously yearned to return home as she missed her parents. The cost of transportation to the pesantren was also quite a lot, up to Rp 10,000 return (USD 1). So she would go home once every one or two months, and then would stay at home for between 1 week and 1 month. As in the case of the previous pesantren, this was because she did not have enough money to return to the pesantren. Rather than asking her father for money, she preferred to stay and look after her younger sibling. Her father never told her to find a job. When first brought to the childcare institution, she had been told to pack her bags by her parents. She didn't know she was going to be brought to a childcare institution. Instead she thought she would be brought back to the pesantren. When she first entered the childcare institution, she cried continuously as she missed home.

The family home was a tumbledown shack made of boards and with a dirt floor. Water was fetched from the well of a neighbour. Now, however, the condition of the family home has improved, with the rooms being separated by board partitions, rather than just cloth partitions as was the case previously. In addition, they acquired mattresses 5 months ago. The boards were obtained by Sumi's mother as part of her scavenging work in Semarang. Her father often gets angry and shouts at people who upset him. He also used to work as a trash-picker/scavenger, but doesn't want to work any more, it is not known why. The food at home is whatever's available on the day. Before, if there was no rice, they would eat yams, or they would just go without. Her little sibling used to eat at her grandma's house. But he hasn't done this for the last three years as they're better off now.

Sumi wants to become a domestic helper in Semarang or Jakarta so as to be able to help her parents financially, or to set up a small store at home. But her parents *"won't allow it"*. Many of her friends have encouraged her to find a job. She is willing to do so provided that she is offered a job that she can do while attending school, such as washing clothes or mopping the floors in people's houses.

Footnotes:

1 UN CRC Preambule

2 Article 18, UN CRC

3 Article 9, UN CRC

4 1986 Declaration on Social and Legal Principles relating to the Protection and Welfare of Children, with Special Reference to Foster Placement and Adoption Nationally and Internationally. A/41/898, Article 4.

5 On the importance of family based care and the impact of institutionalisation of children see, Save the Children (2003) *A Last Resort: The growing concern about children in Residential care* and for further resources online go to The Better Care Network at: www.bettercarenetwork.org

6 Committee on the Rights of the Child: Recommendations on Children without Parental Care (2005) CRC/C/156. Para 644.

7 Committee on the Rights of the Child: Recommendations on Children without Parental Care (2005) CRC/C/156. Para 666.

8 CRC Article 27: child's right to an adequate standard of living.

9 Committee on the Rights of the Child: Recommendations on Children without Parental Care (2005) CRC/C/156. Para 659.

10 United Nations Rules for the Protection of Juveniles Deprived of their Liberty, Rule 11 (b).

11 For the Draft UN guidelines on the Appropriate Use and Conditions of Alternative Care for Children See: http://www.crin.org/docs/DRAFT_UN_Guidelines.pdf

12 Committee on the Rights of the Child General Comment No 8: The right of the child to protection from corporal punishment and other cruel or degrading forms of punishment. CRC/C/GC/8 (2006)

13 Committee on the Rights of the Child: Recommendations on Children without Parental Care (2005) CRC/C/156. Para 684. 'The Committee recommends that the States parties establish an independent and effective monitoring mechanism for children without parental care. Such a body should have a mandate to receive, investigate and address complaints from children and do so in a childsensitive and expeditious manner.'

14 Save the Children UK (2005): Raising the Standards: Quality Childcare Provision in East and Central Africa and D. Swales (2006): Applying the Standards-improving quality child care provision in East and Central Africa. Save the Children UK.

VI. Characteristics of the 6 Provinces

THIS RESEARCH WAS carried out in 6 provinces of Indonesia: Aceh (NAD), Maluku, Central Java, West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), West Kalimantan and North Sulawesi. Indonesia is made up of 33 Provinces and extends over 17,000 islands across the archipelago. Its latest population estimate for 2006 is 223 million people. [1]

The definition of a child under Indonesian law is a person under the age of 18 years as stipulated in the Child Protection Law No 23 (2002). Unfortunately the National Department of Statistics has used for its demographic census age groups that include 19 years old instead of using the Child Protection Law definition. As a result, the actual number of children in Indonesia is not known. Data collected on Education in Indonesia (Education Statistics 2003, BPS) come a little closer to the lawful definition of a child but still includes 18 years old. Nevertheless, we can see from this data that the number of people in Indonesia up to and including 18 years of age is

over 80.5 million or 38% of the total population of Indonesia. The Table below provides comparison of the population aged 0-18 years in the 6 provinces included in this research.

Table 2 Population breakdown for the 0 - 18 years of age in the 6 Provinces. 2003

(in thousands)			*Urban and Rural*
Province	**Number of people 0-18**	**Population**	**Percentage**
Aceh (NAD)	1,759.4	4,213.8	42%
Central Java	11,466.7	32,052.8	36%
NTB	1,692.1	4,005.2	42%
West Kalimantan	1,657.4	3,947.7	42%
North Sulawesi	720.7	2,127.8	34%
Maluku	537.2	1,217.5	44%
Total	**17,833.5**	**47,564.8**	**37%**
Indonesia	80,597.0	214,374.1	38%

Source: BPS, Statistics of Education 2003, National Social-Economic Survey

This data indicates that the percentage of children in the 6 provinces is between a third to almost half the total population with Maluku having a significantly higher percentage of children and young adults at 44% while North Sulawesi has the lowest with 34%.

Another key aspect of the situation of children and young people in those 6 provinces relates to their educational status. The following Table provides a breakdown of Net Enrolment Rate (NER) [2] according to gender and level of education at Elementary School or SD (7 – 12 years), Junior High School or SLTP (13-15 years) and Senior High School or SLTA (16-18 years) (BPS, 2003: 14).

This data reflects the relatively high percentage of children across Indonesia who are deemed to be accessing elementary school level (SD) reaching 92.55% and the fact that rates of enrolment at that level are very similar for both boys and girls.[3] In that regard children in the six Provinces surveyed also fared quite well with **Aceh** and **Central Java** above the national average and **NTB** and **Maluku** just below it. **West Kalimantan** and **North Sulawesi**, on the other hand, scored significantly lower than the other provinces in terms of elementary enrolment with less than 90% of both girls and boys accessing elementary education.

Enrolment rates in **Aceh** continue to be well above the national average with 78.74% of children enrolled in junior high school with a higher number of girls at school at that level. **North Sulawesi** is also doing better than the other Provinces with 68.33% of Junior High School enrolled at that level. Interestingly it has almost 10% more girls enrolled at that level than boys.

Central Java is also above the national average with 66.61% enrolled at that level with slightly more girls. While **Maluku** is hovering under the national average with only 62.59% enrolled, **NTB** and in particular **West Kalimantan** are faring much worst with only 57.19% for NTB and a very low 50.88% for West Kalimantan. Worth noting is also the fact that in **NTB,** there are significantly more boys enrolled at school at that level than girls, almost 6% more.

At senior high school level, the national enrolment rate drops again very significantly with only 40.56% of 16-18 years old accessing high school education. Again, **Aceh** fares better despite also recording a drop with 61.63% of children enrolled. **North Sulawesi** is also doing slightly better than the national average with 44.42% enrolled. Again in that Province girls are doing better in terms of Net Enrolment with 8% more girls at senior high

Table 3 Net Enrolment Rates by 6 Provinces and according to Sex Year 2003.

Provinces	Net Enrolment Rates by 6 Provinces and sex Year 2003		
	Primary school	Junior High School	General/Vocational Senior High School
Aceh (NAD)	**95.36**	**78.74**	**61.63**
Male	94.89	77.74	60.84
Female	95.91	79.87	62.42
Central Java	**93.70**	**66.61**	**38.29**
Male	93.79	64.67	38.04
Female	93.60	68.75	38.57
NTB	**92.48**	**57.19**	**33.45**
Male	93.24	60.02	33.67
Female	91.72	54.18	33.22
West Kalimantan	**88.89**	**50.88**	**29.11**
Male	89.24	50.00	28.69
Female	88.49	51.82	29.55
North Sulawesi	**89.18**	**68.33**	**44.42**
Male	89.95	63.81	40.13
Female	88.26	73.09	48.86
Maluku	**91.03**	**62.59**	**43.53**
Male	90.23	61.88	45.53
Female	91.95	63.33	41.15
Indonesia	**92.55**	**63.49**	**40.56**
Male	**92.49**	**62.60**	**40.48**
Female	**92.61**	**64.46**	**40.64**

Source: BPS, Statistics of Education 2003, National Social-Economic Survey

school than boys. **Maluku** is also doing better in terms of senior high school enrolment rates and is above national level with 43.53%. This is surprising as it was below the national average for both elementary and junior high school level. It may be that more children are staying at school until senior high school than in other Provinces. It is interesting to note in that regard that it records about 4% more boys enrolled at that level than girls. **Central Java** records this time a significant drop from its above national average enrolment rate for elementary and junior high school. It is below the national average for enrolment at senior high school at 38.29%. It is **NTB** and **West Kalimantan** again that record the lowest enrolment rates with respectively 33.45% for NTB and only 29.11% of 16-18 years old in senior high school in West Kalimantan. With the achievement only 29.11%, West Kalimantan with Gorontalo (24.68) and East Nusa Tenggara (23.57) placed the worst position of all provinces in senior high school level.

Across the three levels it is clear that Aceh fares much better than any of the other provinces in terms of school enrolment rates and girls in that province do better at all levels. While Central Java does well at elementary and junior high school levels compared to the national average, it drops below for senior high school. North Sulawesi does poorly at elementary level but on the other hand does better at both junior and senior high school levels. Maluku is below the national level for

both elementary and junior high school levels but surprisingly does better in terms of enrolment for senior high school. NTB on the other hand remains below the national average at each education level while West Kalimantan is at the bottom of the scale, faring the among the six provinces in all three categories.

As we have seen in the context of policies regarding neglected children and the provision of institutional care, poverty is seen as a key criteria and one of the primary reason given for the provision of residential care for children. Poverty remains a key challenge for Indonesia with 17% of Indonesians living under the poverty line.[4] In the six provinces selected poverty figures are also important to consider in the context of understanding the provision of institutional care. The following Table shows the percentage of the population in each Province that was identified as poor in 2004.

The above data shows that the percentage of people who are identified as poor is still relatively high in Aceh, Maluku, NTB and Central Java. In North Sulawesi and West Kalimantan, the figures were significantly lower at around 10%. Maluku is particularly high with 32% of its population identified as 'poor'. Another picture and somewhat different picture of poverty in the six provinces is provided by the Human Poverty Index HPI (IKM) which is compiled by the National Statistical Office (BPS), the National Planning and Development Agency (Bappenas) and UNDP. The Human Poverty Index uses different variables for measuring poverty including life span, literacy, access to clean water and heath as well as levels of children who are undernourished.

The picture provided by this data reveals the more complex differences between these 6 provinces and the diversity of challenges they face which cannot be simply reduced or explained by the percentage of poor people in each province.

Under the Human Poverty Index North Sulawesi and Central Java score relatively high in 4th and 6th position respectively out of the 30 Provinces assessed. Maluku is also and surprisingly relatively well placed under these indicators in 10th while in terms of the percentage of the poor under the BPS data above it recorded very high levels.

Table 4 Number and Percentage of Poor People in the 6 Provinces in 2004

Province	Number of population (000)*	Number of Poor People (000)**)	Percentage of Poor People (%)
Aceh (NAD)	4,089	1,157.2	28
Central Java	32,543	6,843.8	21
NTB	4,084	1,031.6	25
West Kalimantan	4,033	558.2	14
North Sulawesi	2,159	192.2	9
Maluku	1,244	397.6	32

*Source: *) BPS, Statistical Yearbook of Indonesia, 2004*
***) BPS, 2004: Data and Information on Poverty 2004*

West Kalimantan on the other hand ranks as the lowest of all of the 30 Indonesian provinces. NTB and Aceh also rank particularly low in 26th and 23rd position. This data provides quite a different picture than that given by the data collected by BPS on the number and percentage of poor people in each province. In particular Maluku and Central Java whose percentage of poor people was identified as quite high under the BPS data score much better when the HPI variable are used.

The breakdown under the Human Poverty Index provides a more complex and varied picture of the situation in the 6 provinces.

Table 5 Human Poverty Index for the 6 Provinces and Indonesia

Province	People not expected to survive to age 40 (%)		Adult illiteracy rate (%)		Population without access to clean water (%)		Population without access to health facilities (%)		Under-nourished children under age 5 (%)		HPI (IKM)		HPI (IKM) Ranking	
Year	**1999**	**2002**	**1999**	**2002**	**1999**	**2002**	**1999**	**2002**	**1999**	**2002**	**1999**	**2002**	**1999**	**2002**
Aceh (NAD)	12,7	12,6	6,9	4,2	61,5	48,5	37,6	38,0	35,6	35,2	31,4	28,4	23	23
Central Java	11,7	10,9	15,2	14,3	47,8	39,8	17,1	20,9	30,5	25,0	23,2	21,0	7	6
NTB	31,5	27,3	27,2	22,2	62,5	52,3	17,5	21,6	39,7	37,8	33,7	30,2	25	26
West Kalimantan	18,6	18,1	16,8	13,1	78,4	78,5	43,3	50,1	42,0	33,2	38,7	38,0	26	30
North Sulawesi	12,0	8,4	2,8	1,2	44,5	35,7	26,1	18,4	25,8	21,9	22,7	17,8	5	4
Maluku	13,1	16,2	4,2	3,7	52,1	43,9	23,8	26,1	29,3	29,3	24,7	22,9	12	10
Indonesia	**15,2**	**15,0**	**11,6**	**10,5**	**51,9**	**44,8**	**21,6**	**23,1**	**30,0**	**25,8**	**25,2**	**22,7**	**-**	**-**

Source: BPS, Bappenas, UNDP, National Human Development Report, Year 2004

- **West Kalimantan** rates very poorly in terms of access to clean water (78% of its population are said not to have access to clean water) and 50% of its population do not have access to health services.The data also shows that the situation has actually worsened in relation to both between 1999 and 2002. Meanwhile the life expectancy of its population is also quite low compared with the Indonesian average one with 18% of its population not expected to live beyond 40.
- **West Nusa Tenggara (NTB)** scores extremely low in terms of life expectancy after 40 with almost 30% of its population not expected to live beyond 40 years of age. It also has very high level of illiteracy with 22% of its adult population unable to read or write. Access to clean water and levels of nutrition for the under 5s were also low in NTB with 52% of the population not accessing clean water and 38% children under 5 who are undernourished.
- Data on **Aceh** point to particularly poor access to clean water and health services with 48% of its population not accessing clean water and 38% percent not accessing health facilities.The levels of children under 5 being undernourished were also very high at 35%. On the other hand Aceh shows high level of adult literacy with only 4% of its adult population being illiterate. This confirms the data pointing to Aceh's very high level of school enrolment.
- **Maluku** meanwhile is also showing high level of literacy as can be expected from the high level of school enrolment with just under 4% of its adult population unable to read or write. It has also relatively good access to clean water compared to the national average with 44% of people not accessing clean water in Maluku compared to 45% under the national average. It has slightly low levels of access to health services with 26% of its population not accessing those and slightly higher levels of children under 5 who are undernourished at 29% compared to 25% as the national average.
- **Central Java** provides also a complex picture. While it has higher levels of adult

illiteracy (14%) compared to the national level (10%) and the level of children under 5 who are undernourished (25%) is about the national average (26%), it is doing better than other Provinces in terms of the other indicators.

- **North Sulawesi** as could be expected from the education data is showing very strong literacy levels with only 1.2% of its adult population unable to read or write which is not only the highest between the six provinces but across all of the provinces assessed. It has the highest life expectancy above 40 for the six provinces and his 3rd nationally. It has significantly improved its access to health services between 1999 and 2003 reducing those people without access from 26% to 18%. It has the lowest percentage of people without access to clean water although while it is below the national average it still means that 45% of its population does not have access to clean water.

In 2004, according to DEPSOS, there were 3,308,642 neglected children in the whole of Indonesia. The breakdown per provinces in terms of the number of children deemed neglected in the 6 Provinces and the number of neglected children who accessed the BBM subsidy through the childcare institutions or were targeted for assistance under the Dekon is as follows:

The data highlights a clear gap between the considerable number of children who are deemed 'neglected' by DEPSOS and the number of children who are actually targeted or in receipt of government assistance through the BBM subsidy or the Dekon Fund within the six provinces.

The Dekon Fund for neglected children provided by DEPSOS in 2006 to the 6 Provincial Governments was as follows:

Aceh (NAD):	USD 478,000
Central Java:	USD 275,000
NTB:	USD 311,000
West Kalimantan:	USD 278,000
North Sulawesi:	USD 333,000
Maluku:	USD 394,000

This represented an average of USD 146 per child targeted per year. Whether the money was actually spent according to the number of targeted children is not known as only a few Provinces actually report on how the money has been spent.

Some of the Deconcentration Fund is used to support childcare institutions with operational costs including administrative, infrastructure or education costs. Outside of this the Dekon is mainly used to provide support for micro enterprise (Usaha Ekonomi Produktif UEP) for children. This assistance is provided to groups of children who have dropped out of schools or who are identified as neglected to encourage them to develop a

Table 6 Number of Neglected Children according to DEPSOS, and numbers who received or were targeted for DEPSOS assistance in 2004 in the 6 Provinces.

Province	Number of Neglected Children	Number of neglected children who accessed the BBM Subsidy	Number of neglected children targeted under the Dekon	Percentage of neglected children reached
Aceh (NAD)	40,106	8,758	2,480	28%
Central Java	214,949	11,675	2,990	6%
NTB	160,321	6,015	2,540	5%
West Kalimantan	105,714	2,554	2,320	5%
North Sulawesi	70,183	1,537	2,420	6%
Maluku	12,789	1,017	2,860	30%
Total	**604,062**	**31,556**	**15,610**	**8%**

Source: Depsos, 2004

small business initiative. In West Kalimantan for example, the Dekon was used to provide 51 'small business packages' for 600 children of between 16-18 years of age in 10 districts. The packages relate to the establishment of small businesses selling basic household commodities, ice-making business, selling gasoline, making and selling cakes, raising livestock including cows, goats and ducks, the production of flour, compost and other gardening tools, mechanical repair, rubber tapping and the renting of *play station*.

In NTB, the small enterprise assistance was channelled through 214 small 'business packages' which were distributed to groups of 1,200 neglected children. The small enterprises included small business selling rice, sugar, oil, salt and other household commodities, the rearing of livestock, and mechanical repair shops.

It is clear from the data available from the 6 Provinces that both the BBM subsidy and the Deconcentration Fund will only ever reach a small number of the children that have been identified as neglected. Neither programme is ever likely to be able to support the vast majority of those children nor is it clear what aspect of their 'neglect' they are seeking to address beyond general poverty level. The Human Poverty Index data from the six provinces highlights clearly that the percentage of population that is poor in a Province is in itself not necessarily a determinant for lack of access to education, access to health or other key requirements for adequate quality of life. Maluku, for example, has a high level of adult literacy and school enrolment. If poverty was the primary factor in hampering access to education then we would expect that the Province would fare much worst in terms of literacy.

This is particularly important to consider in a context where childcare institutions are primarily seen as a means to access education as we will see in this report.

Equally, if the percentage of poor people within a particular Province is a key determinant for the provision of residential care for children then Maluku should have a much higher number of institutions under its jurisdiction. As we have seen, in fact it comes below the national average under the BBM data in terms of number of childcare institutions per population.

North Sulawesi on the other hand is doing very well on all counts in terms of the Human Poverty Index and yet it has a higher percentage of childcare institutions per person than either Maluku or Central Java. Clearly poverty is not the only determinant factor here. In addition, West Kalimantan which rates worst of all under the Human Poverty Index only has a slighter higher number of institutions per population than the national average and trails well behind Aceh and NTB in that regard which head the top of the list in terms of number of such institutions per head of population.

In this context there is an urgent need to review the concept of 'neglected children' to assess properly what issues these children really face beyond a broad concept of poverty and whether these can or even should be solved through placement in institutional care or through the provision of small business grants. The approach taken so far by the Government at central and local levels to support these children need to be reviewed in order to assess whether it is appropriate, strategic and even an effective way of doing so.

In addition to demographic and economic factors, each of the Province has a very specific social and cultural context, including in 4 Provinces a history of conflict or disaster, that need to be taken into account in order to understand the context in which the childcare institutions are operating.

Aceh (Nanggroe Aceh Darussalam NAD) is the northernmost Province on the coast of Sumatera Island. Its population is almost exclusively Muslim and as a Province it has received special autonomy status following the signing of a Peace Agreement in 2005 which put an end to over 30 years of conflict. In December 2004, it was devastated by a major earthquake and tsunami in the Indian Ocean which killed over 150,000 and displaced more

than 500,000 people. Aceh's population is overwhelmingly Muslim and the Shariah law has been applied since autonomy. These institutions have flourished in the last couple of decades in Aceh. The status of orphans and fatherless children in Islam has played an important role in the establishment of childcare institutions in Aceh both by the community and by religious organisations. Childcare institutions have taken on a particularly prominent role as the result of the conflict and more recently, as a result of the earthquake and tsunami that devastated great parts of it. These two major events became important push factors for the placement of children in institutional care whether as a result of the loss of a parent or separation or as a result of the impact of these events on the capacity of families to care for their children.

Save the Children and DEPSOS (2006) carried a survey of childcare institutions in the post tsunami context which showed that over 2500 child victims of the tsunami were placed in residential care within a year of that disaster. While the research did not look specifically at victims of the conflict it also identified over 1300 children that were deemed to have entered residential care as a result of that conflict. The research, however, also found that the conflict and the tsunami seemed to have merely compounded an existing trend towards a proliferation of childcare institutions in the Province. The number of childcare institutions had already more than tripled within a ten year period (1990-2000). The data also showed that, should the rate of institutions established since 2000 and particularly since the 2004 tsunami continue, the number of childcare institutions in that Province is likely to double again within this decade. In that regard the research also found that the financial assistance provided to the childcare institutions through the BBM subsidy, the Deconcentration Fund, the substantive cash injection through the Reconstruction and Rehabilitation Agency (BBR), as well as the assistance provided by national and international organisations played a significant role in compounding that trend.

One characteristic of the childcare institutions in Aceh is their establishment together with an Islamic Boarding School, called a Dayah in Aceh or a Pesantren in other provinces. To send one's children to school through a Dayah is a well established tradition in the Acehnese community. Education through the Dayah is provided either through traditional Dayah (salafiyah) which provide exclusively religious education or through the Modern Dayah that provide formal education that follows the national curriculum as well as religious education. Establishing a childcare institution whether as part of a Dayah or independently is a means of ensuring access to education for those children from families that are particularly vulnerable or cannot afford education for their children. This approach that sees a childcare institution combined with or linked to an Islamic boarding school was found not only in Aceh though but also in other Provinces such as NTB, Central Java, Maluku and West Kalimantan.

West Nusa Tenggara (NTB) is a Province where the majority of its population follows Islam (93%). There are however also other faiths being practised including Hindu (3.15%), Catholic (2.24%), Buddhist (1.21%) and Protestant (0.25%) The Province includes two major islands, Lombok and Sumbawa. It is relatively densely populated with an average of 200 residents per square kilometre. As indicated by the Human Poverty Indicators, NTB ranks quite low in terms of development indicators. The main Islamic Organisation in NTB is Nahdatul Wathon which runs a number of Islamic boarding schools combined with childcare institutions in order to subsidize the education of children who cannot afford it.

NTB also represents an example of a community that is in the process of changing. On the one hand, Islamic values and traditional values from the Sasak ethnic group which is the main indigenous people in NTB remain very strong. On the other hand, the Province is increasingly exposed to other cultures and values. Lombok in particular has become a big tourist destination. Different categories of childcare institutions can be identified in that context. First of all there are childcare institutions that are based on the pesantren model and apply a strong religious approach

that includes replacing Sasak Culture with Islamic symbols and with values that are deemed more 'international'. This includes requiring the use of Arabic, English and Mandarin languages. Secondly, there are childcare institutions that also follow the pesantren model but with a more traditionalist approach. Thirdly, there are childcare institutions that are run by religious organisations from the Christian and Hindu faiths and who provide for both religious and formal education while also enabling some space for the expression of local identity and culture. Fourthly, there is the childcare institution which is run by the government and which takes on a 'nationalist' approach in theory although in practice it is focused on Islam and serves the Muslim community.

Central Java is one of Indonesia's most densly populated Provinces with more than 900 residents per square kilometer. It includes almost 15% of the total population of Indonesia. It is predominently Muslim with 96.8% of its population following Islam, 1.6% of Protestants, 1.2% of Catholics, 0.2% of Buddhists and 0.1% of Hindu. As a Province of the Island of Java, Central Java is one of the main agricultural producers in the country and is the centre of Javanese culture and heritage. As a Province that is experiencing fast changes, Central Java is also facing a range of child protection issues including child work, street children and child trafficking.

North Sulawesi is a predominantly Christian province with 63.7% of Protestants and 6% of Catholics. It also has a sizeable Muslim population (28%) and small Hindu (1.3%) and Buddhist (0.6%) communities. Stretching towards the Philippines, its capital Manado is a major commercial and tourist center. It is one of the key sending areas for child trafficking and commercial sexual exploitation in Indonesia. North Sulawesi has no history of inter-communal conflict, unlike Central Sulwesi.

Maluku is one of Indonesia's most pluralistic Provinces composed of over 550 Islands across over 580,000 square kilometres. Its bigger islands are Ambon, Seram and Buru. It has only 26 residents per square kilometre but with almost 90% of its territory in the sea, its land mass can be densely populated and its capital Ambon has almost 700 residents per square kilometre. 52% of its population is Christian with 43% Protestants and over 8% that are Catholics. 47% of its population is Muslim with small communities of Buddhists (0.10%), Hindu (0.07%) and other faiths or beliefs (0.67%). Maluku was torn by inter-communal conflict from 1999 to 2004. While the conflict has sometimes been portrayed as a religious conflict, the reality is far more complex with a range of issues coming into play including traditional rivalries, economic competition, an ill conceived transmigration policy and political manipulation and mismanagement. As a result, an estimated 8000 lives were lost and 4000 people injured in inter-community violence which manifested itself along religious lines between Christians and Muslims.[5] Almost 700,000 people were estimated to have been displaced from their homes and communities.

Maluku's traditional focus on family based care and the role of families in caring for their vulnerable members seems to have remained very strong despite the conflict. People from Maluku refer to it as "matarumah" which refers to the fact that the extended family is required to take over the care of the children if their parents are unable or fail to care for them. While there were institutions set up specifically to care for children affected by the conflict, there remains a relatively small number of childcare institutions in Maluku and the reluctance of families to place their children in care no matter how difficult their circumstances was often referred to in this context.

West Kalimantan is a Province on the Indonesian part of the Island of Borneo which is stretches across over 120,000 square kilometres. It has the lowest population density from the 6 provinces with 27 residents per square kilometre taking into account the fact that unlike Maluku almost all of its territory is land based.

Its indigenous population is made up of the Dayaks, a term used to include over 200 ethnic sub-groups indigenous to Borneo including in West Kalimantan the Kanayatan Dayak, the Iban Dayak and the Taman Dayak.[6] The Dayak are thought to constitute 41% of the West Kalimantan population while the Malays constitute 37% and the Chinese 11%. Other ethnic groups such as the Bugis, Javanese, Bataks and Madurese have also settled or moved there some as a result of the Government's transmigration programme. The transmigration programme between 1980 and 1985 alone resulted in a 400% increase in population in West Kalimantan within that 5 year period. As a result it is not surprising that the population of West Kalimantan is considered to be particularly heterogenic.

The Dayak populations tend to live in the hinterland of Kalimantan and are primarily engaged in agricultural and hunting activities, often remaining in traditional communities living within the forest environment. The Malays and Chinese on the other hand tend to live along the coastal areas, the Malays generally involved in agriculture, fishing and trading while the Chinese are generally involved in trade. While the Dayak population was thought to be predominantly animist, concerted efforts at conversion by the main religious groups has meant that the population of West Kalimantan is now composed of 57% Muslim, 34% Christian including 24.1% of Catholics and 10% of Protestants, 6.4% of Buddhist, 0.2% Hindu and others 1.7%. Members of the Dayak population that have converted to Islam are deemed to have become 'Malays' (Melayu).

While only constituting 3% of the population, the Madurese ethnic group held a particularly strong economic position in West Kalimantan. Historically there had been a series of conflicts and incidents between Madurese and the other main ethnic groups in the province including a previous conflict with the Dayaks around the 1950s, with the Chinese community in the 1960s and finally with the Malay ethnic group in 1999.

In 1999, a bloody conflict broke out in Sambas between the Madurese on one side and the Dayak and Malay from Sambas on the other. Resulting from a long history of incidents between the various sides and triggered by the killings of Malays by Madurese on the day of the Idul Fitri celebration, it led to the death of many people and the displacement of over 12,000 people, including the forced expulsion in March 1999 of all ethnic Madurese from Sambas.[7]

The ethnic diversity of West Kalimantan and the history of conflict in that Province have influenced the way childcare institutions have developed and operated. If previously Madurese children had been mixed with children from other ethnic groups in particular Malays, the situation changed totally after 1999. While both ethnic Malay and Madurese share the same religion, Islam, their children could not be put together in an institution even though both had been victims of the conflict. The childcare institutions run by Islamic organisations became ethnically segregated as a result. There are also institutions that focus particularly on caring for Dayak children either with a focus on Christianity for those families that have converted or those that have converted to Islam and as a result are deemed to have become "Malays". *"The Malay ethnic group is like 'the other side of the coin' as far as the Dayaks are concerned, because if a Dayak embraces Islam, automatically he will be considered as being part of the Malay group."* [8] An ethnic mix of children was attempted by the Government institution in West Kalimantan but only succeeded in recruiting children from the Malay, Dayak and Javanese ethnic groups but no ethnic Madurese. Interestingly some childcare institutions have focused on caring exclusively for Madurese children including those affected by the conflict. There are also institutions in West Kalimantan which have focused on the children of ethnic Javanese who were brought in as part of the transmigration programme and are living in Sangguledo within particular poor communities.

Footnotes:

[1] World Development Indicators Database April 2007. World Bank

[2] NER is the percentage of certain school age-group population enrolled at a certain education level. (Ministry of National Education, 2002: 122-123).

[3] Enrolement figures in Indonesia should be treated with caution and they do not reflect attendance or completion rates.

[4] SUSENAS 2004. The poverty line is defined by SUSENAS as less than IDR 143,458 per capita per month (16 USD) for the urban population and IDR 108,725 per capita per month (12USD) for the rural population. The World Bank gives a slightly higher figure of 18% living under the poverty line for 2006 (Indonesia at a glance, http://siteresources.worldbank.org/)

[5] The Effects of Inter-communal Tension, Violence and Dislocation on Children's Lives: A child facilitated Peer consultation., AusAID and Save the Children (2006)

[6] *Ibid.* p. 159 and interview with Dayak children placed in institution

[7] Sukamdi, Setiadi and Sembiring (2002): Forced internal displacement: the Madurese in West Kalimantan, Indonesia. Ford Foundation

[8] Syarief I Alqadrie. 1987. *Cultural Differences and Social Life Among Three Ethnic Groups in West Kalimantan.* Tesis Master. University of Kentucky, Lexington. Dikutip oleh Riza Sihbudi dan Moch. Nurhasim. 2001. *Kerusuhan Sosial di Indonesia.* Grasindo, Jakarta hal. 160.

VII. Profiles of the institutions assessed and the children in their care

THIS SECTION provides an overall picture of the childcare institutions that were assessed under this research and of the children in their care.

The institutions

The 36 institutions were chosen so that they would represent the very diverse situation of childcare institutions across Indonesia. 6 institutions were chosen per province to reflect a number of key factors such as whether they are government or privately owned, the nature and range of its founding organisation, the religious or social values that underpin the institution, whether they are caring for a very high number or a relatively small number of children, whether they are caring for both boys or girls or are single sex, as well as the approach taken to care and the delivery of their services. Care was taken however to reflect also the diversity in residential

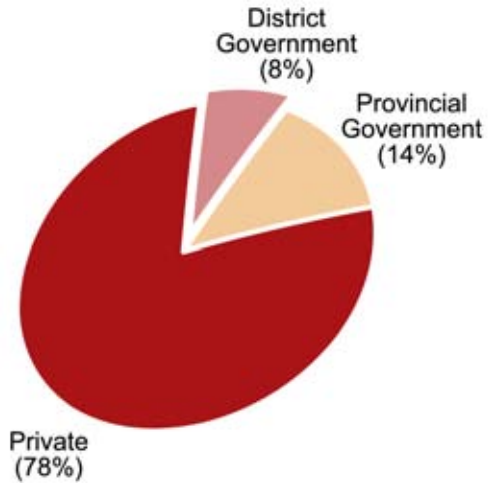
care approaches within a particular faith. There is, for example, a real diversity of approaches within childcare institutions established by Islamic organisations.

Ownership status

The ownership status of the childcare institutions that were selected reflected both government run institutions and privately run organisation. The government institutions consists of institutions that are owned either by the Provincial or the District Government. As we have seen DEPSOS also owns and runs 3 childcare institutions in the country. The research assessed separately one of them, Panti Tunas Bangsa in Pati, Central Java. As it is used as a model by DEPSOS, this assessement and the findings were used to support comparaison with the other childcare institions rather than as part of the selected group. (See section XIV)

Privately owned chilcare institutions include those that have been established by non governmental organisations, including faith based organisations, social foundations, community groups and international organisations. The breakdown of ownership status for the 36 childcare institutions assessed is as follows:

Graph 2. Ownership Status of the childcare institutions



As can be seen from the above Graph, 78% of the childcare institutions assessed are privately owned (28) while 22% are Government owned (5 by the Provincial Government and 3 by the District/Municipal Government). As we have seen, in practice the Government owns and runs a very small fraction of the childcare institutions in Indonesia (less than 1%) but it was felt important to provide a picture of the different types of government owned institutions.

3 institutions are run by the District level Government, two in Aceh (Nirmala in Banda Aceh and Suci Hati in Aceh Barat), and one in North Sulawesi, (Lohoraung, in Sanghie Island). 5 institutions are run by the Provincial Government, Pamardi Utomo for boys and Wiro Wiloso for girls in Central Java, Harapan in West Nusa Tenggara (NTB), UPRS in West Kalimantan and Huke Ina in Maluku. These institutions are quite representative of the range of childcare institutions run by the Government both in terms of the services they provide, their size and also their relationships to the various levels of government.

Out of the 8 government institutions, two institutions are facing particular challenges in terms of their relationship and status within the Government framework which are worth noting:

- Huke Ina in Buru Island in Maluku province was established in 1982. Before decentralisation it was owned and run by DEPSOS. It is now under the Provincial Government. However the Provincial Authority is trying to hand over Huke Ina to the District authority in Buru. This process of handing over is presently being considered by the District Assembly in Buru. Since regional autonomy, the status of the staff of Huke Ina who are civil servants has been changed to that of District level civil servants. However as the transfer of the institution to the District authority has not yet been finalised, there is a real lack of clarity about the management and responsibility for the institution. The head of the institution is only acting as head on the basis of a

provinicial level decision of 2006 while on the other hand no District level decision and appointments have been made.

- In terms of its status, Lohoraung is also a childcare institution owned and run by the District Government of the Island of Sanghie in Sulawesi Utara. A number of decisions by the District administration, including the local office of Social Welfare in Sanghie, confirms this. The appointment of the Head of the institution was done through an official letter of the Bupati (the Head of the District). Unlike other government institutions though, none of the staff are civil servants and the funds received from the District Administration from 2004-2006 were limited to a total of 150 USD per month for 20 children.

The childcare institutions owned by private organisations constituted the majority of the institutions selected for this research. Out of the 28 private institutions selected, 25 were owned and run by faith based organisations, reflecting the fact that the great majority of childcare institutions in Indonesia are established by faith based organisations.

The Table below provides a breakdown of the institutions according to the religious denomination of its parent organisation. 16 of the institutions were established by Islamic organisations, 4 by Protestant organisations, 3 by Catholic organisations, 1 by a Hindu organisation and also 1 by a Buddhist organisation.

The fact that a majority of Islamic run institutions were selected not only reflects that the great majority of Indonesians follow the Muslim faith but also to ensure that the great diversity of approaches and ways of operating by these institutions is assessed in this research.

Out of the 16 Islamic based childcare institutions:

- 3 were run under the Muhammadiyah network: *Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe* and *Muhammadiyah Meulaboh* in Aceh as well as *Muhammadiyah Cilacap* in Central Java.
- 2 were affiliated to the Nahdatul Ulama network (NU): *Darurrokhmah* in Central Java and Darul Ulum Al Munawarrah in Aceh.
- 3 are affiliated under the Nahdatul Wathon (NW): *Darul Hikmah and Al Ikhlas* in NTB. *Darul Aitam also in NTB is directly under NW.*
- 2 under the Hidayatullah network: *Hidayatullah Liang* in Maluku and *Al Muthadien* in North Sulawesi.

Muhammadiyah, NU, and Hidayatullah are national level organizations that have a presence and childcare institutions in almost all provinces. Nahdatul Wathon which first operated primarily in NTB is now expanding to other Provinces.

6 other childcare institutions were also run by Islamic based organisations but operate locally and are not affiliated to the other organisations.

These are: *Al Ummah* in Aceh; *Al Amin*, *Nur Ilahi* and *Ibnu Taimiyah* in West Kalimantan; *Al Hidayah* and *Nurul Ikhlas* in Maluku.

As we will see later in this report, it is important to note that while the 16 childcare institutions were clearly set up by Islamic organisations, this did not mean that other institutions including government ones were not also based on Islamic values and practice. For example, *Nirmala* and *Suci Hati* in Aceh are clearly based on Islam and serving the Muslim communities.

The 4 childcare institutions established by Protestant organisations are:

- *Eben Haezer* in West Kalimantan
- *Dorkas* in North Sulawesi
- *Caleb House* in Maluku
- *Patmos* in NTB

While *Caleb House* was established by a Protestant organisation and its approach and values are rooted in that faith, it also has a specific focus on children who were affected by the inter-communal conflict in Maluku. It was established by a local foundation, Yayasan Penabur, which worked specifically to provide assistance to children and families from the Christian communities in the aftermath of the inter-communal conflict in Maluku. The Foundation's work focused on providing

support to children and their families directly in their communities. In 2003, however, it decided to establish a childcare institution in Ambon as it felt that some of the children had experienced trauma and were more likely to recover away from their families and communities. *Caleb House* was established in 2003 and began operations in 2004.

The 3 childcare institutions established by Catholic organisations are:

- *Ina Theresia* in Maluku
- *Dr. J. Lukas* in North Sulawesi
- *Sayap Kasih* in North Sulawesi

While *Sayap Kasih* was established under the initiative of a Catholic brother by Brother Hanszt from Holland in 2001 and it retains some of his values and approaches, its main focus is not on religion but on caring for neglected children with 'double disability' or both mental and physical disability. Unlike the majority of institutions caring for people with disability in Indonesia which usually care for both children and adults, *Sayap Kasih* cares exclusively for children. It was established with support from the Dutch Foundation Vivrabu and is now under the Manuel Runtu foundation (Yamaru) which is a local social organisation operating in Tomohon. It is the only institution that cares for disabled children in North Sulawesi.

The childcare institution established by a Hindu organisation is *Dharma Laksana* in NTB and the institution established by a Buddhist organisation is *Prajapati* in North Sulwesi.

The research also selected 3 institutions that were established by private organisations with a social focus rather than a religious focus.

PEPABRI (Persatuan Purnawirawan Angkatan Bersenjata Republik Indonesia) in West Kalimantan is a childcare institution that was established in 1997 by a private foundation to support children whose parents are members of the Armed Forces (ABRI) and who are orphans or with a single parent. The institution's focus however has now shifted to supporting children who were victims of the inter-communal violence in Sambas.

Wahyu Yoga Dharma in Central Java on the other hand, was established in 1987 under Dharma Wanita. Dharma Wanita is a government created association of female civil servants operating as a private social welfare foundation. Most of the Board members for Wahyu Yoga Dharma are members of Dharma Wanita neverthless this institution does not come under and is not part of the official programme of the District level Dharma Wanita.

Finally the research also selected one childcare institution established under an international organisation. *SOS Desa Taruna* in Central Java is one of a number of 'SOS Children Villages' established in Indonesia under the international organisation formerly known as *SOS Kinderdorf*. Other SOS Villages are located in Lembang, West Java, (the first established in 1970), in Cibubur in Jakarta, in Tabanan in Bali[1], in Flores in NTT and the most recent one, in Aceh. The use of the word 'Village' is to reflect the approach taken by this organisation which establishes individual homes for children headed by foster mothers on a compound which aims to reflect a village type of structure.

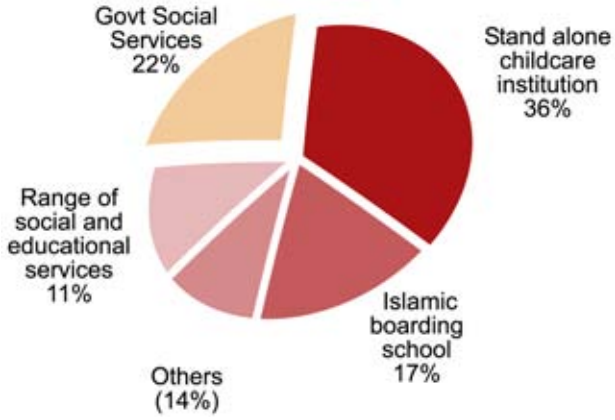
Links with other services provided by their parents organisations

Another aspect linked to their ownership status relates to whether the childcare

institution is run as a stand alone facility or is actually linked to other services provided by the parent organisation.

As can be seen from the Graph below, while a great number of childcare institutions (13) were run as a stand alone service, there was also a significant number that were attached to other services provided by the parent organisations, in particular education through a pesantren or a school.

Graph 3 Link between childcare institutions and other services provided by parent organisation



The situation of the childcare institutions assessed was as follows:

1. Of the 36 childcare institutions, 13 were run by their parent organisation as a stand alone service.
2. Another 6 were run within an Islamic boarding school, a Pesantren. These were Darul Ulum Al Munawarrah in Aceh, Darul Aitam and Darul Hikmah in NTB, Ibnu Taimiyah in West Kalimantan, Al Muthadien in North Sulawesi and Hidayatullah in Maluku. Hidayatullah also runs a kindergarten and elementary school.
3. Another 4 institutions were run together with an educational facility including a school for Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe in Aceh, Dharma Laksana in NTB, a Madrasah Ibtidaiyah and a kindergarten for Al Amin in West Kalimantan and a Kindergarten for SOS Desa Taruna.
4. The 8 Government institutions under Provincial or District Office of Social Services (Dinas Sosial) are clearly run as part of broader social services. Most operated within their own compound and separately from other services but Huke Ina in Maluku is actually housing the District Office of Social Services. In addition, UPRS in West Kalimantan is part of a complex called a *Unit of Technical Implementation (UPTD)* which brings together in one compound a range of services provided by the provincial authority including in this case, an Institution for Disabled People and an Institution for Substance Abusers.
5. Finally, 5 childcare institutions were also run together with a range of other services including Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan that also runs a kindergarten, a community health centre, a junior high school and a theological school as well as a student's hostel. Muhammadiyah Cilacap in Central Java runs a Street Children Shelter. Prajapati's parent organization in North Sulawesi also runs a university and a Home for the Elderly. Nurul Ikhlas runs an Islamic school (Madrasah Ibtidaiyah and Madrasah Tsanawiyah) and a Home for the Elderly Finally, Sayap Kasih's parent organisation Yamaru, also located in North Sulawesi runs an Academy of Physiotherapy.

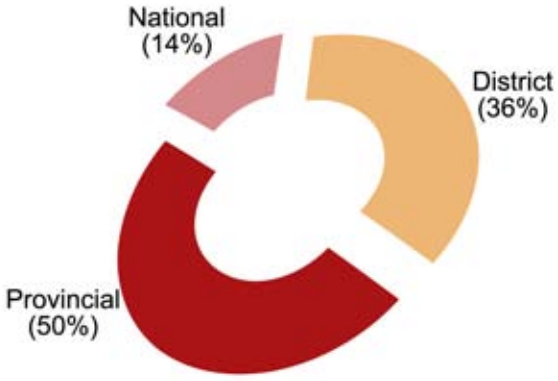
Operational Range

The operational range of the childcare institutions was also another important aspect of the way they delivered services. While some operate only at the District level, others work at the Provincial or even National level.

In that regard the research found quite a complex picture in terms of the childcare institutions' own operational range in relation to that of their parent organisations. While some of the childcare institutions had clearly been established by national level organisations, they did not necessarily operate at the same level. This could be either because the parent organisation actually runs a number of childcare

institutions within a particular province or across a number of Provinces or because the childcare institution saw its operational range as being limited to its location and the community it served. In many ways, the situation seemed to depend on the community links and the recruitment practices of the manager and staff of the institutions rather than an organisational decision about the scope of its outreach as will seen in section IX on recruitment practices.

Graph 4. Operational Range of Parent Organisation



As the Graph above indicates half of the childcare institutions assessed stated they operated at Provincial level. In other words, they felt that they had a mandate to recruit children and carry outreach activities across all of the Districts within a particular Province. In relation to the Provincial level Government run institutions, the mandate is clearly to reach the whole Province. This does not mean that these institutions necessarily reach all of the Districts within a province or even that the majority of children come from outside of the District where the institution is located. In addition while the District level Government institutions clearly focus on their Districts, this also does not mean that some do not recruit children from outside of their District. Nirmala in Aceh for example, has in its care a majority of children from outside Banda Aceh.

In relation to the privately owned childcare institutions, 5 were identified as operating at the national level, 12 were operating at the Provincial level while 11 were operating at the District level. Of the Provincial level childcare institutions only Ibnu Taimiyah, Nurul Iklhas and Caleb House actually had a majority of children from outside their District. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah Meulaboh and Darul Ulum in Aceh, Dharma Laksana in NTB, Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan, Sayap Kasih as well as Prajapati and Dr. J. Lukas in North Sulawesi cared for only a small number of children from outside their District. From this we can gather that the fact that an institution states that it is operating at the Provincial level does necessarily mean that its outreach extends outside of the District in which it is located.

A similar situation was found with the childcare institutions that stated that they operated at the national level. Only SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java cared for a majority of children from outside that Province. This was due however, to the fact that as an organisation, SOS has a policy to place children in its care outside of their Province of origin in one of the other childcare institutions it runs. This practice is used, according to SOS, to ensure that the children are able to build stronger relations with their foster mother and the children's biological families are less likely to intervene in the caring. As we have seen above, SOS operates in 6 provinces so it can clearly be identified as a national level organisation. On the other hand, Darul Aitam in NTB was found to only care for 5 children from outside that province while Dorkas in North Sulawesi only cared for 2 and Ina Theresia in Maluku for 3.

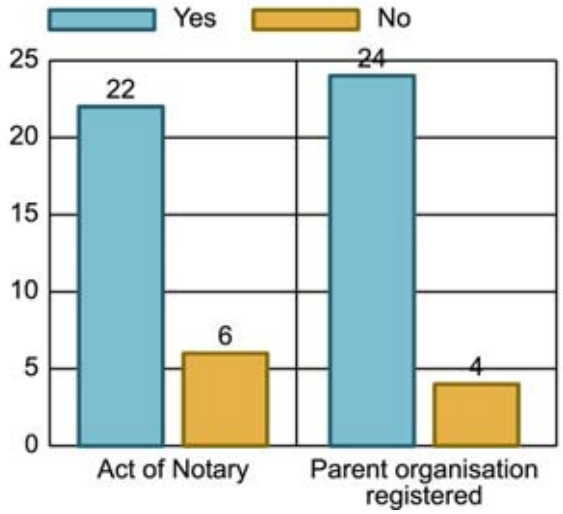
The 11 childcare institutions operating at the District level were also found to have quite varied outreach practices in practice. Muhammadiyah and Al Ummah in Aceh, Al Muthadien in North Sulawesi and Al Amin in West Kalimantan reached across the District. Darul Hikmah in NTB and Darurrokhmah in Central Java were found to only reach the sub-district level. Wahyu Yoga Dharma in Central Java, Al Hidayah in Maluku and Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan on the other hand were found to have recruited a majority of their children from

outside the District. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah Cilacap in Central Java and Al Iklhas in Maluku cared for children in almost equal number from both within and outside of their District.

Legal Status

The legal status of childcare institutions is, as we have seen, based on their parent organisation having an Act of Notary and a letter of authorization by the local or provincial Office of Social Welfare confirming its registration as a social organization. This letter is sometimes called a SIK (Surat Izin Kegiatan). This requirement only applies to childcare institutions established by private organisations as Government institutions are not required to possess such documents. The following Graph illustrates the legal situation of the 28 privately owned childcare institutions that were assessed,

Graph 5 Legal Status of Private childcare institutions



As the Graph indicates, only 22 out of the 28 institutions had an Act of Notary. Two of the Muhammadiyah institutions explained that as branches of the national organisation, only their national office had an Act of Notary. One institution explained that it did not have one because of a change in management and another 3 did not have any explanation about why they did not have one. It is likely that these institutions must have had one at some point as their parent organisations were registered and an Act of Notary would have been required for that.

In relation to a letter of authorization showing that their parent organisation was registered as a social organisation, 24 childcare institutions were found to have one while 4 did not. Of those that did not have such a letter, one however had a letter from the local Office of Social Welfare certifying their Act of Notary. The status of the other three as social organisations was not clear. Even though childcare institutions are only required to have two documents from their parent organisations to be legal, the fact that a number did not comply with this indicates that the system to ensure the legal status of such organisations is not functioning properly.

One of the institutions that did not have a letter of registration explained that they had forgotten to get one as there was no monitoring or supervision provided by the local Office of Social Welfare at the District or Provincial level. This lack of supervision could also been seen from the fact that in four cases, the letter of registration held by the parent organisation had already expired and no renewal had been sought.

The validity period for the letter of registration issued by the local Offices of Social Welfare whether at the district or provincial levels also seemed to vary. In Aceh, Central Java, NTB West Kalimantan and North Sulawesi, such letters were to be renewed every 3 years. Meanwhile in Maluku it has to be renewed every two years.

As we have seen, the letter of registration only refers to the parent organisation and no registration document is actually required for the childcare institutions. The research confirmed that none of the Provincial or District levels authorities where the childcare institutions were located had taken the initiative to develop any kind of registration system for the individual institutions. This is surprising as, if no other reason, this would enable these authorities to actually know

where the institutions are located or whether new institutions are being established.

There also seems to be confusion about the process of certification established under Law No 16 of 2001 on Private Foundations, whereby these organisations are required under Article 11(2) to get their founding document (Act of Notary) certified by the provincial office of the Ministry of Justice and Human Rights. Few seemed to have done so.

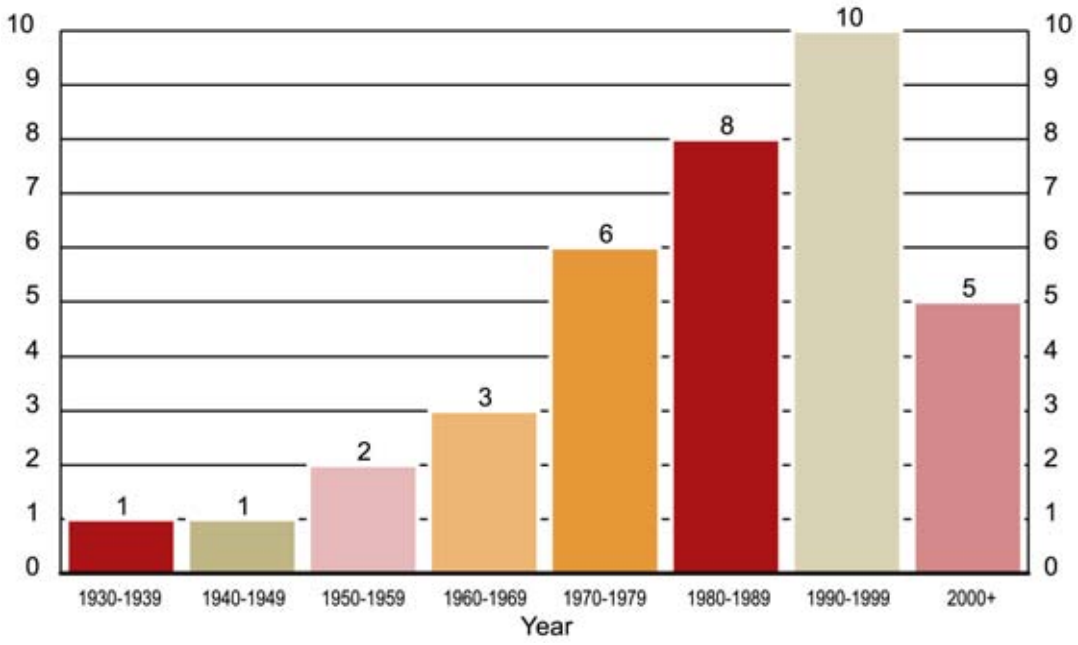
Year of establishment and beginning of operation

The research found that there could be considerable gaps between the year an institution was deemed to have been founded and the year it actually started operating. The year in which the childcare institutions assessed started operations can be seen in the following graph,

The oldest institution was Dorkas a private institution in North Sulawesi which was established as far back as 1934, followed by Woro Wiloso, a government owned institution for girls in Central Java, established in 1949.

In fact Woro Wiloso already operated before 1949 but as a homeless person institution which provided services for those who had lost everything or had been separated as a result of the war for Independence from Holland. After 1949 the institution changed its function as there were many neglected children as a result of that war and started to care only for children. Its name was changed to Woro Wiloso which means in Javanese 'healthy children'. The fact that childcare institutions were already operating more than 60 years ago point to the fact that such institutions have been playing a role in the delivery of social services in Indonesia for already a long time.

Graph 6. Year childcare institutions started operations



As can be seen from this Graph, the childcare institutions assessed encompassed institutions which have been operating for a very long time as well as some that were recently established.

The childcare institutions that were established after 2000 include Al Ummah in Aceh (2000), Dharma Laksana in NTB (2000), Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi (2001), UPRS in West Kalimantan (2003) and Caleb House in Maluku (2004). As we have seen, Caleb House

was established specifically with the aim of supporting child victims of the conflict in Maluku to recover from trauma, pointing to the very broad role these institutions are now seen to play.

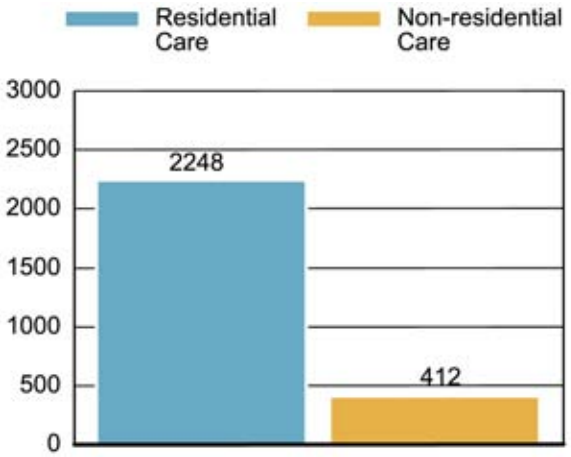
The majority of the institutions assessed (28 out of 36) started operations within the year they were established. However, 8 institutions seemed to have significant gaps between the year they were established and when they actually started operating as can be seen below,

1. Suci Hati, a government institution in Aceh, was established in 1953 to care for the Elderly and the Disabled. In 1984 it was transformed into a childcare institution. Following the decentralisation process, Suci Hati was handed over in 2002 to the Meulaboh District Government.
2. Nurul Ikhlas in Maluku was established in 1991 but only began operations in 1993. During the 2 year interval it proceeded to look for children and the funds to care for them. In 1993 it began operations with 12 children.
3. Dharma Laksana in NTB was established as an organisation in 1992 but its childcare institution only started operating in 2000. In the first eight years, this organisation focused on providing education for children from the Hindu communities. As the BBM subsidy became available, however, Dharma Laksana established a childcare institution to access that funding. as it is only provided to those running institutions.
4. Al Hidayah in Maluku was first established as religious worship group in 1994 but its childcare institution started operation only two years later in 1996.
5. Darurrokhmah in Central Java was established in 1990 and started its operation in 1991. During that interval year it prepared its facilities and looked for both funding and children. A similar process was followed by a number of other institutions including Eben Haezer (1972/1973) and Nur Ilahi (1995/1997) in West Kalimantan, Lohoraung in North Sulawesi (1976/1977) and Caleb House in Maluku (2003/2004).

Type of care services

The majority of childcare institutions assessed (22) provided purely residential services for children. A number (12) also combined residential services with some services to children and their families outside of the institution. In terms of the number of children reached and the types of services provided by these institutions it was clear however that residential care remained the primary focus for all.

Graph 7. Type of care services



The assistance provided by institutions to children living with their families not only reached relatively small numbers of children, it also tended to be short term often being rotated around families in the community every year rather than amounting to a sustained commitment for a number of years. The support provided took primarily the form of assistance with school costs or food and clothes. Educational assistance generally included support with fees or books, writing material or uniforms as was the case in Eben Haezer, Wahyu Yoga Dharma, Darurrokhmah, Muhammadiyah Cilacap, Dharma Laksana, Nurul Ikhlas, Al Hidayah, Patmos, Caleb House and Ina Theresia. Assistance in the form of rice and also sometimes noodles, milk, sugar

and clothes was provided by Eben Haezer, Caleb House, Prajapati and Ina Theresia. Other assistance provided outside of the institution included religious teaching every evening in Al Ummah in Aceh for 80 children from the surrounding communities. Two institutions also provided assistance to families in the surrounding communities as part of their broader programme of assistance. Harapan and Patmos in NTB provided support to 30 families each in the form of cash (around USD 100 per year per family).

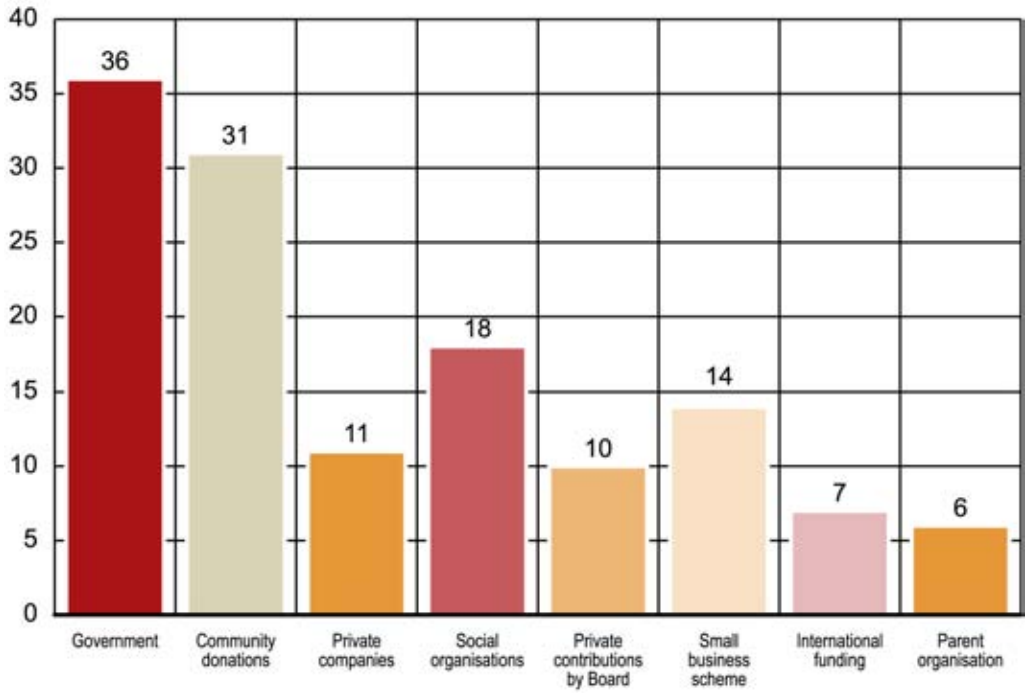
The type and duration of the assistance indicated that such assistance was generally seen as an 'extra' rather than as an alternative to the residential services provided. As we will see in the section on professional care, the ad hoc nature of such assistance is due to a real lack of capacity and staff on the part of the institutions to actually deliver support services to children outside of the institutions. In addition, some institutions provided this assistance as a last resort, if the maximum capacity of the institution had already been reached or if families could not be convinced to place the child in residential care or the child kept running away.

Funding and Assistance

One of the biggest challenges for this research was accessing reliable data on the childcare institutions' funding sources. Without any regulatory system that requires such institutions to keep accurate records of the funding they receive whether public or private, it is extremely difficult to get an accurate picture of these institutions' real operational budget and sources of funding. While some institutions were reluctant to provide details of the funding and assistance they received, the majority were willing but simply did not keep accurate records, except for assistance received through the government such as the BBM subsidy and in some cases for major private donations. In many cases, the total amount of funding that was identified by the Manager and the staff for a particular year did not match its operational budget for the same year, making it difficult to ascertain how the gap had been funded. Nonetheless, the research attempted to identify as far as possible the types and sources of funding that these institutions relied on primarily for their operations.

The research identified 8 different types of funding for the childcare institutions which included both support through organisations and agencies whether governmental or non governmental as well as private donations provided on an individual basis. Six different types of funding through organisations and institutions were identified and two types of individual donations. Funding through organisations or agencies included government funding, funding from private companies, social organisations, international organisations or foreign governments, funding through an institution's parent organisation as well as income from an institution's own small business enterprise. The two types of individual contributions identified included personal donations from the managers or board members of the childcare institution as well as individual donations from members of the community. The types of assistance provided was primarily money but also took other forms such as buildings or the material for building, office equipment, catering equipment, house ware, mattresses and beds, vocational training tools, water and sanitary equipment and food including in particular rice and ready made noodles. The following Graph shows the different types of assistance provided to the 36 childcare institutions assessed.

Graph 8 Number of institutions accessing particular source of funding



Funding for the childcare institutions came primarily from outside and contribution from an institution's own parent organisation or from its own managers and board members only constituted a small part of the funding received by these institutions. In fact, only 6 childcare institutions out of the 28 private childcare institutions seem to be receiving any funding from their parent organisation. 10 childcare institutions also relied on private contributions from their Managers or Board Members but this constituted only a small part of their actual funding base. On the other hand, all of the childcare institutions assessed received Government assistance and 31 of the 36 received donations from the local community.

Government institutions, of course, were funded primarily although not exclusively, through local government funding at the District or Provincial level. In addition, all of the provincial and district level government institutions received the BBM subsidy from DEPSOS. As well as this, 3 government institutions also received donations from the community or local organisations (Nirmala, Lohoraung and Pamardi Utomo) whether in cash or through food and other material donations.

All of the private childcare institutions received government funding through the BBM subsidy and this seemed to constitute a major if not the major part of their operational funding. The majority of institutions received BBM funding for 30 children. While the BBM subsidy tended to be given for a flat number of children there seemed to be some correlation between the number of children in the institutions and the BBM subsidy so that institutions that cared for around 100 children tended to get BBM subsidy for 50 children while those that cared for less than 50 children got subsidy for 30 children or under. This would also seem to confirm the estimation made in Section III that the BBM subsidy covers anything from 50 -70% of children in an institution. It was also clear from the research that there were no prior assessments of needs carried out in terms of which institutions would actually need the BBM subsidy the most or whether there were institutions which may actually not need it bearing in mind their overall financial situation.

Auditing of some of the institutions in receipt of the BBM subsidy seemed to have been carried out although focused entirely on checking whether the funds were actually used for food. Two of the childcare institutions

surveyed were found to have violated the BBM rules. Receipt of the BBM subsidy was ended in Al Hidayah in Maluku in 2006 because this institution used the subsidy to support children outside of residential care. Similarly, the BBM subsidy for Al Amin in West Kalimantan was stopped in 2004/2005 as the result of an audit which indicated that the institution had used the fund to buy children's clothes for the Lebaran festival. In 2006, however, Al Amin received the BBM subsidy again.

In addition to the BBM, childcare institutions in Aceh received additional assistance from the Government in the aftermath of the tsunami, particularly through assistance provided by the main Rehabilitation and Reconstruction Agency, the BRR. The considerable funding that was provided by the BRR directly to the childcare institutions from 2005 to 2006 amounted to over USD 3.7 million and another USD 1.7 million was due to be disbursed to these institutions in 2007.[2] 3 of the 6 institutions assessed in Aceh had received BRR funds of around USD 5000 per institution to cover for operational costs or rehabilitation for those affected by the tsunami.

Apart from the BBM subsidy a number of the childcare institutions also accessed funds from the local government at the district and Provincial levels through the local authority budget, the APBD (Anggaran Pendapatan Belanja Daerah). Local government funds were received by both government and private childcare institutions.

The Government institutions accessed APBD funding in the following ways:

- *Suci Hati* in Aceh received from the District level government budget almost USD 40,000 for 145 children in 2006 to cover food, fees, school uniforms and clothes for 'special occasions'.
- *Woro Wiloso*, a Provincial level Government institution also received funds from the Provincial budget of Central Java amounting to USD 102,300 for 55 children between 2004 and 2006.
- *Pamardi Utomo* also in Central Java received funds from the provincial government's budget of USD 48,000 for 60 children in 2006 to cover staff costs, services to children, transportation costs, administration and maintenance of infrastructures.
- *Harapan* in NTB received USD 105,700 in 2005 from the Provincial Government.
- *Lohoraung* in North Sulawesi received USD 2000 in 2006 from the local authority to support food costs for 20 children.
- *Huke Ina* in NTB has been receiving funds to cover food costs from the District level government budget from 2000 onwards totalling over USD 33,000.
- Similarly while *UPRS* in West Kalimantan also get the BBM subsidy, the greater part of its budget comes from the Provincial level government which contributed USD 167,000 in 2006.

As far as privately run childcare institutions are concerned, funding from the local government budget came through the Office of Social Affairs at the District or Municipality level. The assistance varied from financial support for operational costs, for food costs, for building repairs, scholarships and other school costs as well as some support for micro enterprise. As well as the funds provided by the local Office of Social Welfare some institutions also received funds from other local government offices. Some examples follow:

- In 2006 *Muhammadiyah Meulaboh* in Aceh received funds to support its operational costs from the Provincial government budget amounting to USD 2,200 as well as funds to support food costs from the District level government of about USD 1100 for 45 children.
- *Darul Ulum* also in Aceh received funds in 2006 from the local Social Welfare Office in Lhoksemawe of USD 37,300 to cover food costs for 160 children for a year.
- Meanwhile *Al Ummah* received funds in 2006 from the local Department of Education of USD 5,500 for the renovation of its buildings.

- *Wahyu Yoga Dharma* in Central Java has been receiving small funds every year from the local government for the maintenance of its buildings starting in 2003 with USD 330 to 2006 where it amounted to around USD 660.
- *Al Amin* in West Kalimantan received funds from the District level office of Social Welfare in Singkawang of USD 2,316 for 2005-2006 to support the food costs of 38 children in the institution.
- *Ibnu Taimiyah* also in West Kalimantan received USD 3,832 for 42 children in 2005 and USD 2,061 for 41 children in 2006 from the local government of Singkawang.
- *Ina Theresia* in Maluku received USD 1,666 in 2005 from the local office of Social Welfare to cover school fees for 1 year, clothes, and other school materials for 47 children.
- In 2005 *Nurul Ikhlas* in Maluku received scholarships from the provincial level office of Social Welfare for 90 children to be supported outside of the institution amounting to USD 110 per child as well as USD 55 for the 101 children inside the institution. It also received funds from the local Department of Education in 2005 to support the construction of a meeting hall, a library and to rehabilitate the school. In 2006 it received financial support from the Social Welfare Office for its small business enterprise of USD 2,777 which is used for the development of its vegetable plot and a mechanical repair shop and USD 3,300 to repair its kitchen.

After Government assistance, the main source of assistance for the childcare institutions was community donations with 31 of the 36 institutions receiving such assistance. 5 Government institutions did not receive such donations as their budget is already secured by the Government. Community assistance took many forms from boxes of noodles, bags of rice or livestock to individual donations of cash on a one off basis or on a regular basis. In relation to the childcare institutions run by Muslim organisations, the Ramadan period represented a significant time for receiving substantial donations, depending on the strength of their links with the surrounding communities. In one case in West Kalimantan for example, *Nur Ilahi* received donations in cash through the door of USD 4400 in just two weeks during the month of Ramadan as well as considerable donations in kind. Nur Ilahi also received donations of building material from members of the Chinese community highlighting the fact that this institution had managed to develop links not only within the Muslim community. Some of the following examples give an idea of the types of donations received by the childcare institutions.

- *Sayap Kasih* in North Sulawesi has received regular cash donations from an individual benefactor since 2002 of over USD 550 per year and in 2006 it received around USD 1100.
- *Eben Haezer* in West Kalimantan has a number of individual benefactors. In 1996 the institution received a gift of about USD 7000 from the relatives of someone who had died, which it used to build the second floor of its building for a prayer room and bedrooms for the girls. It also receives regular donations of USD 55 per month every year since 2004. Another source in 2006 gave around USD 550 which was used to build the toilets.
- *Dr. Lukas* in North Sulawesi received various individual donations in 2005 which totalled around USD 7,240.
- *Hidayatullah* in Maluku also received significant private donations in 2005 of around USD 2,600 for regular donors and USD 3,300 from occasional donors.
- *Al Hidayah* in Maluku also received some private contributions from both regular and occasional donors that amounted to around USD 1760 from 2005 to 2007.

Out of the 28 private childcare institutions, 18 also received assistance from social organisations. In particular 15 of the childcare institutions in all of the 6 Provinces had received assistance through the Dharmais

Foundation which seems to be a significant source of funding for childcare institutions. (See text box on Dharmais Foundation). The funds seemed to be provided on a regular basis and some institutions like *Wahyu Yoga Dharma* in Central Java had received such assistance since 1988. This assistance is meant to support primarily the costs of food, health and clothes.

Darul Hikmah in NTB for example, has received from the Dharmais Foundation financial support of between USD 3000 to USD 2000 per year in between 2004 to 2006.

Major companies also provided assistance to 11 of the childcare institutions including a number of State owned companies such as Pertamina the State oil company, PLN the national electricity company, Bulog the national logistical agency, a number of state owned Banks including BNI and Mandiri as well as the Jayanti Group a private corporation.

International assistance was provided both through foreign government donations as well as through international non governmental organisations or private individuals. The majority of that assistance was found to have been provided in Aceh in the context of the response to the tsunami including assistance received by Nirmala from the Japan International Cooperation System, by Muhammadiyah Meulaboh from Mercy Relief Singapore, by Suci Hati from Cardi Norway and by Darul Ulum Munawarrah from ICO Netherlands. A number of institutions outside of Aceh were also linked to foreign foundations as well as receiving support from private benefactors overseas as in the case of Caleb House in Maluku, and Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi or support from international non governmental organisations working in Indonesia such Dr. J. Lukas in North Sulawesi that had received support from Terres des Hommes.

In relation to the size of their annual budget, not all of the childcare institutions were able to provide information. A number of institutions felt that this was confidential information and were not willing to provide it

Financial Assistance to Institutions: DHARMAIS

The *Yayasan Dharma Bakti Sosial (Dharmais Foundation)*[3] was established in 1975 by former President Soeharto. The foundation was created as it was felt that the Government was not yet able to fulfil its responsibility under Article 34 of the 1945 Constitution which stated that the State had to care for poor and neglected children. The Foundation was established to support the 'GOLKAR' family (the main political party led by Soeharto) but in 1998 after the fall of the President, it changed its aims towards working for the elimination of poverty in a number of Provinces that are deemed particularly deprived such as East Java, Central Java and East Nusa Tenggara.

In its first report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child in 1992, the Government of Indonesia highlighted the Dharmais Foundation's role in that regard pointing that, *"the Government has established a special foundation named Dharmais Foundation to provide attention to children deprived of a family environment. The programme of the Dharmais Foundation is to support educational activities for children and give them opportunities to participate in the development process."*[4]

The Dharmais Foundation works in the social field with the aim of supporting the government to respond to a number of social problems and improve social welfare including supporting members of society who are so poor so they cannot play their role fully within their communities and their country. The Foundation operates programmes in the social, health, human resource development, education and welfare fields.

or would only provide partial information. Nevertheless some interesting information could be gathered from the 34 institutions that were able to provide information for either their 2005 or 2006 budget. Half of the childcare institutions (17) that provided information had an annual budget of less than USD 10,000. This included one Government institution, *Lohoraung* in North Sulawesi.

On the other hand the 3 biggest budgets for 2006 were those of government institutions with *UPRS* in West Kalimantan heading that list with over USD 170,000 per year and Harapan in NTB with over USD 110,000 and *Nirmala* in Aceh with USD 103,000. There were a further 8 institutions including 4 privately run and 4 government institutions that had an annual budget of between USD 20,000 and 50,000. When the annual budgets were compared to the number of children cared for by these institutions, again Government institutions topped the list of the institutions with the biggest budget per child being found in 6 government institutions compared to only 2 private childcare institutions. UPRS (USD 2,853 per child) and Harapan (USD 1,121 per child) had significantly bigger budgets than the rest while another four Government institutions had a budget of over USD 700 per child. Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi was the private institution with the highest budget per child (USD 1,109 USD per child), followed by Dr. J. Lukas (759 USD per child).

While this does not mean that these institutions necessarily spend the money on children, it does confirm that the budgets of the majority of government childcare institutions are generally much bigger than that of private childcare institutions.

Its funding comes from a number of sources including from the community and local businesses, banks, private companies, individual donations, legacies, as well as regular benefactors.

One of Dharmais' main social programmes relates to providing financial support to residential institutions for children, disabled people and the elderly across Indonesia:

- From 1976 to 2005, the Foundation is said to have provided financial assistance to these institutions amounting USD 76 million.
- In 2006, Dharmais allocated USD 3.3 million for 1,550 institutions for orphans and neglected children, the elderly, disabled people in 26 Provinces using an index of USD 5 per person per month for food costs, nutrition and health services.
- In 2007, Dharmais again allocated USD 3.2 million for these institutions.

The criteria to be met by institutions in order to receive assistance from Dharmais include having a legal status, having operated for at least a year and received recommendations from the Head of the District/Municipality, the local office of Social Welfare and the coordinator of the local social organisations (KKKS). The funds are disbursed every three months.

While the budgets of Government owned childcare institutions tended to be much bigger per child than that of privately owned institutions, this did not mean that these budgets related only to services provided for children. In fact a substantial portion of those budgets goes to other operational costs associated with running these institutions, including the salaries of the civil servants, the maintenance of the facilities as well as administrative costs. For example in *UPRS* the budget for services for children came to approximately 50% of that total operational budget.

Harapan, the Government institution in NTB, provides a fairly typical example of budget breakdown in a Government institution. In 2005 it received from the provincial government budget USD 105,700 and USD 6,400 for 70 children from the central government BBM Subsidy. Out of this, it allocated 55% for services for children, 36% for wages of the staff, 3% for administration, 4% for electricity, water and communication, 1% for staff official travel and 1% for maintenance of infrastructures and vehicles.

From the privately run childcare institutions, *Wahyu Yoga Dharma* in Central Java provides another example. Its 2005 budget amounted to USD 12,300. The funds were used as follows: services for children 41%, building and vehicles maintenance 49%, administration 3% and staff costs 7%. [5]

In relation to services provided for children, the budgets of the childcare institutions tended to relate primarily to food, education, health, clothes and transport to school. In a few cases there were also budget allocation for vocational training and recreational activities.

Al Ikhlas in NTB, for example, used its budget for children services in 2005 in the following way:

- 83% for food
- 9% clothes
- 1% education
- 1% recreation
- 6% health

Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan provides another example,

- 60% for food
- 2.5% health
- 30% education
- 1.7% recreation
- 5% clothes
- 0.8% vocational training

From the data available it is clear that the biggest share of the budget in terms of services to children went to food. Budget allocation for education tended to be lower as children from elementary and junior high school seemed able in most cases to access the Government's Operational Assistance to School (BOS-Bantuan Operasional Sekolah). This scheme aims to reduce or even eliminate school fees through direct assistance to schools. It does not, however, cover senior high school and the extent to which it actually reduced school fees at elementary and junior levels seemed to vary quite a lot. The childcare institutions' share of the education budget related mainly to the costs of transportation to school, books and other materials, uniforms, pocket money for local transport and snacks as well as other costs not covered under BOS. A number of childcare institutions were also able to access free health care through the local community health centres (Puskesmas) while others had specific budgets for children's health although these tended to be quite small as can be seen in the examples above.

The children

This section gives a general picture of the situation of the children cared for by the 36 childcare institutions assessed in terms or numbers, age, gender, parental status level of education as well as where they came from and how long they have been in care. This data was gathered first of through the data kept in the institutions and through interviews with the manager and staff of the institutions. The data was then rechecked directly with the children to ensure its accuracy but also clarify where there may be some inconsistency. As we will see in Section XIII on Administration,

while childcare institutions on the whole kept very little data, records of children's age, gender and parental status were generally kept. The data though, particularly in relation to parental status could be confusing as in many cases, the Manager or staff that had admitted the child used terms to mean different things so that, for example, in cases where a child's parents may be divorced, the child may have been entered as 'fatherless' or 'motherless' in the register. Equally, many institutions referred to a child whose father had died as an orphan while the child's mother may be alive and still in contact with the child. The fact that these institutions define their role as 'caring for the orphans' as well as the fact that assistance is often geared towards 'orphans' meant that in cases where parental status was not clear, children tended to be entered as 'orphans'. As a result, it was particularly key to re-check the data kept by the institutions on the child's parental situation.

While this data cannot be used to extrapolate on the situation and status of children in childcare institutions across Indonesia, it does provide useful insight of what the trends and patterns may be at the macro level.

Numbers and Sex

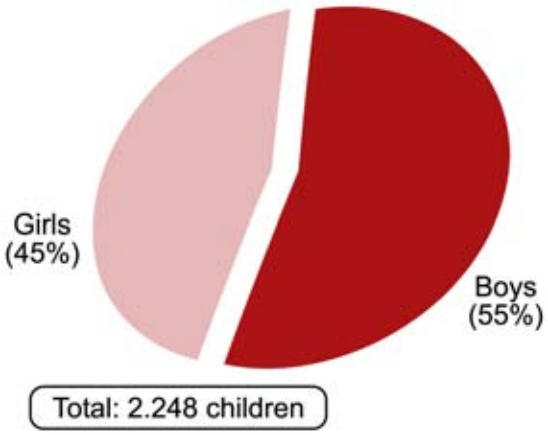
The total number of children who were cared for in the 36 childcare institutions was 2.248 children including 1.234 boys (55%) and 1.014 girls (45%).

Out of the 36 childcare institutions assessed, 29 were mixed and 7 were single sex. The four childcare institutions caring only for boys were: Pamardi Utomo in Central Java, Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe in Aceh, Al Hidayah in Maluku and Al Ikhlas in NTB. The 3 childcare institutions for girls were: Woro Wiloso in Central Java, Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan and Darrurohkmah in Central Java. There was therefore a relative balance in terms of the single sex institutions chosen and in terms of number of children in those (178 boys for 120 girls).

If we compare the number of boys and girls in the childcare institutions that cared for both sex, we can see that in 18 of the institutions there were more boys than girls while only in 7 institutions there were more girls than boys. Four institutions cared for equal numbers of boys and girls. The relatively higher number of boys in childcare institutions compared to girls was also identified in previous research carried out on children in institutional care. In the Rapid Assessment of Children's Homes in post-tsunami Aceh in 2006, it was found that there were also more boys than girls in the institutions in that Province with 59% of boys compared to 41% of girls.[6]

In the context where, as will be seen throughout this research, placement in institutional care is understood to be primarily a way of accessing education, the greater number of boys placed in those institutions could reflect the fact that education is still considered more important for boys than girls in some areas. This could result from the fact families are seeing investing in boys' education in some areas as a way of ensuring they will be able to contribute economically to the family by being able to get better work through better education. Equally, this could be the result of the fact that girls' role in terms of their contribution to domestic work and care of siblings may be deemed more important than their education particularly within households facing economic difficulty.

Graph 9 Gender breakdown of children in the 36 institutions



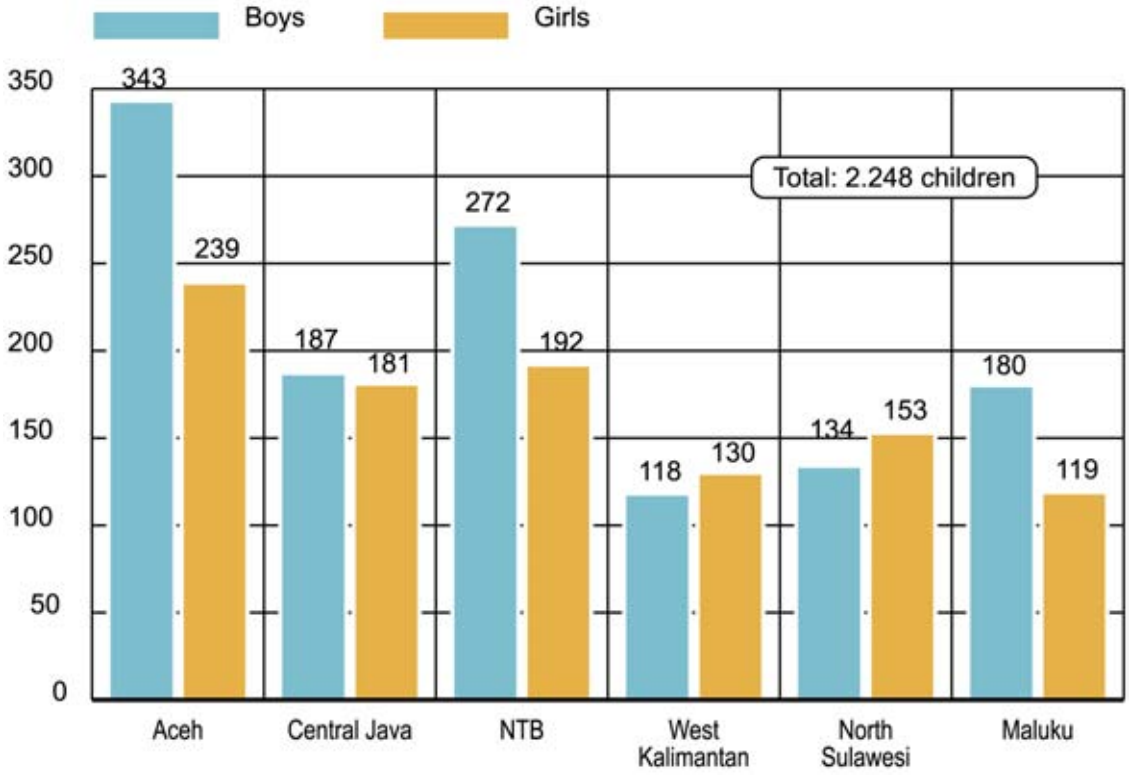
While the number of boys being cared for in the institutions was greater in most of the provinces, in West Kalimantan and North Sulawesi, interestingly there were higher numbers of girls being cared for. This seems to reflect the trends seen in terms of enrolment rates between boys and girls of different age groups as discussed in Section VI as in both Provinces, enrolment for girls was significantly higher than for boys unlike in other Provinces.

The picture in Aceh though is very different with 20% more boys than girls in the institutions which is not in line with the data on school enrolment rate, which were high for both boys and girls in the data from 2003. Data on NTB also point to 20% more boys in the institutions assessed than girls. The difference in numbers of boys and girls was very small in Central Java.

The data also shows much higher numbers of children per institution in Aceh and in NTB than in other Provinces. In Aceh, the number of children in the 6 institutions assessed represented 26% of the total number of children in the 36 institutions. Similarly NTB accounted for 20% of the total number of children. On average, there were 97 children per institution in Aceh and 77 children per institution in NTB compared with only 41 children per institution in West Kalimantan. It is clear from that data that childcare institutions from both provinces tended to be larger and caring for many more children. This may be linked to the strong role Islamic organisations play in those two provinces in relation to childcare institutions and Islamic boarding schools.

In order to ensure that the range of childcare institutions and approaches used to residential care were represented in this

Graph 10. Comparison between the number of boys and girls in the 36 institutions per Province



research, one of the criteria used for the selection of the institution was the number of children in care. This was to ensure that both institutions caring for small numbers of children as well as institutions caring for large number of children were represented.

The breakdown in relation to institutions caring for more than 100 children and institutions caring for less than 20 children was as follows:

- There were 8 childcare institutions that cared for more than 100 children: Patmos in NTB (100 children, 51 boys and 49 girls), Harapan also in NTB (100: 63–37), Nurul Ikhlas in Maluku (101: 57-44), Nirmala in Aceh (11: 56–55), SOS Desa Taruna (141: 91–50) in Central Java, Suci Hati in Aceh (145: 88-57), Darul Aitam in NTB (150: 85-65) and Darul Ulum Munawarrah in Aceh (176: 94-82). Harapan, Nirmala and Suci Hati are government run institution while Darul Aitam and Darul Ulum Munawarrah are institutions attached to Islamic boarding schools. SOS Desa Taruna while based on family cottages is developed in a large 'village' compound and numbers of children are therefore high. Patmos, on the other hand, is a large Christian institution based on large 'halls' of residence while Nurul Ikhlas is a large Islam based childcare institution which runs its own school.
- There were 5 childcare institutions which cared for less than 20 children, Al Hidayah in Maluku (9 children, all boys), Dharma Laksana (16: 8–8) in NTB, Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi (18: 11–7), Lohoraung also in North Sulawesi (18: 10–8) and Pepabri in West Kalimantan (18: 10–8).

In relation to the Government institutions, the number of children in care relates to the quota that has been set for them in the budget. The government uses an index called SOSH for its budget allocation which is based on one person per day (Satuan Orang Satu Hari). In Suci Hati in Aceh for example, the SOSH allocation through the local government budget (APBD) is IDR 10.000 per child (approximately USD 1 a day). That institution is meant to have 145 in its care and receives the SOSH in relation to that. Should children leave its care, the institution will immediately replace them with one of the children on its waiting list to make sure that its quota is filled and its budget remains the same. At the time of the research, Suci Hati had 54 children on its waiting list (25 boys and 29 girls)

As well as providing services for children in residential care, as we have seen 12 childcare institutions also provided services for some children outside of the institution, generally in the form of support for education costs, food or clothes. The number of children who received support outside of the institutions through these 12 institutions was 412 children (215 boys and 197 girls). This means that out of the total number of children receiving assistance through the institutions 85% were receiving residential care services while 15% were receiving some assistance outside of the institution. It is surprising to note in that regard that not one of the government run institutions provided assistance to children outside of the institutions bearing in mind DEPSOS' own policy on assistance to children outside of residential care.

One of the government institutions assessed pointed out that they would be willing to provide such assistance but that this would also require the government providing the resource needed to administer such assistance,

"From a macro perspective, this is going in the wrong direction ... you're given the opportunity to manage the children outside of the institution, for example, 200 children. In this area, there are still a lot of children who need help. Well ... that would be better. But we mustn't forget about payment for the staff ... (laughs) ... that's only fair. What's sufficient and what isn't is all relative ..." [7]

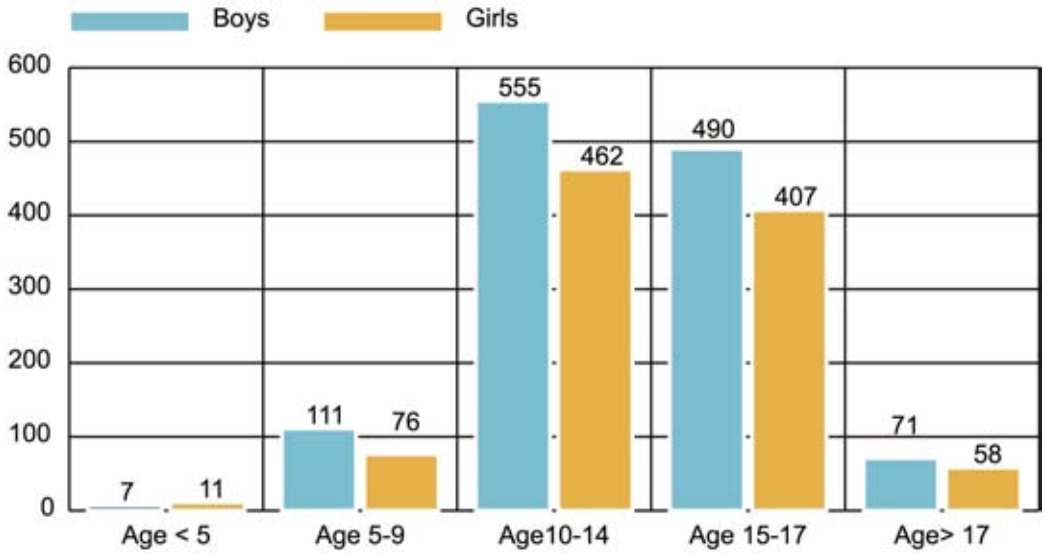
While the direct assistance provided by the 12 private childcare institutions could still be termed short term and ad hoc, it is nonetheless interesting to see that these institutions have determined that their role in terms of supporting the communities stretch beyond the walls of their institutions and as such, they provide some useful insight about the capacity of childcare institutions to support

children within their families rather than by taking them outside of those families.

Age

The emphasis on placing children in institutional care so they can access education comes across clearly through the data on the age range of children in the 36 institutions assessed. As can be seen from the Graph below the majority of children in those institutions were of school age and there were very few children that were outside of that age range.

Graph 11 Age Range of children in childcare institutions



Over 93% of children in the 36 childcare institutions assessed were between 5 and 17 years old with 45% of those being between the age of 10 and 14. As we will see in Section IX on Professional Practice most of the childcare institutions made 'school age' a key criteria for their recruitment and selection processes.

This was not simply due to their primary focus on providing access to education but also as a result of the fact that most institutions only admitted children that were deemed 'old enough to take care of themselves', usually understood to mean around Elementary school levels 3 or 4, i.e children of about 8-9 years of age. As can be seen from the Graph above, the vast majority of children in care (85%) are between 10 and 17 years of age.

Despite this major emphasis on school age children, there were in a few institutions cases of children who were both much younger and also older. The youngest children being cared for in these institutions was a 5 month old boy in Ina Theresia in Maluku and a 2 months old girl in SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java. There were 3 children under 5 in SOS Desa Taruna. The oldest young persons were also found in SOS Desa Taruna with a young man of 26 and a young woman of 25. As we have seen, SOS Desa Taruna focuses on establishing care families for children and as such it focuses on children who are actually younger and children can remain in their care families for a longer period.

Out of the 2,248 children in the childcare institutions there were 129 young persons who were 18 years and above or 5.7% of children.[8] This group included young persons who had not yet graduated from High School (SLTA class 3), who were studying at university or those who were performing their 'volunteer year' for some of the institutions which were also Islamic boarding schools such as Darul Aitam and Darul Hikmah in NTB. In line with the focus on providing access to education until Senior

High School, the overwhelming majority of children left the institution after graduation.

As the Graph also illustrates, boys were in the majority in each of the age group except for the under 5 where there were almost double the number of girls.

Parental Status

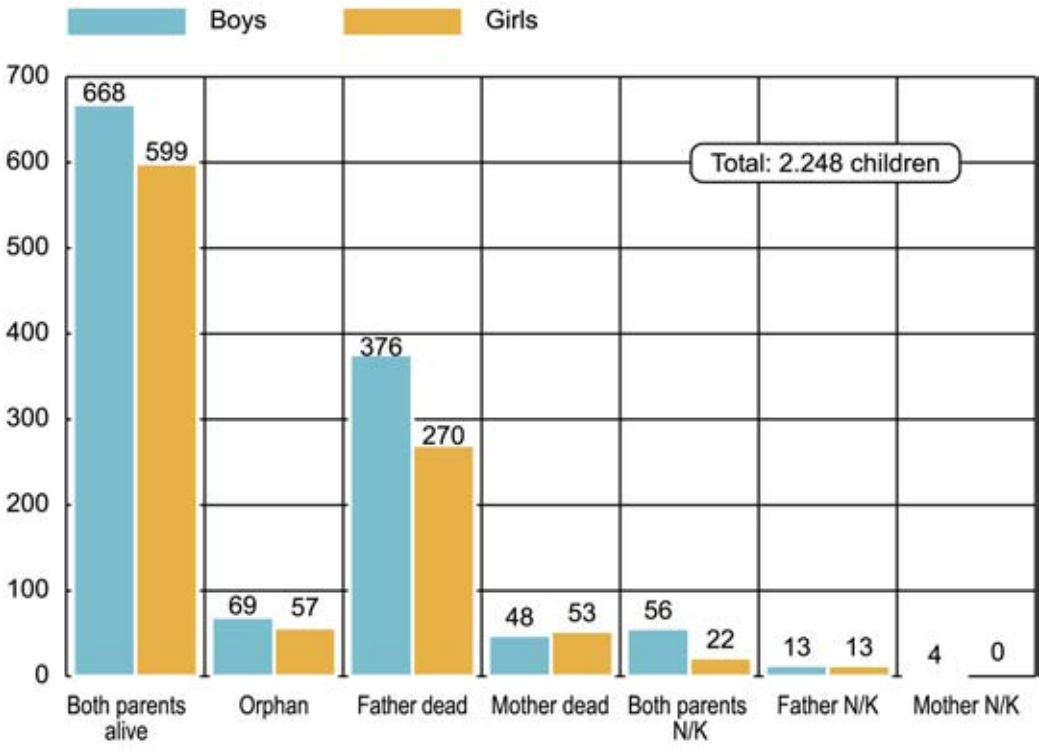
Most childcare institutions identified their role as being primarily to assist children who are orphaned, fatherless and finally children from poor families.

'orphanage' or childcare institutions for the care of the orphans is simply not reflected in reality.

In that regard this research confirms research done in the childcare institutions in Aceh in the aftermath of the tsunami that found that even in that dramatic post disaster and conflict context, the majority of child victims of the tsunami placed in institutional care still had both parents (43%) with 85% having at least one or both parents alive.[9]

Among children who still had one parent, there were clearly far more children who were

Graph 12. Parental Status



As can be seen from the Graph above, the research clearly showed that there were very few orphans in the childcare institutions across the 6 Provinces, only 5.6% of the total number of children. Instead the majority of children in the childcare institutions still had both parents (56.4%). Those who still had one parent alive whether mother or father constituted 33.2% of the total number of children. This means that almost 90% of the children had one or both parents alive illustrating the fact that the concept of

fatherless in the institutions than children who were motherless. There are likely to be a range of reasons for this including the primary focus on many of the Islam based childcare institutions on supporting 'fatherless children'. At the same time a widow or single mother is likely to find herself in a more difficult economic situation having lost the income from the major breadwinner for the family in many cases whilst having sole responsibility for the caring. In addition there is evidence that in many contexts in Indonesia it may be harder for a

woman with children to remarry than for a man for both cultural and social reasons and when she does, she is less likely to be able to take the children from her previous marriage into this new union. This, however, can vary significantly, however, across regions as a result of the enormous cultural, religious and social diversity found across the Indonesian Archipelago.

In terms of the Provinces, the biggest number of fatherless children in institutions was found in Aceh (143 boys and 72 girls) and NTB (93 boys and 86 girls). This seems to confirm the emphasis in areas where Islamic organisations are particularly strong on supporting fatherless children.

In Maluku the number of fatherless children was also quite high (79 boys and 56 girls) and in fact it was the only province where there were more children in care who had lost one parent than children who still had both parents (68 boys and 41 girls). Nurul Ikhlas, Hidayatullah and Caleb House in Maluku all cared for high numbers of children who had lost their fathers. The high number of fatherless children in Maluku and also in NAD is likely to be due also to the impact of conflict in both Provinces.

The parental status for a number of children (4.8%) was not known including children who did not know the whereabouts of one parent and those that did not know the whereabouts of both their parents. The majority of these children (73%) were found in SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java (54 boys and 25 girls)

According to staff in that institution[10], the reasons why the parental status for so many children in that institution was unknown related to the following: 1) the child was referred to the institution by social agencies or the police, 2) the child was found by staff from the institutions in a number of locations including in front of a church or in the train/ bus station or 3) the child was placed in the institution by his or her mother after being born out of wedlock and the situation of the mother following this was unknown. In addition, staff also explained that those children who did not know the whereabouts of their fathers generally were from East Nusa Tenggara. Their fathers were migrant workers in Malaysia and had not been heard from again.

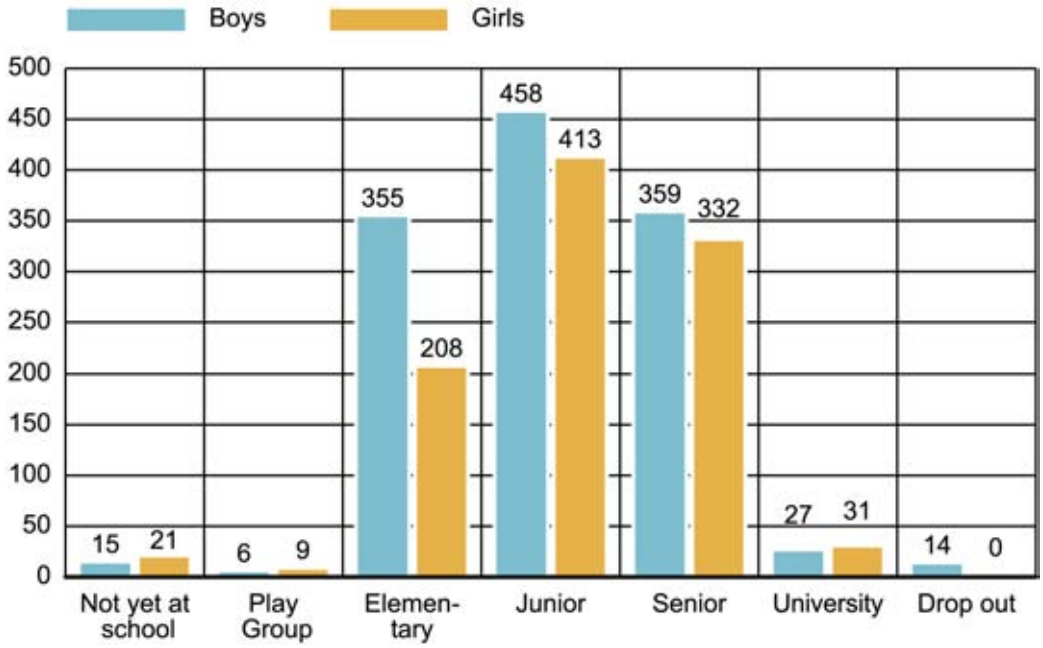
The data also showed that a significant number of children were placed in the institution together with their sibling. As many as 132 children in the institution had at least one sibling in the same institution, another 39 children had two siblings in the same institution and 8 children had 3 or more siblings being cared for in the same institution. The data on the parental status of children in institutions highlights the fact that placement in institution generally does not result from loss of primary carers but from a lack of capacity from families (real or perceived) to provide for their children. Childcare institutions are clearly seen as a means of supporting families to provide for their children rather than a means of caring for children who do not have families. The fact that so many vulnerable families are relying on childcare institutions to provide for their children may indicate that programs that are meant to support and empower families in Indonesia may not be reaching or impacting positively on considerable number of families.

It is particularly interesting to note in that regard that a high percentage of children in these institutions (over 33%) were placed by single parents, particularly mothers (29%). As we have seen there can be a range of reasons for this but in all cases, these figures highlight the critical need for interventions to support single parents and in particular single mothers, to ensure that they are able to play fully their crucial role in relation to the care of their children.

Education Levels

The data in relation to the education levels of children in the institutions assessed provides further evidence that education is the primary focus for most of these institutions. The following Graph illustrates the fact that almost all of the children in the institutions were at school from elementary school level to senior

Graph 13 Education Levels



high school level. The majority of the children in care were in Junior High School.

Children who were attending school from elementary to senior high school constituted 97.78% of the total number of children in the childcare institutions. This reflects clearly the fact that the 36 childcare institutions saw providing access to education for the children in their care until senior high school as a key part of their work. In addition 58 young people were supported to access university level education through their institution.

The focus on education can also be seen from the data on children who are not yet at school and children who have dropped out of school. The majority of children who were not at school (36 children in total) could be found in Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi (11 boys and 7 girls) a childcare institution that cares for children with both physical and mental disability. The institution does not provide formal education for any of the children due to the severity of their disability. Other children not attending school were too young to attend pre-school or play groups.

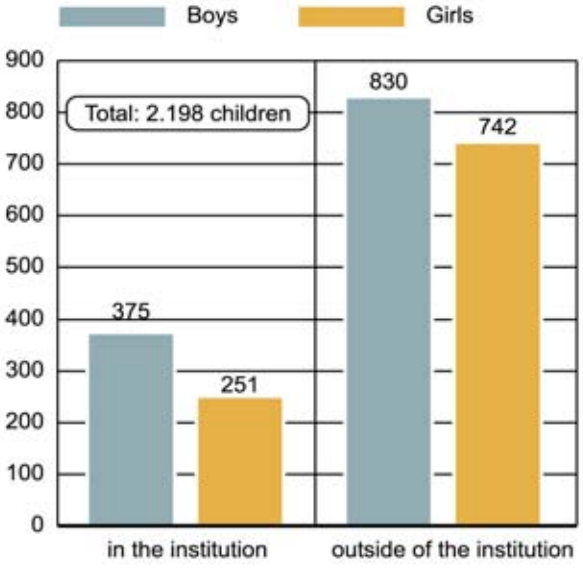
Out of the 36 institutions, 14 children were found to have dropped out of school or only 0.62% of the total number of children, all of them boys. 5 children in SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java had dropped out of senior high school and were at the time following vocational training in mechanics as well as learning to drive. 6 children in Al Amin in West Kalimantan dropped out of school after the conflict in Sambas and were following the non formal curriculum under the Packet A and B system as well as some livelihood training such as chicken rearing, furniture making and horticulture. 3 other children in Al Ummah in Aceh had entered the institution after the school admission period and were waiting for

the next one to be able to enter school at junior level.

Of the children who were at school (2,198 children) the majority attended school outside of the institution in the community (71.52%). Only 9 of the 36 childcare institutions were being run together with a school or boarding school. Even in the case of institutions which had their own school, this did not mean that all of the children in care attended that school as many of these institutions did not provide for all levels of education through their schools. As a result a number of children, particularly at senior high school level were attending local schools. The breakdown between children who attended school within the institution and those that attended outside can be seen in the Graph below:

As the Graph indicates, the number of children attending school outside of the institution is more than twice that of children who attend school within the institution.

Graph 14. School location for the children in the institutions

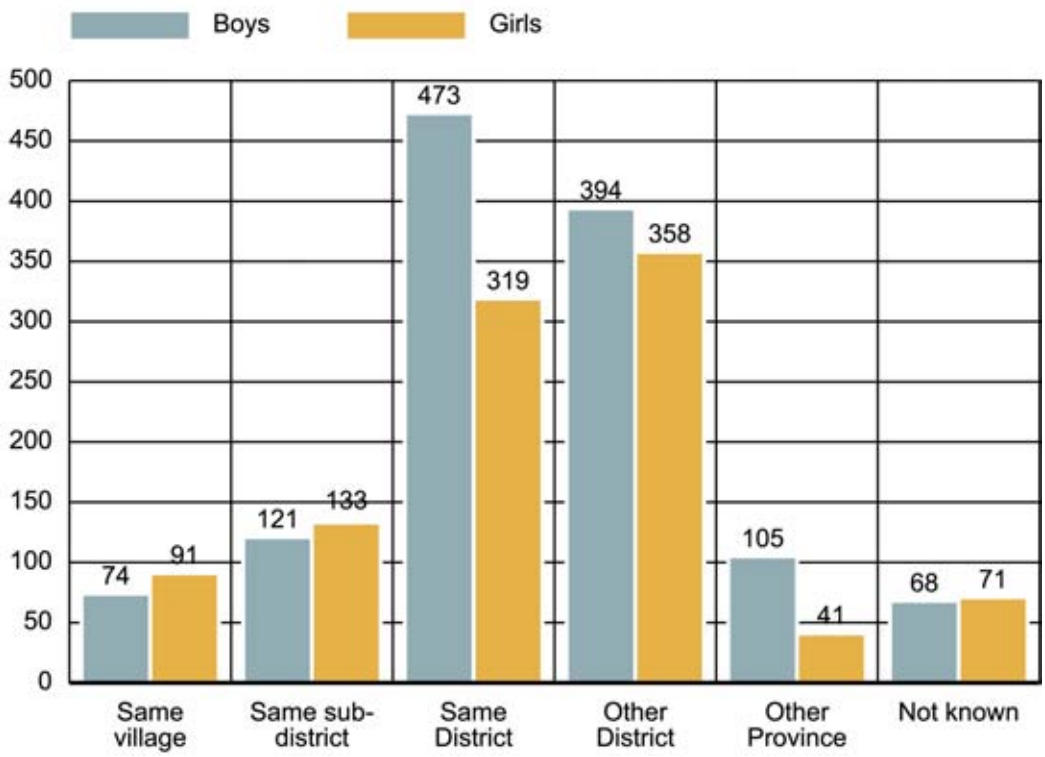


Home location

The research also looked into the distance between the children's home location and the location of the childcare institution they were staying in. This provides insight into the recruitment practice of the institutions as well as the distance the child and his or family have to cover in order to maintain contact. The data collected in that regard showed whether the child's home was located within the same village or town, the same sub-district, district or even province. This does not always provide a complete picture of the distance between a child's home and the location of the institution as some institutions may be located between two districts or some districts may be smaller than others but it provides nonetheless an indication of how far children have had to move from and to an institution.

The following Graph highlights a number of findings in relation to the 36 childcare institutions assessed. The majority of children in institutions came from within the Province where the institution was located. Only 6.5% of children out of the 2,248 children came from outside of the Province where their institution was located. The majority of those children were found in SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java

Graph 15. Home location



(82 children) and Patmos in NTB (25 children). As we will see, SOS Desa Taruna has a policy of moving children to its institutions located in other Provinces so that it is more difficult for children to go home and so that the relationship with the new 'care family' is made stronger. Patmos on the other hand relies on its network in East Nusa Tenggara to recruit and bring children from West Timor into its institution in Lombok.

While the majority of children (54%) came from the same District or Municipality, a significant number (40%) came from outside of the District. This means that for every ten children in a given institution, there are five children who come from within this District and another four children who come from outside of that District. As a result for many of the children in these institutions, home is located a considerable distance from where they live. This is particularly the case in Provinces covering enormous distances such as West Kalimantan, Maluku and Aceh or where travel and access is limited such as NTB which requires travel across Islands.

The data also shows that a relatively small number of children (11.3%) came from the sub-district where the institution was located and even fewer came from the same village (7.3%). This indicates that most institutions are not operating to provide services for the surrounding communities but instead bring children from communities located a considerable distance away.

Length of placement

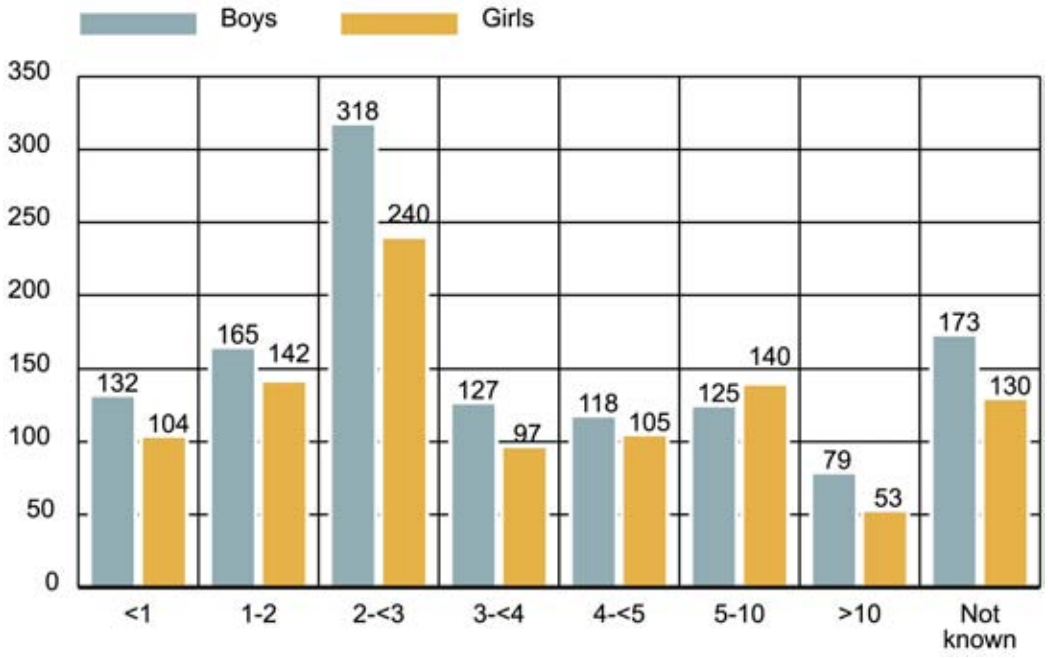
The length of a child's placements in institutional care vary, of course, according to the purpose of the placement, the age at which a child entered the institution and when the institution itself began operating. Nevertheless data on the length of children's placements can provide an important indication of whether placement in institutional care is generally considered a temporary measure or a longer term measure.

Unfortunately, as a result of the very limited data kept by the childcare institutions assessed, data was not available for all children

in relation to when their placements had begun or how long they had been staying in the institutions. Even though the research was able to confirm some of that data through the children themselves, there were still 13.5% of children for whom this information was not available. The data that was available, however, highlighted a couple of interesting findings that be seen from the Graph below

First, childcare institutions are recruiting and replacing children consistently year from year with children's placements ranging from under a year to over ten years. Secondly, the great majority of children (62.4%) had been in the institutions for over 2 years, indicating that placements were generally not temporary. In addition 18% of children had already been in the institutions for a very prolonged period of time from 5 to over 10 years. Bearing in mind the crucial changes and stages of development children go through from early childhood until adulthood, it is clear that many of these children will have spent a considerable part of their crucial developmental years within the confines of an institution.

Graph 16. Length of placement



LIFE STORY:

Ali, Boy 17 years old. Maluku

A. Particulars

Name: Ali
Place and date of birth: Hitu, 2 February 1990
Status of Parents: Both alive.
Father's occupation: Fisherman
Mother's occupation: Trader/vendor
Number of siblings: 1 elder and 3 younger sibling.
Religion: Islam
Length of time in the institution: 7 years.

Ali was brought to the institution in 2000 by a "council" member and friend of his mothers. Ali didn't say what "council" this person was a member of.

B. Reasons for entering the institution.

"The main reason was that I wanted to learn about my religion," said Ali when asked his reasons for entering the institution. At the time he didn't know that it was a childcare institution. Rather, he thought it was a "pesantren" (Islamic boarding school). *"I was sent here by mama so that I could become a virtuous boy. Mixing with the village children was bad for me."*

C. Life in the institution

1. Entering the institution

Ali has been living in the boy's dormitory since 2000. When he came to the institution, he was in grade 1 of State Junior High School No. 4 in Liang. When he first arrived, it was not as it is now. Ali had imagined that the pesantren would be a luxurious place. He was disappointed as it was nothing more than a rudely built shed in the forest. *"It was in the middle of the forest. I cried and just wanted to go home."* Ali was so unhappy in the institution that he frequently returned home.

2. Going home without permission

One of the rules of the institution is that children are forbidden to go home without permission. Ali was aware of this, but he nevertheless frequently went home.

After 3 months in the institution Ali could stand it no longer, and decided to return home without permission. *"I wanted to see mama. Besides, there's a problem with the water here,"* he said, explaining his reasons for going home. He set out on the journey after school. He had no money, but he was determined, and walked along Liang beach for 14 kilometres. He slept in the open that night, in the forest. The next day, he met a gentleman who brought him to his house and gave him food, and Rp 50,000 (USD 5) to pay for his fare home. Ali then caught a bus and arrived back at his house at 6 p.m.

"I cried and was upset at mama. Instead of being happy to see me, mama scolded me and ordered me to go back."

Up to grade 2 of junior high school, Ali managed to control himself and not go home until one day he had an accident and was sent home to recuperate for one month.

3. Life at School

In grade 3, Ali began to go astray. *"Smoking, drinking, cannabis, shabu-shabu (crystal methamphetamine), tried it all with my friends at school,"* Ali recalled when asked what he got up to. Asked if the staff knew what was going on, he replied, *"Of course they did not know."* Most of what he had got up to started out as dabbling. Friends would offer him something and he would feel constrained to try it due to peer pressure.

Not only was he smoking and drinking, and dabbling in shabu-shabu and cannabis, Ali was frequently absent from school. *"I often can't be bothered going to school. In semester 1 of grade 3, I was absent 46 times."* The fact that he was frequently absent resulted in him being subjected to various forms of violence by his teachers, including slapping, being beaten and being forced to stand in front of the class. The punishment that he most frequently received was being made to stand in front of the class. So, in order to avoid this, he would play truant.

Ali also liked going out with girls. *"With girls, courting, flirting, try and get in down there (He didn't explain in detail what he meant by this). If the girl wants it, it will happen."* On the other hand, as the girl in question was a diligent student, *"I also worked hard at school."* This relationship did not last for long, however, as Ali had his eye on another girl. *"I broke up with the first girl. My new girlfriend was from Liang. Try again, win again. We used to make out in the woods behind the school."*

Although he was frequently absent from school and involved in various forms of truancy, Ali nevertheless managed to graduate from junior high school. After he enrolled in high school, his behaviour didn't change very much. One week in grade 1 in high school, he only put in two appearances. During school time, he would sleep in the woods, and return home to the institution after school was over. Ali was also involved in the same forms of truancy in high school as he had been in junior high school: smoking, hard liquor, and cannabis. Because of his behaviour, he fell behind in all of his subjects and had to go into remedial class. As part of the remedial process, he was ordered to do various tasks: *"There were seven of us who didn't pass. In order to get our grades, we had to do this and do that. I was ordered by the biology teacher to cut wood before the examination, the chemistry teacher ordered me to clear a plantation. I had to attend remedial mathematics classes in school. The sociology teacher ordered me to carry stones. I had to do practicals for the computer teacher. The geography teacher made me fix his fence at home. The art teacher told me to buy nails and timber. I had to ask mama for Rp 15,000."*

After a lot of hard work, Ali passed all of his tests and finally got his report card.

After going into grade 2, he continued to engage in the same behaviour. In fact, he was threatened with having to repeat, "*But, thank God, they let me through on probation."* So, he advanced to grade 2 in high school. In grade 2, Ali started to work harder on his school work – *"one month, only alpha 3." "By my third month in grade 2, lots of girls smiling, everyone liked me. I don't know what kind of devil was tempting me ... I just couldn't get enough of girls."*

Ali started going out full time with his new girlfriend. *"After we got together, I started coming home late a lot, was often late for prayers. We used to go walking on the beach. We went to her house to meet her parents."* His new girlfriend caused a lot of problems for Ali, however. In fact, he got into a fight over her as another boy was jealous. *"I was attacked by not one, but three of them. I was jumped on just so that I would break up with her."* It was then that he decided it was time to give his latest girlfriend up.

4. Disciplinary violations and punishments in the institution

a. Cutting the grass in the yard (some 50 square meters). *"My hands were cut and bleeding. I was upset. I wanted to go home to mama. I had just arrived here at the time ... was still in grade 1 of junior high school."* This punishment was imposed on Ali for being late for prayers.

b. Cleaning the toilets and filling up the water tanks. *"Even though there was water, the pressure was very low. So I had to fetch it from the village beside us. I carried it on a cart in cans, and then had to empty it*

into the WC water tanks until they were full (each tank measures approximately ½ m x 1 m, while the distance to the well is around half-an-hour's walk). After I had finished fetching the water, I was so tired that I fell asleep straightaway. When I got up again, I was really annoyed when I discovered that the water in the WC was already finished. It had been used for bathing by Z. (another child who had just arrived at the childcare institution). This punishment was imposed on Ali for leaving the childcare institution without permission.

c. Rolling the length of the yard (25 meters) four times: *"rolling along the ground until you threw up. I was hit in the stomach as well. I had to hold my breath so as not to be sick." "You have to do it four times, even if you throw up. You're not allowed to stop."* The same story was related simultaneously by Ali and another 3 boys. The punishment was imposed on him for fighting.

d. Rolling four times along the length of the yard (25 m). *"My arms were cut". "I received this punishment for fighting."*

e. Slapping and kicking. This punishment was imposed on Ali as he was suspected of having made a bomb. He explained what happened as follows: On 2 April 2006 (the South Moluccan Republic flag is frequently hoisted during April), he had made two bombs from firecrackers. He had planned to use the bombs to catch fish in the river, but had to cancel his plan as the river had been in flood. He had then hidden the bombs in the bush behind the childcare institution. However, one of them had exploded. The staff in the childcare institution had been worried that the authorities would suspect that the institution was being used for terrorism, given that the South Mollucan Republic flag is frequently hoisted in April.

f. Slapping/beating and kicking. Ali was subjected to this for being out at night without permission. He had returned at 12 midnight.

This last punishment received by Ali had caused controversy in the institution, with some being in favour and some against. The case had been brought before the student council.

After this life story was written, Ali was expelled from the childcare institution as it was discovered that he had spoken one night through the window with one of the new girls who had entered the institution (The institution observes total separation between the sexes). After this incident, the institution also decided to send home all of the girls and decided not to care for girls any longer.

Footnotes:

1 SOS Desa Taruna in Bali only cares for children from the Hindu di Bali hanya di huni oleh anak-anak yang beragama Hindu. Menurut Kepala Panti pendirian SOS Desa Taruna di Indonesia disesuaikan dengan nilai budaya setempat. Saat ini sedang dirintis SOS Desa Taruna di Aceh.

2 See SC/DEPSOS, Rapid Assessment, p. 28

3 *See www.dharmais.or.id*

4 Initial report to the Committee on the Rights of the Child, Indonesia CRC/C/3/Add.10 (14 January 1993)

5 The budget for building maintenance and renovation in 2005 for Wahyu Yoga Dharma was particularly important as a result of assistance provided by the Provincial administration that year to cover such costs.

6 Martin and Sudrajat, 2006: 47

7 See Luhpuri, Subardhini, and Yuliani, Pamardi Utomo: Quality Care Report, Jakarta, Save the Children, Depsos, and Unicef, 2007.

8 Children are defined under Child Protection Law No 23 (2002) as people under the age of 18 years of age and they constituted over 94% of those in care in the childcare institutions.

9 SC/DEPSOS: Rapid Assessment, p. 50

10 See Yuliani, Subardhini, and Luhpuri, SOS Desa Taruna: Quality Care Report, Jakarta, Save the Children, Depsos, and Unicef, 2007.

VIII. Values and Aims of the Childcare Institutions

THE DEVELOPMENT of the 'vision and mission' statement and 'aims and objectives' for an institution is the main opportunity for an institution to articulate not only what it is aiming to achieve for children but also the values it represents. In many ways, it also provides an insight about what the particular institution sees as the desitable outcome of childhood as well as how it understands its role in achieving this. In reverse, it has been pointed out that what happens to children after they leave institutional care is evidence of how the institution had 'thought' or envisioned what these children were to become.[1]

As we have seen in relation to the situation of childcare facilities throughout Indonesia, the overwhelming majority of these institutions have been developed and are owned and run by private organisations, whether local or under the auspices of national or provincial networks. Most of the organizations running these institutions are faith based and as such, it can be expected that the values and approach underpinning the services they provide are a reflection of the

particular religious community that has established the institution. Yet, this research found within the sample of institutions that it assessed across 6 provinces considerable diversity in terms of these institutions' views of themselves and of the children that are under their responsibility, as well as the roles that they are aiming to fulfil towards those children. Children themselves often had their own ideas and perspectives of the role their institution and their placement was meant to fulfil. It was clear that the particular values underpinning each institution determined not only what services were provided but the approach and professional practice taken and formed the basis for the relationship between staff, children and families as well as between the particular institution and the community around it.

As we have seen, the sample of childcare institutions chosen included 8 Government run institutions and 28 privately run ones. 25 clearly identified themselves as faith based with 16 Islamic ones, 4 Protestant, 3 Catholic, 1 Buddhist and 1 Hindu childcare institutions. Another 9 including some of the Government ones did not put a particular religion as their founding basis but nonetheless served only communities from a particular faith or incorporated the values and practice of that faith in their approach to services. Interestingly, almost all of the Government run institutions provided services for children from a particular faith (Islam except Lohoraung in North Sulawesi that cares for children from the Christian communities), even where they were located within more diverse religious communities. The exception to this was UPRS in West Kalimantan which took an approach that specifically sought to support both religious and ethnic diversity. SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java was the only other children's institution which articulated a multi faith approach, basing its services and approaches including the selection of its foster mothers to ensure that at least Christian and Muslim carers are provided.

Out of the 36 childcare institutions assessed only 8 had a specific statement of purpose or 'vision and mission' written for the institution itself. For a childcare institution, articulating clear and agreed terms of reference for its work through a written 'vision and mission' that specifies the values, aims and objectives of the services it aims to provide is an important step to ensure that the basis for its work and the role it sees itself fulfilling in relation to children is clearly spelt out. It also provides children and their families with an important clarification of what to expect from the placement as well as what its aims are. Having a written vision and mission is also an important requirement for the delivery of professional services for children as it should ensure that staff and those involved in the running of that institution know what they are meant to be implementing. Its existence and the way it is formulated, disseminated and reviewed is an important indicator of how an institution sees itself and the level of understanding that staff and children have in the aims that are meant to be achieved. Where staff and children are involved in its formulation, review or in discussions around its aims and objectives, there is likely to be a much higher level of understanding and agreement about what the institutions stands for.

Four of the institutions that had written 'vision and mission' specific to the institution were government institutions, probably reflecting the fact that having a 'vision and mission' is one of the basic requirements to be fulfilled under the Government rules for social institutions.[2]

In addition, 18 childcare institutions had some form of 'vision and mission' but these had been devised by their parent organisation, generally without the involvement of the staff of that particular institution. On the whole, these were not specific to the services provided by the institution itself but instead reflected the general values and aims of the social organisation that established the childcare institution. There were exceptions to that, though, with Ina Theresia, Patmos, SOS Desa Taruna, having specific written 'vision and mission' statements but which were devised and written by their parent organisations. The

majority of institutions though, had 'borrowed' the generic statement of aims and principles from their parent organizations. This was particularly the case for Islamic organisations running a childcare institution together with educational facilities such as a boarding school and as a part of their broader religious and educational programmes. All of the Muhammadiyah institutions as well as institutions affiliated or run under NU, NW and the Hidayatullah network used the statement of purpose and values from their parent organisations. This was also the case for Al Hidayah, Caleb House, Nurul Ikhlas, Al Amin, Ibnu Tamiyah, Dharma Laksana, Darul Hikmah and Al Muthadien.

SOS Desa Taruna was in a different position as it is one of a number of childcare facilities run by SOS Kinderdorf internationally (including 6 in Indonesia) under the same principles and standards.

Virtually none of the institutions that had some form of vision/mission or statement of intent had involved staff or children in their conception, review or even in a process of discussion or internalisation about what they meant. Ina Theresia in Maluku seemed to be subject to some form of review and evaluation, at least by the heads of its parent organisation at the organisation's annual meeting. Some staff at Huke Ina, a government institution in Maluku had been involved in developing the programme statement from the Provincial Office of Social Services that was then used as a 'vision and mission for that institution. These were very much the exceptions. Generally, the childcare institutions had not seen the formulation of aims and values as something which could become a vehicle for ensuring understanding, agreement and a joint sense of purpose by the staff and even less by the children it cares for.

Eight other institutions had no written or clear statement of intent/purpose or vision and mission. A further 2 institutions had originally had such a statement at the time when the institution was established but could not find it and only remembered it in broad lines.

"Based on the explanation given by Mrs L. (the Manager), it was difficult to clearly ascertain what the vision and mission of the institution were. She explained that vision and mission statements had been formulated by the management in the past, and even posted up, but the statements now appeared to be lost."

It was clear that a number of the statements of visions and mission of the institution itself or of the parent organisation had been formulated quite a long time ago, in many cases when the institution was first established as in the case of Dorkas for example in 1934 or Dr. J. Lukas in 1974. In most cases, no further revision or process of review had taken place to identify whether the statement still reflected appropriately the values and approach underpinning services provided by the childcare institutions.

Generally only the head or manager of the institution was able to articulate the values and aims of the institution. In many cases staff had not been provided with clear information as to the aims of the assistance and were focusing on carrying out the set tasks they had been given in the institution without linking their role to an overall objective in relation to the children in their care. In Nirmala, for example, when asked about the aims of the institution, one of the carer replied, *"I just do my job as directed by the head. If I'm told to take a child to the doctor, that's what I do. If I'm told to meet a child's teacher at school, then that's what I do. If there's nothing for me to do, then I just sit around the office."*

In Suci Hati, staff and carers also admitted that they did not know about the aims of the institution, *"Don't know ... just ask the manager"*.

Certain common characteristics in terms of how these childcare institutions understood their role as well as the way these were articulated could be identified across the 36 childcare institutions. They provided an important insight into how these institutions viewed the children they cared for and what outcomes they were aiming to reach for these for these children.

Institutions' vision of their role and the children they care for

Generally, all of the institutions subscribed to what could be called the concept of the "Panti Asuhan Anak", a childcare institution coming under a social welfare framework with a particular focus on the orphans, the fatherless or motherless children and children who are deemed 'neglected' or coming from families that cannot provide for them. The term 'childcare institution' or 'institution that cares for children (Panti Asuhan) was used by all institutions except SOS Desa Taruna which uses the 'children's village' concept of its parent organization and UPRS which is organised around a multi-services technical assistance complex comprising a separate section called the YPAT, 'Orphans and Neglected Children'.

In many instances, this focus was articulated right at the front of the building, with the institution's signboard specifically mentioning 'orphans', the fatherless (sometimes motherless children) together with children who are deemed 'neglected'.

As we have seen in the Profile of Institutions section, in reality few of these institutions actually care primarily for children who are 'orphaned'. The concept of 'orphanhood' remains however very strong both in terms of how an institution projects itself within the community and its network of support but also in terms of the way the institutions views the children it cares for. The institutions generally raise funds on the basis that they care for orphaned children or children who have been abandoned by their families. This is especially the case in relation to the childcare institutions that are run by Islamic organisations as assistance to the 'orphan' is understood to be a crucial responsibility of all Muslim and is the focus of huge philantropy, particularly around the lebaran period as we have seen above.

As was explained by the head of the childcare institution Al Amin in West Kalimantan,

"In reality, myself and my family we're just 'hitching a ride' with the children here. When the donors come here to give assistance, they do so because these children are orphans or disadvantaged children. It is written in the Surah Al-Maun that we are required to raise and provide assistance to orphans, fatherless and motherless children and the indigent. That's why I'm willing to manage this institution."

In addition to children who are 'orphaned' or 'neglected', most of the institutions recognised poverty as a key factor and 'poor children' (anak fakir miskin) were also often identified as a target group. Poverty is seen to be a major obstacle to families being able to care for their children. Care in this case is

mainly equated with being able to provide for them in particular ensuring their education but also adequate conditions of life, religious and moral guidance as well as an environment where 'useful' and 'good' children can develop. Children were generally perceived by these institutions to be coming from families that had failed, either through the death of a parent or due to their lack of 'capacity' to care for their children. As a result, the institutions tended not to see continuing relationships with the child's family as crucial either for the child's well being or for ensuring an easier transition back into their communities and families after they leave care. Parents and families were deemed to have relinquished their parental 'rights' upon the placement and given as little role as possible in decisions involving the children unless the child was seriously sick or expelled or until the child graduated when the family was then expected to take over fully its role and responsibility.

Some of the institutions were established or took a particular focus on providing assistance to victims of disasters or conflict (Pepabri in West Kalimantan, Caleb House in Maluku, Suci Hati and Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah in Aceh). These institutions, however, still saw their role very much as providing assistance to children who were orphaned, who had lost carers or whose situation was negatively affected as a result of these crises. The approach to services taken by these institutions did not differ significantly from that of others assisting similar groups of children in a non emergency context. One institution, however, Caleb House in Maluku did provide specific psycho-social support to children who were deemed to be 'traumatised' as the result of the conflict.

The vision of children as needing to be developed into 'useful' human beings could also be found in many of the childcare institutions assessed, regardless of faith or ownership. Children's 'usefulness' was seen in some cases in relation to their families and communities. In Al-Ikhlas for example, the head of the institution saw its role as, *"We want to turn these neglected children into people who are useful to their parents and society."* In relation to families, children were deemed to be useful when they were no longer 'a burden on their family' or when they became independent and self sufficient adults who could earn a living, have the skills to get a job and contribute back to the family.

This was the approach taken for example at Wahyu Yoga Dharma, *"The institution tries to help these children until they are able to get work so that when they leave here they will be able to help their families, not be burdens again to them."*

Woro Wiloso, a government childcare institution that cares for girls focused on their potential, *"We focus on girls by treating them in such a way as to make them mature, bring them up as skilled, productive and useful people to themselves, their families and society."*

Producing children that are 'useful' to their communities, their nation or country was also how a number of institutions viewed their role, as articulated for example in a number of government run institutions such as Pamardi Utomo, *"so that they become members of society who can live properly, with a full sense of responsibility to themselves, their families and society. We want to mold human beings with mature personalities, who are dedicated and skilled so that they are able to support themselves and their families."*

The same concept was also found in a number of the privately run childcare institutions. In Al Hidayah in Maluku, the aims of the institution were defined as, *"1) improving the quality of human resources from the religious, educational, cultural and knowledge perspectives; 2) to produce self-reliant children who are of use to themselves, their religion, society, the nation and the state."*

Some of the institutions saw their role in supporting the development of children who are 'useful' to the nation and their country in terms of them being the 'next generation', as in the case of Dharma Laksana which aims to *"to participate in developing the younger generation in NTB through education."*

This concept of preparing children to be the next generation was found in many of the faith based institutions. Some saw their role as

developing the next generation of religious leaders, thinkers and activists, including 'cadres' for their own networks. The institutions under the Hidayatullah network, for example, including Al Mutadien in North Sulawesi and Hidayatullah in Maluku were specifically focused on transforming children in their care into 'cadres' which will work for their organisation, *"our mission is to look after, teach and educate fatherless and motherless children, neglected children, so that they become a generation that is pious, creative, clever, and self-sufficient in their roles as potential future leaders."*

Similarly, Darul Aitam's focus was that of the Nahdatul Wathan (NW) network under which it was established, *"The objective of this institution is the same as that of Nahdatul Wathan: to create Muslim cadres who can propagate Islam wherever they are. This is our mission as set out by the founder of Nahdatul Wathan."*

Muhammadiyah's vision, used by its childcare institutions across Indonesia including the ones assessed in Aceh and Central Java is to *"To enlighten the nation by teaching pure and unadulterated Islam based on the Koran and Hadditha."* It also aims to develop through its institutions the next generation of its members as was explained by the staff in Muhammadiyah Meulaboh, *"In addition, we are involved in grooming the children to become Muhammadiyah cadres in Aceh."*

Other institutions saw their role as supporting the development of 'clever' children through formal and religious education so they could make a contribution to assist the nation.

Eben Ezer, for example, articulated its vision and mission in terms of,

"1. Developing the institution as a place of religious education for the children;
2. Developing the institution as a place of family education for children who lack the guidance of their parents;
3. Developing the intellects of our children through formal education in public schools, accompanied by regular guidance."

Similarly Wahyu Yoga Dharma spoke of *"playing a role in improving the intellect of the nation"*

Others institutions spoke of their role in reducing what they saw as 'ignorance and backwardness' resulting from poverty as with Nurul Ikhlas,

"Reducing ignorance, backwardness and poverty among neglected children, orphans and indigent children.", and with Ina Theresia, *"To overcome poverty and social backwardness through guidance, counseling and education."*.

This was also the approach taken by Pepabri but with a particular focus on children coming from isolated communities in West Kalimantan, in particular from the Dayak communities, *"My intention is straightforward – to help develop the intellects of children from isolated areas, such as Sangguledo, Ngabang, Rasau Jaya, Sungai Nangka and so forth."*

In addition to 'useful' and 'educated children', most of the faith based institutions emphasized their role in 'producing' children who are good human beings, religious, obedient and disciplined. For example, Ibnu Taimiyah aims to *"to create human beings who are of moral, skilled and cultured."*

Ina Theresia's also stated its aims in terms of,

" a. To ensure that the children become well-rounded, pious, self-reliant, resilient, creative, humble, honest, responsible and disciplined persons.

b. To ensure that the children develop a deep sense of gratitude for the gifts and blessings bestowed on them by God, and become people characterized by love and a willingness to forgive."

Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah saw its role as *"…caring for, guiding and educating them to become good human beings."*

Nur Ilahi, in common with many of the institutions run by islamic organisations aimed to create children who are *"of good character, pious and competent so that they will be able to face the challenges of life on their own."* The focus on children becoming 'good' and 'religious' was also found in Hidayatullah in Maluku as explained by its manager, *"Many parents send their children here so that they will grow up as*

pious human beings and not be swayed by bad influences."

The childcare institutions run by religious organizations that work towards the propagation of their faith also saw their role in terms of 'saving children' and ensuring their proper integration into their particular faith. This was particularly found in the context of West Kalimantan were the conversion of Dayak communities to Christianity or Islam is still seen as an important process. Nur Ilahi for example, focuses on 'muallaf' children (new converts to Islam) so that they can *"properly abide by Islamic teachings."* This institution works to ensure that they become fully integrated into Islam including by changing their names and in some cases discouraging contacts with families which may still be from another religious or have retained Dayak beliefs and practices.

Eben-Haezer, also in West Kalimantan, was established *"to save children from the interior (remote location). This process is connected with three important aspects: welfare, education and religion. This is because the institution was founded as part of the Christian mission to help Dayak children from the interior who are unable to receive an education as a result of poverty, or lack of facilities or access."*

Suprisingly for institutions whose primary focus is meant to be the 'care' of children and the replacement of the parental role, very few institutions articulated a vision that included children who are loved or cared for. Those institutions that did speak of love saw this as part of a broader concept of religious love, the love of god and the love of others as preached within those religions. Prajapati for example in North Sulawesi articulated its vision in terms of the broader Buddhist teaching of *"promoting universal love"*

Dharma Laksana in West Nusa Tenggara uses Hindu precepts including the 'giving of love' as the basis for its approach and the rays of the sun as symbol of that love that reaches all equally. Children were taught verses and a song referring to that sun which shines every day on all, without discrimination and without fail, to help them internalize the values of that universal love. Caleb House, a childcare institution focused on caring for children from the Christian communities affected by the conflict in Maluku emphasized also the importance of religious love in relations between people and communities,

"The socialization of the concept of love is also carried out by posting in the institution admonishments such as "Love Everyone" and "Stop Hatred". "Love" is also the theme of the religious services held every night."

Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi, an institution that cares for children with 'double' disability also saw children in its care as being 'in need of love' but it integrated this principle into its approach to caring for children rather than as an objective to be fulfilled by its institution.

Interestingly, only Dr. J. Lukas in North Sulawesi and SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java specifically articulated their roles in terms of children 'being' and 'feeling' loved or the crucial attachment role of the family being somehow replaced. Dr. J. Lukas articulated this in terms of replacing the '*warmth of the family*' that these children were not able to get. SOS Desa Taruna's vision is that "*Every child belongs to a family and grows with love, respect and security*" and therefore it sees its role as "*We build families for children in need, we help them shape their own futures and we share in the development of their communities*"

Generally, though, very little reference was to be found in the visions and aims of these childcare institutions about children as individuals that needed both care and a secure and loving environment to grow and develop fully. As we will see below, this reflects not only the way these institutions see their role but also how they prioritize and deliver their services to the children in their care.

In addition to the values and overall aims put forwards by the childcare institutions assessed, some patterns could be found in terms of the actual approach taken in order to achieve those aims.

The emphasis on children whose families were deemed unable to provide for them

meant that the institutions saw their role as primarily about ensuring that children's needs were fulfilled. This was generally articulated in terms of food, shelter and education. Many of the institutions assessed used a broad social welfare framework that spoke of ensuring access to basic services, particularly education, for that vulnerable or 'unfortunate' group of children.

In Aceh, Al Ummah's provided a very typical statement of this approach, which was to *"To fulfill physical needs, including clothing, food, shelter, formal education and healthcare."*

Similar explanations were given by staff from the great majority of childcare institutions across the 6 provinces:

Darurrokhmah (Central Java)

> *"So, the background here is that the children come from middle to low income families. We also have fatherless and motherless children who haven't been receiving the attention they need, particularly in the educational sphere."*

DORKAS (North Sulawesi)

> *"To provide assistance to indigent, neglected and orphaned children so that they can receive a proper education."*

Huke Ina (Maluku)

> *"The objective of the institution, in the eyes of the staff and foster families, is to provide for indigent children so that their educational needs can be fulfilled."*

Dharma Laksana (NTB)

> *"To provide for the education of orphaned, motherless, fatherless and neglected children in general, and particularly children from a Balinese ethnic background in NTB, so that they will be self-reliant in the future."*

Muhammadiah Meulaboh (Aceh)

> *"Many of the children here come from poor village families which are unable to send them to school. By living in this institution, they are able to receive an education."*

Nurul Ikhlas (Maluku)

> *"To continue to provide services to the children so that they are not neglected, particularly so that they can continue at school up to at least senior high school level. In fact, if we are able to and the children are willing, we will educate them up to degree level."*

Bearing in mind the primary focus of these institutions on developing 'useful' and 'intelligent' or 'clever' children that could become the next generation or could contribute more directly to their families and communities, it is not surprising that providing education was seen as the primary aim of virtually all the institutions assessed. This was seen both in terms of providing formal but also informal education (mainly religious but also in some cases vocational training).

The two childcare institutions that were most specifically focused on the care giving role, SOS Desa Taruna (Central Java) and Dr. J. Lukas (North Sulawesi) also included access to education as a key service but within an overall framework of care giving in a 'family environment' rather than the actual focus of the services. Sayap Kasih (North Sulawesi) which cares for children with both mental and physical disability did not see formal education at all as being a possibility for children in its care.

As can be seen from the quotes above, education is not only prioritised but other needs (food, a place to stay, care) are often seen as by products of children being able to access education, or enabling factors rather than as key priorities in themselves. Children need a place to stay and food and care so that they can access education effectively, seemed to be the approach taken by many of the childcare institutions. This is often reflected in terms of the language used by the institutions when referring to the 'care' of children in their charge in particular the use of the terms *'menampung'* (to provide accommodation/to store) or *'memelihara'* (to raise, to rear, also used in relation to a pet'). Again this had a significant impact in terms of how such services were provided and what skills and resources were prioritized within the majority of these institutions as will be seen in the Professional Care section of this report.

The childcare institutions run by faith based organisations prioritised in particular religious education and practices in the services and approach taken. This was particularly the case for those institutions that are combining an islamic religious boarding school (*Pesantren*) together with a child care institution as is the case for example with Darul Ulum Al-Munnawwarah, Darul Hikmah, Darul Aitam, Ibnu Taimyiah, Al Muthadien and Hidayatullah. The emphasis in those institutions is clearly on Islamic teaching and practices and there are often only subtle differences between the situation of children who live in the boarding schools as regular students and children who are deemed to be part of the 'child care institution'. Children in the *Pesantren* live there permanently from school age until they graduate and as such the services that are provided in terms of a place to stay, food and education are similar for all children. The difference seemed to lie more in terms of the status of the children who were there as part of the 'childcare institution' and their responsibilities, as well as the fact that their families did not have to make financial or in kind contribution towards the costs of their education.[3] As a result, these institutions saw religious education and practice as the priority for all of the children no matter what the reasons for their placement were.

Other faith based institutions made religious education and practice part of the services provided and an element of the approach taken rather that its primary aim as was the case in the Muhammadiyah run institutions, Prajapati, Eben Haezer, Patmos and Dharma Lakasana among others.

Across the board, though, the prioritisation of education both formal and informal had clear implications in terms of how the 'childcare' role by the institutions was understood and implemented. In particular, a focus on education meant that only children of school age were generally identified as potential target for recruitment but also, and crucially, that the placement itself was seen as being needed for the entire period of the child's education. Within that framework, a child's placement was deemed permanent unless fundamental rules of the institutions were broken or the child was not able to progress at school in which case the boy or girl would be sent back to his or her family. The timing and parameters of that placement were therefore totally set by the educational objective and virtually no review of that placement was deemed necessary or even desirable within that period of time.

Children's own perspectives of the aims of their institutions

An important way of understanding how a childcare institution articulates and understand its role is by the way the children in its care understand what services they are meant to be getting and why they are there. As was mentioned above, none of the children across the 36 institutions had been involved in the development of aims and mission statements nor in actual discussion and review about their purposes and relevance to their lives. Nonetheless, children in the institutions generally had some understanding of why they were there, either in terms of what they had been told by the staff or in relation to their own personal experiences.

Children's perspectives on their placements

Nur Ilahi

"to pay for the schooling of children whose parents don't have enough money"

"to look after the children and educate them"

The children also said that they had to help out with the work in the institution as one of the institution's objectives. This was clear to the children from the obligation of every child to perform picket duty.

"To help with the work in the institution ..."

Muhammadiyah Lokhsamawe

"To educate orphans"

"To reduce the number of poor and neglected children"

"To provide love for neglected children, and produce Muhammadiyah cadres for the future"

"To educate orphans so that they become people of good character"

"I asked grandma to bring me to the institution ... so that I could go to school ... I had heard .. it was good in the institution ... you didn't have to work like in the village ... in the village you have to wash, cook ... in the institution ... you only have to sweep up, mop the floor"

"I was brought here by dad ... I wanted to go to school ... schooling gives his broader horizons"

Huke Ina

"Yeah, there are some things mum and dad aren't able to afford ... pay for school ... they're not able to afford it."

Muhammadiyah Meulaboh

"I came to the institution to learn ... if I studied at home, there's no one to teach me. Mum only taught me a bit .. how to read ... didn't really understand either."

"I was lazy at school in my village ... I didn't learn anything."

"Here I can learn and gain experience ... when I go back to my village, I can teach my family ... some of our families have no education ... we're looking for a new family in the institution."

Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah

"to strengthen our faith, learn English, Arabic, Japanese, to develop ourselves so that we know more about religion, study the Koran, read the holy books, be able to recite the Koran by heart, and know about what is "halal" and what isn't."

"These values are what appeal to me, because I will be good at religion. I want to make my parents happy. If we can study the Koran, our parents will be happy."

Ina Theresia

"To take in orphans and children whose parents can't afford to send them to school."

Caleb House

"To take in orphans"

"Because my mum died"

Nurul Ikhlas

"To educate children"

"To go to school"

"To work".

Eben Heazer

"To take in poor children, children who have no parents"

UPRS

"So that orphans can go to school"

Ibnu Taimiyah

"Since my adoptive mother died and my adoptive father remarried, I'm always being scolded and forgotten about. I had to quit school two years ago. In the end, my sibling, who also lives in the institution, told me I could move in here and get free schooling. What else can an an orphan like me do?"

"I found out about this place from a friend of my parents ... he said it was a pesantren but that I wouldn't have to pay as it doubled up as a childcare institution ... the requirement is that your parents have no money ... so our parents don't have to pay."

Darul Aitam

"The objective of the institution is to groom cadres who will spread the Islamic faith."

"to create cadres to continue the struggle of NW, that is to disseminate Islamic teachings based on the "sunah waljamaah."

" So children can become NW cadres"

"We're here because we want to become NW cadres"

AL Muthadien

"I want to become a "kyai" (imam) ... I want to become an ustad (Islamic teacher) later on…"

"I want to become an ustadzah (Islamic female teacher)"

Al-Ikhlas

"I don't have anything, I can be helped."

Wahyu Yoga Dharma

"... I want to become someone that matters"

"... I came to the institution on my own accord. I wanted to become self-reliant, to be able to help my parents rather than be a burden on them."

Children clearly made the link between their placement in care and the need to access education because their families were not able to afford the school costs but also in terms of being able to access a better quality of education. In addition, access to education was linked by them to the realization of their hopes for the future, their ability to find work, help their families as well as make them proud. Children were clearly aware that they were deemed by the institution to come from particularly disadvantaged familie, either economically or socially and this resulted in them seeing their placement as a means to 'better themselves'. The institutions' recurrent use of the terms 'orphan', 'fatherless', 'neglected child' terminology certainly seemed to reinforce children's view of themselves as being inherently flawed and in need of improvement. In many of the institutions this seemed to be emphasized to encourage feelings of gratitude among the children, so that whatever services or assistance was provided was seen by them as a bonus and received gratefully, without question. It also left little space for these institutions to recognize the range of situations children actually came from and the very differing needs that these may entail either in terms of economic support or care and protection.

Knowledge and understanding of childcare standards

As we saw in Section I, the Indonesian Government ratified the Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1990 and adopted a Child Protection law in 2002 which aimed partly to integrate the Convention's standards into national law. The Ministry of Social Affairs has also developed a range of directives and technical standards that relate to the care of children both in and out of the institutions. It was therefore important to ascertain to what extent these standards were known and understood as well as to what extent they were being implemented in practice.

The assessement showed that very few of the institutions were aware of the Convention on the Rights of the Child, the Child Protection Law No 23 (2002) or the technical standards developed by the Government. Even fewer had actually been made aware of their implications for their work and the protection of children in their care. While government owned institutions seemed more likely to have been given a copy of the Child Protection Law or of some of the DEPSOS guidelines, generally these were shared only with the head of the institution or the staff that had attended a meeting. It was striking that even where some of the staff had attended a specific training on the Child Protection Law or in some cases a training by the provincial Office of Social Affairs on the standards for the care of children in and out of institutions, (in Caleb House, Suci Hati, Nirmala, Al Hidayah for examples), there seemed to be little understanding of the implication of these standards for their work and very little knowledge retained.

As was explained by the Manager of Nirmala in Aceh *"I've participated in a number of training courses on child protection, but the training provided was inadequate ... only lasted an average of two days. Got back to the institution and there was no follow up. That's the way it is, wasting time. After I finished the courses, I put away the materials and basically forgot everything."*

In *Huke Ina* in Maluku, for example, the Manager had actually borrowed a copy of the Child Protection Law from one of the children in its care who had once attended a workshop in Ambon. No copy from any of the policies and guidelines produced by DEPSOS on childcare institutions were available, however, and the institution had not developed any of its own guidelines to support the carers.

Even in those institutions that had a copy of at least one of the relevant policies or laws, there had been few efforts to discuss those with staff or raise awareness of staff about their implication for their work. The copies tended to be in the hands of the manager and there was little indication of a recognition that these rules were relevant or even applicable to their institution. In *Eben-Haezer* for example, the research found that,

> "The institution had a photocopied copy of Law No. 23 of 2003 on Child Protection. It did not have any of the guidelines or manuals issued by Depsos. Save for the manager and carer in charge of the boys, none of the staff knew anything about Law No. 23 of 2003 on the Protection of Children." [5]

In *UPRS*, while copies of relevant legislation and guidelines had recently been received, and one staff had even followed a socialisation programme for the Child Protection Law,

> "Nevertheless, no efforts were made by the carers and staff to jointly discuss and study these. Rather, the books had been put away in a cabinet by a staff member."

The staff that tended to attend trainings when those were available seemed to be generally the Head of the Institution or its Manager and in a few cases some senior staff. It seemed that such trainings were seen as not relevant to staff that actually had most of the contact with children on a day to day basis or that the sheer lack of staff in the institution meant that it would always be the same person going for training. In *Al Amin* for example, the Manager explained,

> *"Yes, Miss ... only myself and the treasurer (get to go), but the treasurer is always busy with his regular work. So, automatically it's me that responds to invitations and training courses. So far I've participated in training on improving the capacity of institution staff, child protection, marketing, and some other things. I was given a copy of the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Child Protection Law. So, the courses helped improve my knowledge. But I've never received the childcare institution guidelines and manuals from Depsos. An officer from the provincial social affairs office promised to give me photocopies of them after one training course, but I've still never received them."*

Similarly in *Dorkas*, the head of the institution had recently followed a training on the Child Protection Law but no other staff had ever attended any.

> *"As it happens, we've just be on a training course last month. Mr. T delivered the training. If we didn't show up, we would get a telling-off ... I'm still studying the legislation."*

In the majority of institutions, knowledge of even the existence of relevant standards and policies was often totally missing and there was virtually no awareness that institutions may actually be bound to follow certain rules or laws.

The response from the Manager of *Darul Aitam*, in that regard was quite typical,

> *"Regulations on the protection of children? We don't have them, I don't really understand."* The carer responsible for the boys said that he had heard talk about child protection, but not directly, and admitted that he had never read the relevant materials. *"Yeah, I heard about it on TV, in the newspapers, government officials talking during events. But I don't know anything about it in detail."* A similar admission was made by the assistant carer for the girls, *"Don't know. I've never seen any books about child protection."*

Similarly with *Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah,*

> *"...It's like this, Miss, we've only been established for 3 years, so we don't know about the childcare guidelines and regulations." (interview with the head of institution)*

In fact, with the notable exception of SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java, there seemed to be across all of the institutions very little awareness that running or working in a childcare institution may require some specific skills or knowlege or may be regulated by some professional standards. In *Ina Theresia* as in most other childcare institutions, the idea of standards and professional skills in the context of caring for children in an institution had simply not come up,

> "Everything done as regards childcare in Ina Theresia is based solely on general knowledge. According to one of the

> nuns, her three years of education in the convent and at the Maria Mediatrix diocesan college had taught her nothing about the theory and techniques of childcare in an institutional setting."

Three institutions did refer to children's rights in relation to their work. Harapan, a government run childcare institution in NTB referred to children's rights in its vision and mission: *"The enjoyment of children's rights and needs such as the right to life, to grow and develop, to protection and to participate."*

Despite this, it was surprising to find that neither its manager nor most of its staff knew about the Convention or about the Child Protection Law. This was particularly ironic because "The building located next to the childcare institution's office in the same complex housed the Nusa Tenggara Barat provincial Child Protection Body (LPA). In fact, the institution had in the past had a child victim of violence referred to it."

In reality the reference to children's rights and participation had been introduced by two staff, one of whom had graduated from the Government's School of Social Work (STKS), who had tried to integrate this learning into the operation of the institution including its statement of purpose and rules. Nevertheless it was clear that in practice, there was generally little understanding among other staff of the implications of those standards to their work or to their approach to care.

Children's rights were also mentioned by the manager of the childcare institution in UPRS, the Government institution in West Kalimantan, *"the objective of this institution is to fulfil the rights and needs of children, that is, the right to life, to grow and develop, to protection and to participate."* This was not reflected, however, either in the stated aims of the UPRS or in the approach to services taken by that institution. The head of the UPRS pointed instead that the aims were *"To pursue the interests of the local government and provide welfare for the children."*

SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java, on the other hand, made use of the Convention on the Rights of Child in its statement of values and approach. Coming under the network of the international organisation SOS Children's Villages, its work and approach is set out in an organisational Manual (*SOS Childrens Village Manual).* It states that *"We perform our duties imbued with the spirit of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child."* Regular training on childcare and child development is provided to staff on the basis of the Manual and staff had received training on child protection and on prevention and response to violence against children.

Despite the obvious lack of knowledge among the great majority of childcare institutions about applicable standards relating to children, including their care and protection, many of the institutions clearly felt that they were operating in the best interest of children. Managers and staff often emphasized that all activities and services provided were carried out with children's best interest in mind as was the case for example in Darul Ulum Al-Munnawwarah, "The head of the institution stated that everything that was done, in the

organisation or in the childcare institution whether viewed from the perspective of aims and objectives or in terms of values, was done in the best interests of the children".

The understanding behind the concept of 'best interest' varied though. A number of the faith based institutions pointed out that there was no need for standards or guidelines as religion was the basis of all action in the particular institution and would always be in the best interest of children as was explained by the Manager of Hidayatullah

> *"Until now this institution has operated and always acted based upon Islamic values. I'm confident that these values in no way diverge from the Convention on the Rights of the Child and the Child Protection Law. So, while we don't have any of these documents here, and the managers have never received training on them, everything that we do is intended to safeguard the faithful, including protecting children."*

Similarly, the manager of Al Amin explained,

> *"I have a mandate to look after these children, and I have to fulfill that mandate to the best of my abilities. Hopefully, whatever I do will always be in the best interests of these children. We don't need to look at the Convention on the Rights of the Child or the Child Protection Law. Everything is already made clear by Islamic teachings. Like Surah 107, Al-Maun, verses 1-7, which tell us to provide assistance to the orphans, the indigent, and to look after weak children."*

Some of the other institutions felt that anything that was provided for these children would clearly be in their best interest because it would be more than what they would be getting at home or in their communities bearing in mind their socio-economic status, as was expressed by staff from Al Ikhlas

"What they get here is already better than what they would get at home."

Others pointed that children being able to access education or health in particular was clearly in their best interest as explained by the head of Ina Theresia, *"Yes, certainly in the interest of these children's future, particulary in terms of formal education and health".*

In many cases, the staff and managers of the institutions had clearly equated the overall aims of their institution with what is best for children so that everything that was done for children within that framework was deemed by default in their best interest. There was little space given or interest evidenced in exploring children's individual needs, let alone wishes.

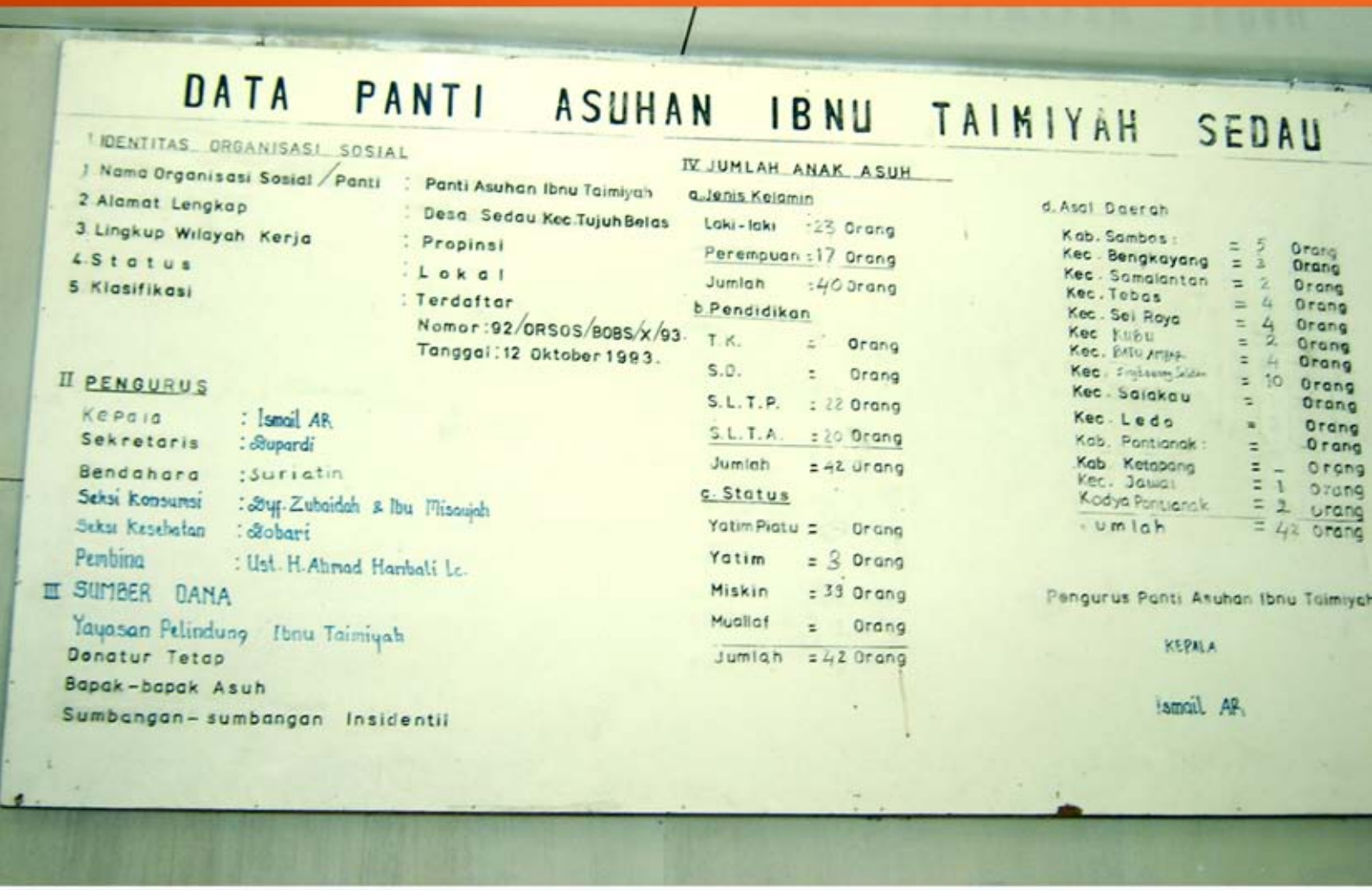
Footnotes:

1 Cyrulnik, B (2002) Un merveilleux malheur. P.101. Odile Jacob: Paris.

2 Standardization for Social Care Institutions (2004). Social Welfare Education and Research Board, Ministry of Social Affairs.

3 For an analysis of those differences see the Text Box on Ibnu Taimyiah for an example of a pesantren with a childcare institution

4 "Kyai" is the title employed by experts on Islam who own or run pesantren. The term is more often employed in Java. Meanwhile, an "ustad" is a male teacher of Islam, and an "ustadzah" a female teacher of Islam.



DATA PANTI ASUHAN IBNU TAIMIYAH SEDAU

I. IDENTITAS ORGANISASI SOSIAL

1. Nama Organisasi Sosial / Panti : Panti Asuhan Ibnu Taimiyah
2. Alamat Lengkap : Desa Sedau Kec. Tujuh Belas
3. Lingkup Wilayah Kerja : Propinsi
4. Status : Lokal
5. Klasifikasi : Terdaftar

Nomor : 92/ORSOS/BOBS/X/93.
Tanggal : 12 Oktober 1993.

II. PENGURUS

Kepala : Ismail AR
Sekretaris : Supardi
Bendahara : Suriatin
Seksi Konsumsi : Syf. Zubaidah & Ibu Misaujah
Seksi Kesehatan : Sobari
Pembina : Ust. H. Ahmad Hanbali Lc.

III. SUMBER DANA

Yayasan Pelindung Ibnu Taimiyah
Donatur Tetap
Bapak-bapak Asuh
Sumbangan-sumbangan Insidentil

IV. JUMLAH ANAK ASUH

a. Jenis Kelamin

Laki-laki	: 23	Orang
Perempuan	: 17	Orang
Jumlah	: 40	Orang

b. Pendidikan

T.K.	:	Orang
S.D.	:	Orang
S.L.T.P.	: 22	Orang
S.L.T.A.	: 20	Orang
Jumlah	: 42	Orang

c. Status

Yatim Piatu	:	Orang
Yatim	: 3	Orang
Miskin	: 39	Orang
Mualaf	:	Orang
Jumlah	: 42	Orang

d. Asal Daerah

Kab. Sambas :	= 5	Orang
Kec. Bengkayang	= 3	Orang
Kec. Samalantan	= 2	Orang
Kec. Tebas	= 4	Orang
Kec. Sei Raya	= 4	Orang
Kec. Kubu	= 2	Orang
Kec. Batu Ampar	= 4	Orang
Kec. Singkawang Selatan	= 10	Orang
Kec. Salakau	=	Orang
Kec. Ledo	=	Orang
Kab. Pontianak :	=	Orang
Kab. Ketapang	=	Orang
Kec. Jawai	= 1	Orang
Kodya Pontianak	= 2	Orang
Jumlah	= 42	Orang

Pengurus Panti Asuhan Ibnu Taimiyah

KEPALA

Ismail AR

IX. Professional practice

THE WAY CHILDCARE institutions understood their role and the situation of the children which they sought to help clearly had a fundamental impact on the way they delivered services including in terms of staffing, practices, rules and regulations but also in terms of how they managed the children's placements, the transition out of 'care' and the relationships throughout between children, their families and the institution itself. As Boris Cyrulnik pointed out, *"An institution is structured like a person, with walls and regulations that materialize the thoughts of those that hold the power."*[1]

Outreach and recruitment

The emphasis on providing access to education meant that almost all of the institutions saw the recruitment process and the selection of children as relating to educational needs. Generally

this meant identification of how many children from the institution would be graduating from Senior High School and a process to replace them with new children by means of 'outreach' also called 'recruitment'.

The process of 'outreach' or the recruitment of children to be placed in the institutions took place in virtually all of the institutions but a number had become sufficiently established and well known so that they did not need to look for new children but could instead rely on children and their families coming directly to the institution or being referred to them by their own networks. It was clear though, that the way the institution had been established or had evolved as well as whether it was private or government run had an important impact on the way children were being identified and selected.

The Government institutions generally had an official outreach process, often involving the local Office of Social Affairs that related to the school year and the number of children who had graduated from their institution thereby creating new vacancies.

In Suci Hati in Aceh, for example,

> "The head of the institution described how the admission of children was preceded by a calculation of the number of high school graduates who would leave that year. The Office of Social Affairs would then inform the Social Welfare Offices in the 11 sub-districts of West Aceh, through the Meulaboh District Office of Social Affairs , about "vacancies" for children in the institution. The Head of the Meulaboh Office of Social Affairs also normally set a maximum quota of 4 children from each district so as to give equal opportunities to children from different areas to secure places in the institution. The Head of the Meulaboh Office of Social Affairs is also notified about the decision taken in relation to the admission of children." *(interview with the head of institution)*

Similarly, Huke Ina, a local government run institution in Buru Island (Maluku), a process of 'socialisation' through every sub-districts and villages in the island resulted in a shortlist which was then used for selection by the institution on the basis of the available places in accordance with the number of children who had just graduated.

> "The initial stage in the acceptance of new placements is based on the quota and the number of high school graduates who will leave. Officials then disseminate information on the admission of new children in all the sub-districts and villages in the District of Buru. Children are then registered in each village for subsequent selection by the institution. The criteria employed in making selections are that the children are of school age, orphaned, destitute or from isolated traditional communities. Staff member S1 related this account as he had been directly involved in making the selections for the 2006 academic year. It was officials from the Buru District Office of Social Affairs who went into the villages to recruit children as the Office also has a program for neglected children on Buru Island."

Government institutions also tended to use a system of waiting lists and focused on the school year as the period of recruitment. In Nirmala in Aceh for example, as explained by its Manager,

> *"The process of admission of children normally commences at the start of the new school year. The reason for this is that children living in the institution must receive formal education. If a child enters the institution prior to the new school year, he or she will be placed on the waiting list."*

In NTB, Harapan also had to comply with the decision of the Governor of the Province to reach a quota of 100 children in its institution, "Gubernatorial Decree No. 498 sets a target of 100 placements in PSAA Harapan based on the following criteria: the children are motherless or fatherless, orphaned, neglected, from poor families, and have done

well at school previously." *(interview with the head of institution)*

The private institutions on the other hand, had started either from a personal initiative or as part of the programmes from their parent organisations. Significantly, the research found that quite a number of private institutions had evolved from what was generally individual initiatives involving a few children to becoming actual childcare institutions. Prajapati in North Sulawesi for example, started when a Buddhist monk was entrusted with the care of a 3 days old baby as the mother could not care for her. As one of the staff explained, *"The arrival of the 3-day-old baby led to Bikku (the head monk) to develop the role of the monastery in the care, maintenance and education of needy children.This was in line with Bikku's conscience and Buddhist teachings."*

Muhammadiyah Cilacap in Aceh, Sayap Kasih and Dr Lukas in North Sulawesi, Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan, Darurrohkmah in Central Java, Dharma Laksana in Lombok had all started with a handful of children being cared for in a private house by some individual who, out of personal concern began caring for these children and then decided to expend the initiative by establishing an institution to care for more children.

Darrurohkmah is a typical example,

"It's important to note that the ladies who established this institution were NU ladies. At that time, Ibu SCM was also chairwoman of the Grobogan District Branch of the NU Women's Association. Supported by her husband, she was determined to provide a place to stay for neglected children from the villages located around the institution. In 1991, she started with 11 children, who were housed in a rented house. She then procured beds and managed to secure mattresses from a company in Jakarta."

Dr. J. Lukas started as one cottage with a young child and grew as another nearby childcare institution did not have the funds anymore to care for children aged 10-12 so that these children were moved to what became Dr. J. Lukas.

Muhammadiyah in Cilacap, in Central Java, started in 1978 with four children living in the house of a carer. These children had been recruited by some local benefactors and members of Muhammadiah from families which were deemed unable to pay for their children's education.

Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan was started in 1997 by a local radio broadcaster who 'only wanted to help' children from a poor background, particularly children from the Dayak community and children who had just been converted to Islam.

"The first group of children arrived when the institution was established 9 years ago. They were brought by Uncle Syukur, an elementary school teacher in Sintang, who "rounded up" indigent children in the Sintang area to offer them to go to school in Pontianak. Actually, the 20 children who were brought from Sintang were originally supposed to have been placed in the Ahmad Yanni Childcare Institution. However, as it was already full, they were brought to Nur Ilahi instead."

Al Ikhlas in NTB began as an attempt to make better use of the new mosque facility that had been built, as explained by its founder,

"I thought about it because of the mosque, to liven up the mosque, I saw that it was only used on Fridays. On other days, it was empty. So I thought that hopefully orphans would make it busy."

As a result he started a Koran reading group for the children from the surrounding village and found that among the 150 children attending, 12 boys did not want to go home, either because they had none or were living on the streets or in the market. As a result the founder allowed them to stay in the disused dormitory within the Mosque complex.

"For food, they could eat here, at my parents' house. My mother would do the cooking." Starting then, the founder

sought out support and donations to support the children. Thus, in reality, he had no intention originally of establishing a childcare institution, but rather only wanted to see the mosque livened up with children studying the Koran."

Many of the private childcare institutions initially developed their own systems of recruitment, either through their networks or simply by visiting village per village certain areas and identifying through the heads of the village and the local religious representatives children who were deemed to be in need of their care.

As was explained by the staff of Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan,

> "Before we used to go to the villages to find poor children so that we could put them through school and teach them in the institution, but now a lot of people come on their own directly. When we used to go to the villages, the preachers and ministers would all play a part." (Interview with head of institution.)

> "Now, it's open to everyone. The system now is that at the end of the year when some of the children have already finished (school), we announce the number of vacancies that are available. Children don't come here on their own without being accompanied. They're brought here by their parents or relatives. There are also children who come here from other schools as their parents can't pay the fees. So they come here instead. Children who live nearby can live at home or in the institution. However, we advise them to live in the institution. We keep monitoring them so that they can move here whenever the time is right." (Interview with staff)

This was also the case in Ina Theresia in Maluku,

"Outreach in the 1980s was carried out by a number of the first group of nuns running the institution, together with the church and the Maria Mediatrix Diocese in Ambon. They focused on isolated villages on Seram Island, such Yalahatan, Masohi, Amahai, Saparua, villages in the Watubela islands, such as Teor, and a number of villages in the Kai islands, such as Tual, Kaibesar, and Kaikecil, and Buru Island, such as Namlea. The outreach work often extended as far as Flores Island.

Now the institution works with the Santo Yohanes Penginjil-Masohi Church as the residents of the institution attend religious services there. The outreach activities normally start with a religious service, such as a communal service in the village. After the service is over, the nuns come around to talk privately, one-to-one with parents who it is believed are unable financially to provide for their children. The main targets of these approaches are small farmers and fisherfolk. Following their chats with the parents, one or two children will normally get one or two children who can immediately be brought to the institution (not accompanied by parents)."

Patmos, a Christian institution in Lombok also used its partner organisations across a number of Provinces to identify and select the children. Individuals within that network would take responsibility for identifying and bringing the children to the institution, often far away such as Bima in the far east of NTB or Kupang in West Timor where one of Patmos's main partner organisation, *Yayasan Sumber Kasih* operates. Often these individual recruiters or 'responsible persons' within that network are friends of the head of the institution or even alumni of the institution.

A similar process of 'outreach' was also found in the case of the childcare institutions run by Islamic organisations. Those with far reaching networks like Darul Aitam in NTB which is under the extented Islamic network of Nahdatul Wathan (NW), relied entirely on their local branches to identify and select suitable candidates for the institution,

> *"Well, it's the branch managers who register the children. Children never come here on their own and if they do, we send them to the branches first. If there are any problems, the people who register the children are responsible for sorting them out. If there are any difficulties, we get in touch with them. So, the branches send the applications here, together with declarations from the villages, declarations stating that the children find themselves in difficult circumstances financially. That's for registration. So, we need a declaration declaring they are poor from the village head certified by the sub-district head, and a doctor's certificate. The sub-branches can also make applications, but the branches must be informed." (Interview with staff)*

The fact that the aim of NW is to spread Islam through its network of Cadres meant that it was seen as part of the organisation's work to look for potential recruits for their childcare institutions.

Other Islamic organisations with well established networks of members like Muhammadiyah, also made use of these to support the process of selection as well as to accompany the new recruits to the institution, as staff at Muhammadiah Lhoksemawe in Aceh explained, *"The children are normally brought here by their parents or guardians. Some of them are also brought here by officers from Muhammadiyah district branches where the children live."*

Other Islam based institutions which did not access such wide networks generally carried out their own process of 'outreach' through the surrounding communities directly.

In Al Hidayah in Maluku, for example, the process of identifiying potential recruits was described as follows,

> *"Until now the process of admission has been carried out through a process of socialization in the community. We first send a letter to the local village head asking him to draw up a list of neglected children. Then, we wait for the village head or parents to come to the institution. Last month (December), one of the staff also approached the head of Pelau village, which is this staff member's home village and as a result to 2 elementary school-age children were recruited."*

The focus on simply replacing children who graduate meant that generally the staff from the institution or the parent organisation needed only to identify a fixed number of children. For institutions whose parent organisations were well established across an entire subdistrict/ district or even at the provincial and national levels, this meant that children could easily be referred through those networks.

For the institutions that did not have such well established links or that were located in communities that seemed more reluctant to put their children in institutions, the process of recruitment was felt to be more of a challenge. Dharma Laksana, a Hindu institution established in Lombok to care in particular for children from the ethnic Balinese community found that these families were reluctant to place their children in care. As a result the institution had to carry out extensive outreach and repeat visits to families including in quite isolated areas to convince the parents to place their children with the institution.

> "They conduct outreach work in the name of the Hindu Association Foundation (Lembaga Persatuan Umat Hindu). Every time officers of this important organization conduct religious work in the regions, they always mention the institution. The officers encourage poor Hindus to place their children in Dharma Laksana. However, not many Hindu families are interested in doing, so it may be said that this approach has failed to produce optimal results."

In addition the staff of the institution also carried out their own personal approaches to their less affluent neighbours to explain to them how their children could access free education through their institution and to convince them to place them there.

Another example was Huke Ina, the local government institution in Buru Island in Maluku which despite its formal outreach system seemed also to need to rely on personal outreach by its staff.

> "The explanation given by the institution' officials was that the institution did not have enough children. They needed more children to replace the vacancies in the institution."

Interestingly, there seemed to be clear difficulties in recruiting children across Maluku. As with families from the Hindu communities in Lombok, families in Maluku seemed more reluctant to place their children in care than seemed to be the case in other provinces. As put by the head of Al Hidayah's founding organisation *"To get children is quite difficult here. Even when children have been registered, their parents often don't want to let them go to be cared for in the institution."* The reason for the reluctance of families in Maluku to use childcare institutions, even when they are facing challenges in providing for their children, was explained by the Director of Caleb House as being primarily cultural, *"Maluku culture demands that parentless children be cared for by the male side of the family. But we try to convince families that we will properly look after the children and that the whole thing will be kept confidential."*

The practice of staff carrying out their own recruitment in their home location or the place where they live was actually found to be quite common across the 6 provinces. Lack of resource, financial and human, to carry out the 'outreach' often resulted in staff doing the recruitment in their 'own backyard' during their time back home for the religious festivals and other holidays. As a result, children in some of the institutions tended to come from the same locality where the staff had come from, sometimes quite a distance from where the institution was located. That was the case in Al Muthadien in North Sulawesi, "Some of the girls, for example, found out about Al-Muthadien from the institution's staff. They were invited and brought here by one staff who came from the same area than them." This was also confirmed by the girls *"... we are from the same village as Ustad Wahid from Gorontalo." (another province)*

Nurul Ikhlas in Maluku provides another striking example. A women looking for work after the death of her husband found work as a cook in the institution at the time when it was desperately looking to recruit children. *"The institution was empty, it was just a forest area. There was no one here."* In the process she not only placed her own six children in the institution but was tasked with recruiting many more children from the island of Seram where she came from. As a result many of the children in that institution come from Seram.

More suprisingly, the research also found examples of staff recruiting children among their own relatives. In the Government run UPRS in West Kalimantan, this seemed to be the usual practice.

> *"Children come here as a result of outreach and family ties. By "family ties" I mean that staff members bring relatives or children from the same village here, provided that they meet the criteria."*

> This statement was confirmed by another staff member: *"We can also accept children from relatives, siblings and children from the same villages as the carers."*

Generally though, as an institution became better known with the surrounding communities, the need for active 'recruitment' seemed to become less acute as families tended to bring their children directly to the institutions. Institutions used 'word of mouth', in particular from children who had 'graduated' from the institution, from staff, friends, teachers and through children at school. The majority of children in the 36 institutions surveyed had been placed directly by their parents or guardians.

As staff from Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe explained,

> *"Normally, the children are brought here by their parents or guardians. They will have heard about this institution, usually from former residents working in the community, such as those working in community health centres (Puskesmas), as district officers, teachers, traders, etc. When they hear about this Muhammadiyah institution, they are interested in getting their children to school. On average they tend to be fatherless children, orphans and those who are poor. Rather than not getting an education, it's better that their families send them here."*

In the great majority of cases, children's placement was seen by their families and the children themselves in the context of ensuring their access to education. As one child in Wahyu Yoga Dharma in Central Java explained, *"When it was time for me to move from grade 1 to grade 2, my parents were unable to pay the fees. So I was sent here by my parents so that I could continue on at school."*

Children's placements in Darul Hikmah in NTB were also explained in terms of parents seeking to access free education for their children,

> "Both the parents and children are aware that by staying in the institution their children can go to school near the institution for free. If they go to school without staying in the institution, they have to pay and the fees are high, almost twice the costs than for children staying in the institution. Besides paying school fees, they would also have to pay for transport, pocket money for the children as some of them live far away from the school. By living in this institution, the children benefit from a free junior high school or MTS education as they get BOS (education assistance) from the government. Save in the case of Senior High School, where the parents still have to pay Rp 75,000 for each semester." (USD 7.50)

In addition to formal education, many families were keen to place their children in the faith based institutions to ensure they received appropriate moral and religious education but also to remove them from what they saw as 'bad influences' from the outside world. One parent who had placed 3 of her children in Hidayatullah explained,

> *"A pesantren is a place for religious teaching. I'm glad that my children live there. If they were at home, there would be too much free mixing, the environment isn't good for them, kids often go out drinking, to parties. I find it hard to control them. But in the pesantren, they live orderly lives, go to school, pray five times a day, study the Koran, learn about other aspects of our religion. So I feel happy and secure that they're there."*

The research also found that in a number of cases, children had played an important role in their placement, either by asking their families to be placed in the institution or by coming to the institution of their own initiative. This seemed to happen mostly as a result of the child hearing about the institution from an alumni, a teacher, a relative or from a staff of the institution. Generally these children seemed to regard entering the institution as a means of securing their education as well as, in some cases, a way of relieving their families from the economic burden of caring for them.

One child in Eben Haezer, for example, had come on his own to the institution,

> "He arrived in July 2003, with his fare paid for him by his mother. He wanted

to enter the institution as he knew this would enable him to go to school. Prior to leaving home, he had explained his intention to his mother and father after a visit to his aunt, who worked in the clinic operated by the Perintis Mission Foundation. His mother gave him her consent and blessing. Upon arriving at the institution, he met with the head, *"Mam, please, can I stay here? The thing is my parents are poor."The head replied, "Yes, you may, but you must promise, you have to obey all the rules in the institution." I replied, "I promise I will."*

In addition to the usual outreach practices, institutions which were established specifically as a response to a natural disaster or conflict developed particularly proactive recruitment practices. Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah in Aceh for example, was tasked by its parent organisation to look for children affected by the tsunami.

> *"Given the conditions at that time, Nahdatul Ulama (NU) asked me on 1 January 2005 to take in some of the child victims of the tsunami. After the tsunami, a lot of assistance was given to parents, but little attention was paid to the children, especially their education. So, we primarily focused on the education aspect. At that time we went around the tents of those who had been displaced and managed to bring 40 children to be placed in the institution. After that, more children were brought here by village heads. Nowadays, a lot of parents/guardians bring their children here because they are unable to support them." (Interview with the head of institution)*

Recruiting from displaced persons camps in the aftermath of the tsunami in Aceh was found to be a very common practice and often a very effective way of identifying new recruits. The great majority of these children were living in cramped and uncertain conditions in barracks or tents and the prospect of securing access to education as well as better conditions was an important pull factor for these families as well as for the children. As some of the children recruited from the camps explained,

> *"Ustad M came and invited us to come to the Dayah* (Achenese term for an islamic boarding school). *He said that in the Dayah we would be able to learn about religion. I wanted to go. In fact, I had wanted to enter a Dayah long before this. Mum however did not want me to go but I made her agree by crying and crying. In the end, she said yes, and the next day she brought me here."*
>
> *"When I met the Ustad, he invited me to the Dayah. I wanted to go as I was bored in the camp.".*

Proactive and focused recruitment practices were also found across the institutions aiming to provide assistance to children coming from families affected by conflict as was the case with Caleb House and Ina Theresia in Maluku and Al Amin and Pepabri in West Kalimantan. Some of these institutions were already operating before the conflict and simply shifted their recruitment focus to that particular group of children and their families as in Al Amin's case. Others simply took in children affected by the conflict as one of their target groups as in the case of Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe and Suci Hati in Aceh. Some, though were specifically established to respond to what was felt to be needs arising from the conflict. The founding organisation for Caleb House in Maluku for example, was providing

direct support to families in communities affected by the inter-communal violence for two years before deciding that some of the children needed to be removed from their families and communities.

> "In the light of developments, it was decided that the children would never be able to overcome the trauma they had experienced if they remained in the place where the disturbances had taken place. As a result of counselling with a psychologist which confirmed the high levels of trauma the children had experienced and because of their condition which staff members had observed, in particular the children's constant suspicion and the vacant looks in their eyes, Caleb then offered the children's parents the opportunity of placing their children in the institution so that they could receive help. The main thinking behind this was a belief that a change of location would help overcome the children's trauma so that they could go to school and develop like normal children."

Even when established specifically to respond to a particular conflict or event, institutions tended to fairly rapidly evolve a broader focus for their recruitment as they encountered other potential recruits or as the needs of the emergency moved away while those of the institution remained. Pepabri in West Kalimantan was established in 1997 to care for 'orphaned' children from military personnel (then referred to as ABRI). In the aftermath of the inter-communal conflict in that province, it focused on the children of military personnel who had died in that conflict but it soon shifted its recruitment practice to a more generic group of 'neglected children' once the purpose for which it had been established faded.

> *"There were a lot of ABRI children here back then. But after our (ABRI) children had left, no one else wanted to come here. Since 2002 to date, whenever a child leaves here or graduates from high school, I immediately send for a replacement. If there are any poor children, fatherless or motherless children or orphans who want to continue on at school, please let us know."*

Surprisingly, the research found very few instances of actual referral of cases by authorities or organisations working with children at particular risk. While there were cases of referral from one childcare institution to another, this was invariably as a result of the institution being full capacity or the child not fulfilling certain set criteria such as the faith of that institution. Referrals by authorities in relation to children who were facing particular protection risks, for example, were found in only two cases. In Harapan in NTB, one child who had been found living in a prostitution area had been referred to the institution by the local Child Protection Body (LPA). A child victim of sexual violence had also once been referred to SOS Desa Taruna from the local Office of Social Affairs in Semarang.

The lack of such referrals generally seemed to result not only from a lack of coordination between the agencies working with these children but also from the fact that the majority of the institutions caring for 'neglected' children saw their role in terms of providing access to education rather than responding to the needs of children facing protection risks. In that sense, institutions were actually found to be quite selective and tended to exclude children who were deemed to be more 'needy'. This emphasis on recruiting children that fit the overall objective of the institution to provide education was also clearly reflected in terms of the process of selection and the criteria used.

Selection criteria

As discussed above, most of these institutions stated that they prioritised children who were orphaned, fatherless, sometimes motherless and generally 'neglected' children, coming from poor families unable to provide for them. This was reflected in the formal criteria for selection of virtually all of the institutions assessed. The selection criteria as

stated by Nirmala, the government run institution in Aceh, were fairly typical of the criteria used by the majority of the childcare institutions assessed,

"The criteria for the acceptance of children by this institution are as follows:

- Fatherless, motherless children, orphans, children of indigent families
- 10 years of age, or a minimum of grade 4 in elementary school
- Has a parent or guardian that can be contacted by the institution.

The following documents must be furnished:

1) medical certificate of good health;
2) A copy of the Parents's Identity Card (KTP),
3) Letter of request by the parent or guardian,
4) declaration that the parents are indigent from the local village head."

Some institutions emphasized a hierarchy in terms of selection, with orphans coming first.

In Eben Haezer for example,

"1. Scale of priorities for admission from Sambas and other Districts:

1.1. Orphans
1.2. Fatherless/Motherless
1.3. Neglected."

As we have seen above, data on the children's parental status shows that in fact very few of these institutions care for orphans and a majority of the children have at least one and often both parents. The case of UPRS in West Kalimantan provides a striking illustration. While staff there emphasized that the primary criteria for admission was being without parental care, particularly orphans, only 1 out of the 60 children placed in that institution was actually an orphan.

Thus while formal criteria for selection overwhelmingly seemed to prioritise orphans and children without families, it is clear that in reality children were placed in care by their own families or through a recruitment process that emphasized access to education rather than the need for alternative care. In line with this, another key criteria for selection used by the great majority of institutions was age. The overwhelming majority of institutions required children to be of school age as well as to be old enough to 'take care of themselves'. This was usually defined as being of elementary school level (SD or *Sekolah Dasar*) and usally in class 3 or 4 (around 8 or 9 years of age). While the need for the child to be of school age was generally explained in terms of the overall aim of the placement being access to education, the need for the child to be self sufficient was understood as a separate requirement. It was highlighted throughout the institutions assessed and explained by staff as resulting both from the sheer lack of staff available to care for the children but also because the institutions could not 'be bothered', or could not 'handle' children who could not take care of their own daily needs such as washing, cleaning and ironing their own clothes, or taking care of the daily maintenance of the institution. In addition, many institutions pointed out that children needed to be old enough not to make too many 'emotional' demands on the staff.

This approach was found across both government and privately run childcare institutions. In Harapan, for example, the Government institution in NTB,

> *"The minimum age for becoming a child of the institution is grade 3 of elementary school or above. The reason for this is that children of this age are better able to look after themselves so that the institution is not excessively burdened managing them."*

In Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan the staff explained,

> *"In the early stages we accepted children before they had started school, very young children, if their parents were poor. Since 1978, however, we have only been accepting school-age children. The reason for this is that it is too time-consuming to look after young children. So let their parents look after them.".*

In Al Ummah in Aceh,

> *"As the children here need to be able to look after themselves, do things on their own, we only accept boys and girls of nine years and over, or children who are already in grade 4 of elementary school."*

In Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe staffs explained the criteria as follows,

> *"The reason is that children in grade 4 of elementary school are already self reliant, they can wash their own clothes, do their own ironing, wash their own dishes. Also, they're no longer spoiled."*
>
> *"This institution will reject these children even if the administrative requirements have been fulfilled, for example, all the documents have been provided. If we were to accept them, they wouldn't be able to wash clothes or do the ironing. So, who's going to do it for them? To be frank, this institution doesn't have enough staff to wash and iron the children's clothes. However, if a child's already in grade 3 of elementary school and meets the criteria, we may still accept him, Miss, provided he can do his own washing and ironing."*

Even in institutions which placed few other criteria on children's admission, the capacity of a child to take care of his or herself was deemed essential as in Hidayatullah in Maluku,

> "...in order to ensure the smooth running of services, the institution prioritizes children who are already at elementary school-age as every child here is taught to be self-reliant. If the children are too young, because there's no one to manage them. "

The same explanation was given by Nurul Ikhlas also in Maluku,

> *"Another criterion for acceptance is that the child be of school age. This is applied so as to facilitate the care process, bearing in mind that the institution does not have enough staff to care and attend to (younger children)."*

As a result of this emphasis on accessing education and being able to take care of oneself, there were actually very few infants and only small number of children under 8 in institutional care. In fact, this seemed the primary and in many cases the only, real ground on which the institutions were actually prepared to reject a placement. [2]

There were some important exceptions to this, though. For institutions that had a specific 'family care' focus rather than just an education focus as with SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java and Dr. J. Lukas in North Sulawesi, the reverse was true. These institutions actually targeted babies and very young children to be part of the 'family environment' they were creating. In SOS Desa Taruna, recruiting babies was actually seen to be an important way of retaining foster mothers and ensuring their bonding with the children. This institution operates around a system of foster mothers, single women who are recruited for a life time as long as they agree not to marry and have children of their own. The foster mothers and the children in their care live as a family in 14 cottage houses on a compound which is organised around a village like structure. Each mother cares for 8 to 11 children and the focus is on recruiting children from 0 to a maximum of 9 years of age.

Not long before the assessment for example, one of the foster mothers had just received the addition of a very young baby girl of only a few weeks old. The baby girl had apparently been born of a relationship between teenagers who were still at school and the child was placed in care as a result. The foster mother had actually been involved in finding the child and the head of the institution emphasized that he saw this as an important part of ensuring that the woman felt able to continue working as a foster mother as many of her other children were already grown up. Staff at SOS also explained the focus on getting children as young as possible on the ground that, *"It's difficult to get children who have already been contaminated by a bad environment to be part of a family."*

Similarly, Dr. J. Lukas which operates around a concept of 'building families' focused on younger children, from babies to a maximum

of 12 years of age. This criteria was explained in terms of the child's adaptation and the fact that, *"Teaching a child who is still young is much easier than with an older child. Young children find it easier to adapt and are easier to control."*

Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi which cares for children who are neglected as a result of 'double/severe' disability also admitted younger children but drew the line to toddlers, *"We don't accept disabled children under 2 years of age as it's very difficult to take care of disabled babies. We have had to refuse many parents who wanted to leave their (disabled) children in the institution because they didn't meet the criteria."*

One institution though, Ina Theresia in Maluku, had a different perspective on the age limit and actually sought to recruit younger children from babies to 12 years old, in particular girls, because it was felt that they were a lot 'easier' to care for than teenagers and they could be 'shaped' and made to follow the religious practice more easily if cared for from a young age. The Sister who heads the institution explained,

> *"If infants are taught from a very early age, the carers won't have so many problems teaching them and endoctrinating them into religion when they are teenagers. When a child is "taken" from his or her parents, from that day on the child will stay in the institution until graduation from high school."*

That concept of children being 'educated' more easily if they entered the institution at a relatively young age was also referred to in a number of the other faith based institutions. While they tended to draw the line to elementary school age children in order to ensure that the children were 'able to take care of themselves', a number of institutions also looked to recruit children of that age range. In Al Ikhkas for example, the manager stated,

> *"We accept elementary school-age boys, elementary school graduates and junior high school graduates. We prefer boys from elementary school as it is easier to mold their characters. We had problems in the past trying to teach high school boys."*

While there tended not to be a stated upper age limit for children entering the institutions, the focus on education generally was understood to mean that only children of school age were to be admitted, meaning under 18 years of age for those following the national curriculum and under 19 to 20 years of age for those attending traditional Islamic education. In a context where placement is seen as a means of accessing education and a child is expected to stay until he or she graduates from senior high school, recruiting a child at elementary school level may be a way of ensuring that the institution has a place filled for a prolonged period of time. As we saw earlier, funding is often connected to the number of children and this is likely to be an

important consideration for the institutions in terms of their recruitment practices. Admitting a child who only has a couple of years left in his or her education could be seen as a difficult and short term investment as opposed to admitting a younger child who could be made to adapt to the institution more easily and fill a place for a considerable period of time thus ensuring a relatively secure income source in the process.

Gender tended to be a criteria for selection only in those institutions which for religious reasons or for practical reasons had decided to care only for boys or girls. The great majority of institutions (over 80%), including

faith based ones, cared for both boys and girls although some enforced strict separation between the two sexes as was the case for example with Muhammadiyah Cilacap, in Central Java and Hidayatullah in Maluku.

A more common and yet surprising criteria for admission related to the child's health. Almost all of the institutions required the child to be stated healthy and free of medical problems. A health certificate or a letter from the local PUSKESMAS was invariably required and it was clear from the approach taken by the staff that this requirement related primarily to the fact that the institution would not provide any type of special care for children that may need it. In fact, as we will see in the section relating to Personal Care, while access to health was sometimes mentioned in some of the mission statements of the institutions, the requirement that the child was healthy before entering the institution was seen as an important way of ensuring that health needs were very limited. In Nurul Ikhlas for example, the only case where a child was actually refused admission related to health, *"We've only ever had one case where a child was refused admission. This was because he had a skin disease and we were afraid it would spread to the other children."*

The requirement of being declared healthy presumably precludes children affected or infected with HIV/Aids to be admitted to the institutions although in most cases that would be dependent on whether their condition was known or detected. No awareness of the issue was found across any of the institutions nor of the potential need for care that these children may have.

This criteria seemed to apply not only to children's health but also to disability. In almost all cases except Sayap Kasih that specifically cares for children with disability, disability of any kind was also seen as ground for exclusion although only Eben Haezer had articulated that formally in its criteria. A couple of institutions however, did care for children who had physical impairement as a result of violence from their carer including Caleb House in Maluku and Ibnu Taimyiah in West Kalimantan. SOS Desa Taruna does not accept children with disability in principle, however it did have in its care 3 children with disability, one who is blind, one who is mentally retarded and one with multiple disabilities. These children's disability was only found, out after they had been placed in SOS. By the time it was recognised, their carers did not want to be separated from them as they already had grown fond of the children. There had previously been a case, however, where the placement of a disabled child referred to SOS was rejected due to the disability and the child was instead referred to another institution.

Another, although generally unspoken criteria was religion. As we saw above, all except 3 institutions (SOS Desa Taruna, UPRS and Sayap Kasih) recruited children from a particular faith whether formally or in practice. Often this was done as a matter of fact through the selection and outreach process particularly for those using their faith based networks for that purpose. Some, including one institution which targetted specifically children who had converted to Islam, recruited children from families and communities with diverse religious and ethnic backgrounds. Generally though, it was following the faith of the institution that was made a requirement of placement rather than coming from a particular religious denomination. The research did find some indications that there were instances of children having practiced one faith before being admitted to care and another after entering the institution. These cases were hard to document though, as they were rarely spoken of and never recorded. It was usually during discussions with children or some of the staff that such cases were referred to.

SOS Desa Taruna and UPRS took an active approach to recruiting children from diverse religious backgrounds with UPRS ensuring even a balance in numbers among children from Christian and Muslim families. SOS selected foster mothers who were both Christian and Muslim and placed children from a certain faith with foster mothers of the same faith.

Prajapati in North Sulawesi, an institution based on Buddhist teaching also took a more

pluralistic approach not excluding children from other faith and enabled them to practice their religion, but in reality few children from other faith were actually cared there and daily activities also centered around Buddhist values and practices. Similarly Sayap Kasih did not restrict admission to children from diverse faiths even though its founding organisation is Christian as it focuses more on the child's disability and resulting needs. Dharma Laksana, a Hindu institution in NTB also showed some flexibility in that it provided direct financial support for the education of one child from a Muslim family as he was doing particularly well at school but his family could not afford the costs. The child was supported directly through his family and not residing in the institution.

Government institutions located in communities which follow primarily one faith as in the case of Aceh for example, understandably recruited only children from the Muslim faith but others like Huke Ina in Buru, Woro Wiloso, and Pamardi Utomo in Central Java and Harapan in NTB located in more diverse and pluralistic communities also seemed to recruit children only from the Muslim communities.

There were some institutions that clearly made religious denomination a requirement and placements in a few instances were rejected on the basis of faith. Some of the Islam based institutions made the child's ability to read the Koran a requirement for admission such as Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah in Aceh, but that requirement seemed to be lifted often in practice. Dr. J. Lukas also emphasized that they would refer children not coming from the Christian faith to other childcare institutions run under that particular faith.

Other criteria for admission related to getting confirmation of the child's identity, parental status and the economic situation of his or her family, particularly for children being recruited on the basis of their family's economic situation. The main requirement across all institutions was for a letter from the local village head or local authority as well as, in some cases, from the local religious leader confirming the status of the child as someone 'in need'.

This process is very entranched in social welfare practices in Indonesia whereby in order to access benefits of any kind, a letter from the local village head, local neighborhood leader is required. As such, most families and institutions know to request such a letter before seeking any assistance. This does not, however, entail an actual assessement by those authorities of the socio-economic circumstances faced by a particular family but it is felt generally that the Head of the Village or the neighborhood block has sufficient knowledge of the community to be able to ascertain whether this family is genuinely in need of help or not. As a result, letters from the head of the village or the neighborohood would also serve sometimes to confirm a child's identity or even status as an orphan or a child in need. As was explained by the manager of Darurrokhmah,

> *"If a family comes here (with a child), we inform them of the requirements that must be satisfied, such as a death certificate (for parent) from the village head and a declaration that the child wants to enter the institution, so that we are sure that the child is an orphan or indigent."*

The majority of institutions also requested some proof of identity for the child, usually in the form of a birth certificate or a 'declaration of birth' (*surat lahir*). As large numbers of Indonesian children do not have birth certificates or other proof of identity, this requirement tended to be lifted in many cases.

This is particularly worrying as it means that, in most cases, institutions are limited in confirming the identity of the children in their care as well as their parental status, particularly for the children that are recruited from further out than the surrounding communities. In that regard it is quite striking that SOS Desa Taruna, an organisation that articulates the importance of families to children, has so many children in its care for whom information about their family of origin is unavailable (parental status was unknown for 45% of the children in its care).

The research highlighted the fact that the process of birth registration in Indonesia may be particularly failing children in need of alternative care. Its cost is known to often be a serious deterrent to families getting their children registered in the first place despite government efforts to remove administrative fees. The registration form however also requires the child's parents to be married in order for the birth to be recorded. For the vast numbers of children who are born from parents outside of marriage, their fundamental right to a legal identity of their own separate from the marital status of their parents, is simply not recognised. While some local authorities seemed to have been willing in practice to bypass such a requirement and enter a single parent as the mother or father, most have not done so, leaving many children extremely vulnerable.

Other requirements stipulated for children's admission related to educational needs, in particular the need to move school and the need for certificates to identify what level of education the child had reached prior to the move. Most institutions required a certificate or a document of some sort that identified the child's school level and grades as well as reasons for moving.

In one case, Nirmala in Aceh, the institution also did not allow more than one child per family and as such siblings would not be admitted together. The reasoning behind this criteria seemed to relate primarily to the concept of fairness and ensuring that as many families as possible would be able to access the services provided by that institution. Other institutions had no such rule and in many cases actually welcomed children from the same family. In Dr. J. Lukas in North Sulawesi for example, 55% of the children had at least one sibling in the same institution. This could be understood in light of the fact that this institution is focusing on providing care within families for children. Yet Dr. J. Lukas actually separates siblings within its care families. It does this as part of a policy that believes that siblings should not be put together within a new care family so as to encourage children's sense of self sufficiency. Bearing in mind the crucial bonds that links brothers and sisters and the emotional needs of children whose care situations have changed, separating them does not seem consistent with encouraging the development of secure attachment bonds within those new 'families'.

In another case, in Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan, admitting a child's sibling was actually used as a strategy to ensure that a child who had trouble adapting to the institutional environment would be able to do so better with a sibling in the same institution.

Admission process

The process of admission to the childcare institutions was strikingly similar across the 6 provinces although some were more formal than others. It generally entailed as identified above the provision of quite a number of documents but in reality very few checks. Government institutions and private institutions that had selected the candidates as a result of outreach were usually able to require more detailed documentation about the child's identity, situation and schooling. The majority of institutions, however, received children primarily through the door as a direct placement from their family and had very limited requirements even in terms of basic documentation. Some even shied away from asking too many questions and making too many demands so that parents did not change their mind about placing their child in that institution, as was found in the case in Hidayatullah,

> "The children or those accompanying them do not have to fill in any forms. The particulars of the children are recorded in the main book, which contains the data on the identity of all the children. There's also no agreement that needs to be signed by the parent or the person bringing the child to the institution. When asked the reason for this, the institution head replied, *"If the admission rules are too tight, we're afraid that would give the impression of pressuring people." (Interview with the head of institution)*

A similar approach was also taken in Lohoraung, the local government institution in Sangihe Island in North Sulawesi, as explained by its manager,

> *"... normally the children are brought here by a priest. If he asks what the requirements are, I tell him there are none. Only I ask them whether they want to go to school. Because it would be a real pity if they came all of this way from their village but they still don't want to study. There are some who were already working in their villages…"*

In most cases children were required to be accompanied by one of their parents or a guardian and this constituted for some one of the few criteria for admission. In Al Ummah in Aceh for example,

> *"There are no strict rules about accepting children to this institution. The procedures are simple. The children are brought here by their parents or elder siblings, or come on their own. If a child comes alone, he'll be asked to return with his guardian."*

Children selected as a result of outreach could also be brought in by a member of the religious network, the 'responsible recruiter' or other relevant person who would have sought some form of agreement from the carer for the placement. While in the majority of cases children were accompanied by a parent or guardian, some also came on their own or accompanied by an older sibling, a relative, a neighbour or a local official, mainly because their families were not able to meet the cost of transport to accompany them.

Admission usually entailed entering the basic data of the child in the written register that seemed commonly the only documentation kept by the institutions. Only Dharma Laksana in NTB actually processed the child's admission through the office of its parent organisation rather than directly in the childcare institution. For all others, admission was carried out on site. The head of the institution or another staff, if that former was not available, met with the child and the person who brought him or her and gave an explanation of what the institution was about, what was expected of the child, and in some cases, what was expected of the family as well as information about the institution's rules and regulations. Through this process agreement was sought from the child and the family to abide by the terms of the placement. This was sometimes recorded and a formal agreement was signed. More often though, this was done through an oral agreement.

The process as laid down in Nirmala in Aceh was quite typical of the stages that were followed by the institutions who had a more formal process of admission in place,

1. "Children are to be selected in accordance with the set criteria.
2. Parent/guardian are requested to make make a letter of application to place their child in the institution. This letter of request is necessary before the institution can accept the child. This letter must be signed by the parent/guardian and acknowledged by the local leader or village head in the place where the child is resident.
3. The following documents should be attached: Copy of the Identity Card of parent/guardian, certificate of good health from a doctor in the community health centre , and a declaration of financial incapacity from the local leader or village head.
4. The rules of institutions which must be followed are explained to the child."

The less formal ones on the other hand, tended to follow a process quite similar to the one used by Al Hidayah in Maluku,

"From an administrative perspective, the admission process to become a child of the institution is not done by filling a registration form but the particulars of the child and his parents are recorded in the Register. No formal written agreement is required. Rather, there is only an oral agreement that the child will be cared for up to graduation from high school, and when the child graduates or if she or he breaks the institution's rules, the child will be returned to his or her parents and will not continue at school."

While some of the institutions did explain what the child and the family could expect from the placement, the nature of the process was found to be more about 'laying down of the law' than an opportunity to explore needs, expectations and hopes from the child and his or her family. The discussion taking place between the child and the head of the institution and the nature of the agreement sought from the child in terms of his or her placement generally revolved around the requirement to abide by the rules of the institutions.

Examples of what was discussed with the child upon admission provide striking illustrations of the approach generally taken and are worth quoting at some length:

Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe in Aceh,

> *"... at the admission stage, the child is brought here by his parents. I then explain to them the rules that must be followed here. I ask the child if he is willing to get up every day at 5:00 a.m., to perform the dawn prayer, to study the Koran, to clean the yard, to work hard at school, study, wash and iron his own clothes? I explain everything that we do here in front of the child's parent or guardian. The child must comply with all the rules, must study in a disciplined way. If he proves difficult to control then he will be returned to his parents/guardian."*

Wahyu Yoga Dharma, Central Java,

> "According to the head of the institution and the staff, at the admission stage the child and his family are told about the institution's rules and the obligations of children living in the institution. Among the statements made in connection with the children's obligations were, *"early in the morning (the child) must start by washing clothes, must do his own ironing, has to look after the chickens and rabbits (which is part of the livelihood scheme for the institution - UEP program), is not allowed to talk during meals, must be polite, must not play truant ..."*

Muhammadiyah Cilacap in Java,

> *"According to explanations from the institution head and staff, all of the children and their families receive explanations about the rules and regulations applied by the institution, including the rights and obligations of the children while living in the institution. These are also contained in the Rule Book issued by the institution, which sets out obligations, prohibitions and sanctions.*
>
> *The obligations of a child in care are as follows:*
>
> 1. *To perform religious duties/ perform the prayers on time, and to respect Islamic law.*
> 2. *To study hard and to train him/herself actively in the skills needed for work.*
> 3. *To show him/herself to be of good character, moral, honest, trustworthy, considerate, respectful, and willing to help others*
> 4. *To take responsibiliy for keeping the institution clean and in a good state.*
> 5. *To maintain order and quiet, and create an Islamic atmosphere*
> 6. *To be obedient and respectful with carers and managers.*
> 7. *To maintain the good name of the institution*
> 8. *To be willing to work for/struggle for the interests of Muhammadiyah Organisation.*
> 9. *To be ready to work according to the work/activities schedule as set out.*
> 10. *To demonstrate a responsible, economical, and waste avoiding attitude.*

Al Ummah in Aceh,

> "The agreement on the placement of a child is only oral in nature, as explained by the institution head, *"I meet with whoever brings the child here. If later the child doesn't want to stay here, he can return to his parents. And if he doesn't follow the rules, then we will send him back to his parents."*

Darul Hikmah in NTB,

> "When children arrive at the institution, they are told by Pak S, *'You aren't allowed to eat until you're full as this will make you lazy, and you're not allowed to be too hungry either so that you don't become ill."*

Huke Ina in Maluku,

> "After a child is accepted by the institution, the head explains his rights and obligations to him. The rights received by the children include a place to live, food, and education, including school fees, uniform, shoes, books, lessons and photocopying. Meanwhile, the obligations of the children include studying and complying with the 18 written rules. Staff 4 said that upon entering the institution, a child was required to learn the 18 rules of by heart."

Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan,

> "After a child has been accepted, he receives an explanation on the rules and activities of the institution, his rights and the role that he must play. In this regard, one staff member said: *'The first thing they are told is that they are here to go to school. So, we stress the need for them to study hard. We also ask the family to help us so that the child can adjust. We tell them that we have rules, that these rules must be followed. So we ask them to understand if they are requested to come here from time to time. The family aren't allowed to bring the child home any time they want. We have rules about going home.' (interview with staff)*

UPRS also in West Kalimantan,

> "A *Social Rehabilitation Client Agreement* is signed by the child as the first party to the agreement and the head of the UPRS, as well as the child's father, mother or guardian. This contains the following terms:
>
> 1) agreement to comply with all the rules of the UPRS in a responsible and disciplined manner;
> 2) agreement to accept all guidance from carers and instructors;
> 3) agreement to fully participate in all social rehabilitation activities conducted by the UPRS. The child also agrees to accept whatever sanctions may be determined by the head of the UPRS if he fails to comply with the above terms. While this document sets out the obligation of the child to obey all the rules, etc., there is no corresponding document that sets out the rights and role of the child in the institution."

Few institutions explained to the child or the parent what the child had a right to expect in return from the institution. Those that did, as in the case of Huke Ina in Maluku quoted above, referred generally to a place to stay, food and education being paid for. Muhammadiyah Meulaboh in Aceh was another example, as explained by one of the children in its care,

> "When first arriving at the institution, the head of the institution explains about the rights that children have; "*among other things the child will a place to stay,, clothes, food, and school costs, but no transport expenses or pocket money."* Besides this explanation, when a child first comes he or she has to sign an agreement before the head of the institution to obey all the rules while staying in the institution."

Some of the institutions also used the admission process to clarify what they expected from the child's family in relation to the placement. In most cases this focused mainly on securing the family's agreement to take back their child, should the boy or girl be expelled for breaking the rules, or for failing to progress at school or when the placement ended after graduation. A number also emphasized that the family would not be allowed to interfere in matters relating to their child, as well as would not be able to visit or ask for the child to visit more often than was allowed under the rules. The institutions that aimed to create a 'family environment' as with SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java and Dr. J. Lukas

in North Sulawesi required families to sign a written contract to that effect.

SOS Desa Taruna stressed in its letter of agreement with the family two main requirements, "1) That the parents hand over the child without pressure and of their free will; 2) that the parents do not attempt to interfere with the affairs or policies of SOS Desa Taruna. This agreement is then signed by the parent/guardian and two witnesses."

Dr. J. Lukas focused on 'visiting rights' pointing out that,

> "In principle, the acceptance by the institution of a child is like adoption. Thus, after the child takes up residence in the institution the parents are not allowed to take him/her back whenever they want until such time as the child is deemed to be independent according to the criteria applied by the institution"

Interestingly, Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi which cares for children with both physical and mental disability, had actually once taken the reverse approach and required parents to sign an agreement that they would take their child back after one or two years. Unsuprisingly in light of the fact that there was little support available to these families in the interim, families generally did not fulfill their part of the agreement and Sayap Kasih stopped using such agreements.

Apart from the institutions that were based on a 'building family concept', only the Government run institutions tended to require a formal written agreement signed by the parents or the guardians relinquishing the child to the care of the institution. Quite a number of institutions on the other hand required an agreement letter to be signed by the child stating that he or she was willing to abide by all of the rules and regulations of the institution or would be ready to face sanctions.

A few institutions also introduced the concept of 'orientation' or a period of adaption for the child. Harapan in NTB, for example, provided the child with a two week period of orientation. During those two weeks, the child is introduced to its environment,

> "These activities include character building, and introduction to the institutional environment and rules. After the orientation program is complete, the children sign a contract expressing their willingness to obey the institution's rules."

Darul Aitam also provided a period of orientation as part of its admission process but this seemed to be more of a trial period for the child rather than a period of adaptation as at the end of the period the child is determined to have passed or failed, and if failed is immediately replaced by one of the other shortlisted candidates.

A few institutions recognised the need for the child to be eased into the placement and this was done generally through the other children. In Patmos in NTB for example, a newly admitted child was placed in the dormitory with children coming from the same area and it was them rather than the staff that introduced the new comer to the rules and regulations as well as life in the institution. The same process was used in Suci Hati in Aceh, placing children from similar areas together. In Darurrokhmah in Central

Java, there was also an introduction to the environment and the other children before the child was introduced to the rules and regulations, as was explained by its manager,

> *"First, the child is introduced to the other children and then to the institution's facilities, like the bedrooms, bathrooms. We call this 'observation'. After one or two days, we then explain to her about her obligations in order to see how she reacts. Some of the new arrivals immediately fit in, while some others need spiritual support from the older girls before they can adjust."*

The selection and admission process rarely entailed any type of checking or screening. In fact, most of the institutions stated that they had never had to refuse admission to a child because he or she did not fit their selection criteria. Bearing in mind that the majority of children were admitted after being brought directly by a parent or a guardian, this seems to indicate that the institutions' criteria were either so broad that virtually any child could fit within them or that the institutions simply did not ensure that those criteria were seriously applied. In fact, in the few cases where an institution said that they had been under pressure to bend the criteria, they admitted that they had done so rather than reject the placement.

In Al Ummah in Aceh for example, the Manager admitted a younger child than the criteria allowed after pressure from the parents, but as the child could not adapt to the institution he was finally sent back to his parents. *"Because his parent pressured me to take him, I finally did so. But as it turned out the child couldn't fit in and wanted to go home."* Similarly Patmos admitted a 9 months old baby left by his father even though its rules required it to only admit children who had already finished elementary school level.

Where an institution had in fact rejected a placement, it was generally explained in the interest of the institution, as for example when the quota had been filled, the child had an illness or was from another faith, or was too young to take care of himself or herself. The research only came across a couple of cases where a placement was reconsidered. One placement in Huke Ina in Maluku ended when it came to light that the criteria had been broken and the child still had two parents who were working and able to care and provide for him. Another reported case was in Suci Hati: when it had come to light that one of the children owned a motorbike, an assessment of the family was carried out which showed that the family was relatively well off. Generally there was very little evidence that direct assessments of the situation of the child and his or her family had taken place to ascertain whether the placement was really the only option or even the best option for the child. When some form of assessement did take place, it was often in the context of an outreach and recruitment process where the focus was on finding children to be placed in care rather than on determining where support to a child and his or her family would best placed.

In fact, the reverse seemed to have happened in some cases, particularly in the case of institutions which had difficulty in recruiting children either due to cultural factors or because they were not yet sufficiently well established. In Dharma Laksana in NTB, the manager and staff of the institution and its parent organisation went at great length to convince parents to let go of their children, even when the parents wanted to continue caring for their children and when the child did not want to enter the institution. As some parents could not be convinced to part with their children, the institution reluctantly developed a system of support to the child in the family which it called 'home care'. Children under this system were suported directly to access education through scholarships rather than placed into the institution. It was clear though, that from the institution's point of view this was deemed a lesser alternative, "The management takes the view that by living in the institution, the children will become more disciplined, study in a more focused manner, and be sure of regular meals."

As we have seen, in many cases children saw being placed in an institution as the means for them to secure an education and it was clear that children felt that education was key

to their future. As such they had either agreed to be admitted or even in some cases participated in the decision to be placed in the institution. In a context where children's participation in daily decisions is very limited however, the extent to which children were able to make real and informed choices in that regard is debatable and it is likely that children were primarily reflecting the wishes of their parents and other significant adults in their lives. There is no doubt though, that in some cases children actually encouraged their carers to place them in the institution so that they could access the education which they saw as crucial for their future.

In Woro Wiloso in Central Java, some of the girls explained that having seen other children, including neighbours, who were able to finish high school by entering the institution, they asked their parents to be placed in there too, even if their parents were very reluctant to do so as one child explained,

> *"From the beginning I really wanted to live in the institution. When I was taken to the institution in Semarang, I was really happy, but my parents were crying. I was only in grade 4 of elementary school at the time."*

There seemed to be, however, little attempt by the institutions to assess at the time of admission how children felt about their placement or the extent to which they were provided a choice in that matter. A few institutions did stress to the parent or person accompanying the child that it was important for the child to want to be admitted but generally this was stated in order to minimize the possibility of the child running away and to faciliate the work of the institution. In Suci Hati in Aceh for example,

> "If it is felt that the administrative requirements and criteria have been satisfied, the child is then interviewed in connection with the child's motivation for coming to the institution – whether he is doing so of his own volition or is being compelled to do so by his parents. This interview is necessary, according to the head of the institution, as there had once been a case of a child in grade 1 of junior high school who was forced to enter the institution by his parents. He was only able to stand living there for 2 weeks."

Questionable practices by some of the staff doing the recruitment were raised by some children including in UPRS, the government institution in West Kalimantan. In one case, a child told of being given false information by the recruiter with promises of much better facilities than actually provided. The child was told that in the institution *"... there was a swimming pool, he said we could go for walks along the beach all the time. Because of his lies I decided to come here."* Similarly, in another case a child explained how, after his mother died and his father was placed in an institution for the elderly, he was forced by his father to enter the institution,

> "The father of the child met with the official and after that instructed he instructed his son to enter the institution. *'I met dad and he ordered me to enter the institution.' 'Dad lied to me. He said there was a swimming pool, that the institution was nice, that we would always be going places, that there was lots of chicken to eat. That made me want to come here."*

In many cases, children told of being forced to enter the institution by their parents in the first instance but slowly having grown used to it, as illustrated by one child in PEPABRI in West Kalimantan,

> *"Back in 1997, I was still living in the dormitory in Singkawang. Then my aunt came to offer me a place in the institution. In the end I came to like it. While I was forced to come here at the beginning, I eventually became used to it."*

Generally institutions saw children's consent to the placement as a question of adaptation. If after a while the child started to adapt then it would not cause a problem for the institution. The Manager of Harapan in NTB for example told of one case of a girl who was forced to stay in the institution by her uncle due to economic reasons,

"At first she didn't like it here. She often cried, but slowly she became happy staying in the institution as she has many friends and can go to school here."

The child also confirmed this,

"When I first came here, I didn't like it. But slowly I began to like living here as I'd made lots of friends, and the carers are good, especially Mr. S, who really encourages me to study".

Some children however, never adapted and in those cases they would often run away from the institution or never fully accept their situation. The case of Dewi in NTB (in the box) is a clear illustration of what can happen when the placement is decided by the parents against the wishes of the child.

It is also important to note that in many cases, particularly in relation to institutions run as part of Islamic boarding schools or other faith based institutions that run their own schools, children and even sometimes their families understood the placement not so much as entering a care institution but entering a boarding school. This is reflected in the

The Case of Dewi, 14 year old girl (NTB)

"While parents are the ones who normally make the decision about placing a child in an institution, not all children agree to stay there. One child explained why she did not want to stay in a childcare institution: *"Because I don't want to be separated from my mum."* As was recounted by one of the staff *"Dewi's parents were even crying when they left her here, as she didn't want to stay."* In the end, the child had to stay as her mother and the foundation staff gave her no alternative. According to the childcare worker and Dewi's peers, she has still not adjusted to life in the childcare institution. This is indicated by the fact that she is unwilling to the chores set for her by the staff. In fact, she has in the past shirked her chores completely. In addition, she continues to remain aloof from the other children. It could be a form of protest against being forced to live in the childcare institution.

Dewi has attempted to return home on a number of occasions. She first asked permission from the staff, but when this was refused, she returned home anyway. *"I missed mum. I wanted to stay with mum. But when I got home, I was scolded and told to come back here."* Dewi's statement accords with what the institution's staff had to say: *"Dewi has attempted to return home 3 times. She's different from the other children. She's high caste (Brahmin caste). She doesn't want to live in the institution but her mother is determined that she will stay here. I have to take my hat off to her parents."* In reality, Dewi's parents live quite close to the childcare institution so that she is able to walk home. According to the staff, Dewi's mother decided to place her in the institution so that she could concentrate on her studies. The institution manager concurred with this.

During the one week that Dewi was at home, she was continuously being scolded by her mother. When staff from the institution came to collect her, she didn't want to go. However, after she eventually became bored at home, she finally consented to be brought back to the foundation. Upon her arrival, she was first counselled by the foundation's manager, and then brought to the institution. Since then, she has been living in the institution. But even after one month, she has still not fully adjusted to life there. She continues to remain aloof from the other children and fails to properly perform her chores (as part of "picket" duty). This was confirmed by a member of staff, who said that since Dewi has been in the childcare institution, she has done almost nothing. While she would turn up for her chores, she would frequently then fail to perform them as she was embarrassed in front of the other children. Her chores in the institution consisted of doing kitchen work. However, Dewi is not able to carry out such work as she had never been taught to do so at home.

In reality, if Dewi was still living with her family, she would be closer to her parents, and would not suffer as a result of being deprived of her parents' love and affection. However, both her mother and the childcare institution authorities want her to remain in the home so that she can learn discipline, receive proper food, and concentrate on her studies. In the childcare institution, they say, she can receive help with her lessons from the other children, while at home there is no one to help her. In reality, however, there is no guarantee that these hopes will be fulfilled. For example, Dewi was punished at school recently, for failing to do her homework."

language and terminology used by these institutions and the children saying they are in a 'pesantren' and that they are 'students'. This, together with the focus on education in much of the childcare institutions certainly seemed to reinforce among children a feeling that they were entering a form of 'boarding' school rather than a care institution which in turn may also be less stigmatising for them.

Care planning

Not a single institution out of the 36 childcare institutions assessed made use of, or had, care plans for the children, written or otherwise. As we have seen above these institutions see their role primarily as ensuring access to education and 'care' in itself is simply not seen as a crucial aspect of their work. It is instead seen as 'providing for the needs' of children so they can be schooled. Having a care plan is a crucial element of professional services for children in alternative care. The aim of a care plan is to ensure that every child receives services that are clearly suited to their individual needs and situation. The plan enables those providing the services as well as the individual child to define the goals of the placement, its time frame, where it is leading to in terms of the child's longer term care, as well as to set roles and responsibilities for achieving those.

In a context where the primary aim of the institution was seen as providing access to education, the aim of the placement was simply defined within the parameters of schooling and graduation became the main target. As a result reviewing the placement before that target was reached was simply not seen as an option unless something went wrong. At the same time, accessing education as well as other basic needs related to it (a place to stay, food) were understood as collective needs shared by all children in the same way and therefore not requiring any individual plan beyond key decisions about which school, where and sometimes which food in relation to younger children.

Few of the institutions understood or had heard of the concept of 'care plans' outside of the Government institutions and institutions which were focused on providing a family replacement. Those that did know the term understood it as meaning some form of general planning for the activities in the institutions. As the Manager of Al Amin in West Kalimantan explained,

> *"To be frank, Miss, the only services I provide are free education, 3 meals a day, school uniforms, and sarongs and clothes every Lebaran. That's provided the institution has enough money. I don't have any special service plan, except for those children who are junior high school and want to go to senior high school. I offer them the chance of continuing on to mainstream senior high school or to attend the vocational school. That's the way it is, Miss."*

The same was found in the Government run institutions, like Nirmala in Aceh for example,

> "According to the head of the institution, there are no care plans for each child. The services provided by the institution are general in nature, whether connected with physical, emotional or social needs. They cover formal education up to graduation from

high school, religious education, vocational training, and the meeting of physical needs (clothing, food and shelter)."

The Head of Harapan in NTB similarly explained,

> *"This institution doesn't have a care plan for each child. What we have is a plan to satisfy the needs of the children based on their educational level, and transport to and from school."*

The concept of a care plan was particularly alien for the institutions that were run as part of islamic boarding schools where services for children from the care institutions were usually identical to those provided of children in the boarding school. In Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah in Aceh for example, as explained by its manager,

> *"The only plan we have is general in nature, and focuses on education, basic needs. It's the same for all the children, both madrasah and salafiah children. When reviewing day-to-day activities, we focus on the 5 obligatory prayers, who performs them and who doesn't, and the records kept by the Haris (class prefects who record violations of the rules by children)."*

In Darul Aitam, the possibility of responding on an individual basis to children in their care was even felt to be potentially problematic,

> *"All of the children receive the same services. If they see the carers giving special treatment to one or two of the children, they're going to get jealous and feel that they are being neglected. The carers want to avoid this. So, all the children are provided with services on a generalized basis." (Interview with staff)*

To the extent that some of the institutions understood the need to provide individualised services to children, this was invariably referred to in the context of education as was the case for example, in Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe in Aceh,

> "The institution's manager believes that they provide individual services, but this is apparently confined to the educational sphere, as revealed by (a member of staff):
>
> *"For example, planning for the provision of education services. For children in grade 3 of high school, if they have the ability, we try to help then get into higher education. If they don't have the ability, it will be enough if they graduate from high school, and then we return them to their parents. What's the point in forcing them to go to college if they don't have the ability?"*

In Darul Hikmah in NTB, it was found that, "As regards planning services for the children, the institution only plans the educational progress of the children, whether they will be enrolled in MT (Madrasah Tsanawiyah) or MA (Madrasah Aliyah). This is based on their progress at school when they first enter the institution. One of the criteria employed for this purpose is their report cards from their previous schools."

The Manager of Darurrokhmah in Central Java also explained his institution's approach to services as primarily collective,

> *"Generally speaking, we don't provide services on an individualized basis. We normally ask them which school they want to go to. They can choose between state school, Islamic elementary school (MI), state or private junior high school, or MTS. It's up to them."*

Assessements relating to children's individual needs tended to revolve essentially around their educational needs. Children's development and their emotional, social and psychological needs were seen in light of those goals. Children had to be able to 'withstand' staying in the institution and to feel good enough and secure enough to study and fullfill their educational needs. This is not to say that none of the institutions recognised the broader needs of children but generally 'care' was understood as something simple, something which children get anyway from their surrounding as long as what are deemed their

basic needs (food, roof over their head, education) are fulfilled. In that regard, the concept of a 'family way' of providing services was often referred to by managers or staff, meaning 'informal', 'natural' and often given in opposition to what was seen as a 'professional' approach.

In Dharma Laksana for example, it was highlighted that

> "The foundation established the institution out of a sense of love. The services provided to the children are like those provided in a regular family . They are primarily concerned with how the children can receive an education. Besides education, the children also need a roof over their heads and food. There is no professional approach to the provision of services. The staff consist of foundation workers, most of whom are also Hindu religious workers."

Where individual needs were identified outside of education it almost always referred to what was seen as 'a problem' in relation to the child's behaviour or adaptation. This is where children's individuality was recognised, discussed and even responded to. This was emphasized clearly by the manager of Woro Wiloso, a government run institution for girls in Central Java,

> *"In general, the standard of services provided to all the children is the same. There is no differentiation, save where a problem arises. Then the child will need to be admonished, scolded, treated differently."*

The situation was clearly different in relation to institutions which were focused on providing 'family care'. SOS Desa Taruna did take into consideration some of the child's individual characteristcs including age and religion before making a decision as to which foster mother would be given responsibility for the child. The emphasis though seemed to be more on the wishes and needs of the foster mothers as well as the practical organisational needs of the institution rather than the child's own needs and wishes. In addition, as the stated purpose of the placement was the creation of a new family for the child, review of placement was not considered unless the biological parents of the child requested to have their child back. In the rare instances where this occured, the institution carried out a full assessment of the family's capacity to provide before agreeing to return the child. A major part of the foster mother's role involved ensuring that the individual child's progress and development throughout the placement were assessed and recorded. Review did take place on the basis of regular meetings where the foster mothers met and discussed issues of concern. In Dr. J. Lukas, the system for assessing a child's needs and reviewing his or her progress was much more informal. It relied primarily on the 'care parents' ensuring that the children in their care were developing well and socialising well. Again, review of placement was not considered as the institution saw itself, as in the case of SOS Desa Taruna, as having in effect 'adopted' the children. On the other hand, that relationship did not seem to continue once the 'carers' were of retirement age. Strangely for an institution which aims to create families, the child was moved on to another care family as soon as its carers were due to retire. Not suprisingly, this had created in the past some issues with children unable to adapt to their new families after years of being cared by another.

In the case of Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi which cared for children with both physical and mental impairement, individual care was clearly understood as crucial as most of the children required full time carers. The children were assessed and put into groups of 4 or 5 according to what was deemed to be their capacity at a physical and intellectual level. Each group was then assigned to a carer which was then replaced according to a shift system to ensure 24 hours care. As mentioned above, Sayap Kasih did initially view children's placements as a temporary solution but in light of families' lack of willingness or capacity to take back their children, the placements were in the end viewed as permanent. This, in many ways, had created real challenges for that institution as it sought to raise funds to

continue its work for the longer term. Having started on the premise that most of the children in its care would not live long or that those that did would be taken back by their families, the institution was now caring for children who were living longer and required permanent care for the foreseeable future.

Care and other services

The approach to 'care' taken by the institutions assessed could be broadly summarised under three main headings: the provision of education (formal and informal), the creation of cadres, and finally the creation of a replacement family. In some ways these approaches were not mutally exclusive as for example the approach taken by the institutions under the Hidayatullah network with its focus on creating 'cadres' was not unsimilar to that taken by institutions that aimed to create replacement families. Both were premised upon creating a new family and social environment and discouraged contact and relations with the biological family and the home environment. Both also represented a form of informal 'adoption' by the institution. On the other hand, some of the Government institutions that were very much focused on access to education rather than the actual care needs of children were using a system of family cottages and in the case of Huke Ina in Maluku, children were actually living with one of the carer and his/her family within those cottages. Thus, while we could identify some very clear trends in the approach to child care taken by these institutions and the way they understood their role, there was also a suprising amount of diversity in the way these services were delivered in practice.

Out of the 36 childcare institutions assessed, the following formats for service delivery was found:

a. Childcare institution with a dormitory or 'barrack' (Hidayatullah, Ibnu Taimiyah, Darul Aitam, Darul Ulum, Darul Hikmah, Al Mutadhien, Nirmala, Al Ummah, Muhammadiayah Lhoksemawe, Darurokmah, Pamardi Utomo (SD children), Wahyu Yoga Dharma, Woro Wiloso.

b. Childcare institution composed of series of buildings including halls of residence with separate bedrooms for a group of up to 15 children (Eben Haezer, Patmos, Nurul Ikhlas, Prajapati, Ina Theresia, Pamardi (children SMP/SMA), Caleb House, Suci Hati.

c. Childcare institution based around cottages (Huke Ina, Harapan, SOS Desa Taruna, Dr. J. Lukas, UPRS.

d. Childcare institution in a private home (Dharma Laksana, Muhammadiyah Cilacap, Muhammadiyah Meulaboh, Al Amin, Pepabri, Sayap Kasih, Lohoraung, Al Hidayah, Dorkas, Nur Ilahi.

Most of the Islamic based childcare institutions had established that institution together with, or on the side of, a pesantren (Islamic boarding school). While there were some great similarities in the way services were delivered in those institutions, there were also some real differences in the way they were organised and services were delivered to children. Probably the most typical example of this format could be found in Ibnu Taimyiah in West Kalimantan, an institution that is for all intent and purposes merged within a pesantren. The research there found that the line drawn between children of the 'childcare institution' ('Panti') as opposed to children of the 'pesantren' was a complex one, relating mainly to the child's status as coming from a non fee paying family as opposed to children whose families paid the school fees rather than these children having particular needs that other children may not have.[3]

Children generally stayed in large dormitories like the children who were also attending the boarding school. There were few adults given a care responsibility and usually staff was composed of the head of the institution (usually male), his wife, a cook and a security guard. Teachers from the school often doubled up as 'carers' and some lived on the ground. The head of the institution was

often the head of the school and had teaching obligations.

Generally most children attended school within the pesantren in the compound but some also attended schools in the community. In Hidayatullah in Maluku for example, the institution only provided elementary school and children of junior and senior level went to school outside in the community. These institutions were generally caring for both boys and girls as in the case of Hidayatullah or Ibnu Taimiyah. Childcare institutions under the Muhammadiyah network however, tended to be single sex or provide separate compounds for boys and girls. Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe in Aceh cared only for boys while Muhammadiyah Meulaboh also in Aceh cared for both girls and boys but in totally separate compounds. On the other hand, Muhammadiyah Cilacap in Central Java cared for both sexes but imposing a strict separation between gender. Darrurokhmah in Central Java which is under the NW network cared only for girls while other NU or NW institutions tended to be mixed.

Pesantren traditionally have extremely simple and limited facilities and this is seen as part of the learning process. Children often sleep on the floor with mats and washing and cleaning facilities are sparse. These institutions tend to care for high numbers of children, usually over a hundred and in some cases up to 300 children or more. Darul Ulum in Aceh, provides a typical example, with 176 children in its childcare institution and another 144 children in its pesantren making it a total of 320 children living on site.

On the other hand, institutions run for example under the Muhammadiyah network as in the case of Muhammadiyah Meulaboh for example can have very modern facilities, based not on dormitories but on small houses or halls with bedrooms that are shared by a relatively small number of children. These institutions are usually built in or near the Muhammadiyah schools so that children can be schooled 'inside' the institution.

Most of these institutions viewed themselves first and foremost as boarding

Ibnu Taimiyah: the pesantren with a childcare institution

Admission

The Ibnu Taimiyah childcare institution (PSAA) essentially forms part of the Ibnu Taimiyah pesantren program, with the process of accepting children into the childcare institution being closely connected with that of accepting students into the pesantren. The managers said there were two ways in which children could be accepted into the childcare institution:

Under the first option, children from poor families are brought to the institution by their parents or guardians to secure their places in the pesantren. Based on a declaration of limited financial means, the children will be directly accepted into the childcare institution. This accords them a different status to the other children in the pesantren. Under this first option, the children first register with the pesantren. Those from poor families who are unable to afford the fees are then given the opportunity of becoming a child of the 'panti' (child of the institution).

The second option concerns children whose parents were able to pay when they first entered the pesantren. A change in their status however meant that their parents found themselves unable to pay mid way through the children's education. In such cases, the parents bring a letter from their Local Neighborhood Association or Community Association certifying their inability to pay their children's school fees. The children may also directly relate their financial problems to the management.

schools and the terminology of 'students', 'teachers' was generally used.

Other childcare institutions were established as autonomous institutions and were comprised of one big building or a number of smaller buildings within a compound. These tended to have bigger halls of residence separating boys and girls. There were usally a kitchen, dining room, a small number of bathrooms and toilets and a place religious worship. Children went to school outside in the local community schools. These institutions tended to average about 40 children and a small number of staff including a few carers either living on the ground or in the nearby community. Interestingly some of the faith based institutions like Dharma Laksana for example, were linked to the schools run by their parent organisation but that are quite separate from the institution. In those cases, fees for the children are waived rather than the institution paying for children to go to local private or state schools.

The government has also developed a number of multi services complexes which house a range of social institutions including institutions for 'naughty children, institutions for the vocational training of children who have dropped out of school, rehabilitation institutions for subtance abusers, disabled people's institutions, special protection Homes for children who have been rescued from trafficking or violence as well childcare institutions. These government run institutions tend to have more staff and these are civil servants including a number of 'structural' and 'functional' social workers. Housed into what is usally a very large compound, the idea being to bring a range of services together, the various institutions within it still seem to

According to one child: *"We were able to pay in grade 1 but we couldn't pay for grade 2. So we told Ustad X (the institution head). We told him that our parents weren't able to pay."*

The status of a child who finds himself or herself unable to pay in the circumstances described above (second option) changes from a pesantren student to a child in care. Although they continue to study in the Ibnu Taimiyah, their rights and obligations are different from the pesantren students. Unlike the pesantren students, who have to pay for their schooling, the 'panti' children receive their food, accommodation and education free of charge. *"Those who are accepted as 'panti' children are provided with information on their rights and obligations, including the fact that they don't have to pay the normal fee of Rp 160,000 per month (USD 16). They also have the right to free accommodation, food and schooling."*

Besides being provided with free food, accommodation and schooling, another right that the children have, which differentiates them from the paying pesantren students, is to receive assistance from the department of Social Affairs in the form of clothes, food, and medical allowance.

Obligations

Not only were the rights of the 'panti' children different, they also had specific obligations that set them apart from the 'pesantren' children. They, unlike the fee-paying students, were required to perform work in return for the food, education and accommodation they received. The work they were required to perform was generally "in the interests of the pesantren". Thus, they were required to cook, collect firewood, and clean the pesantren leader's home. *"The 'panti' children are required to help with the work of the pesantren. This means the girls are required to cook side dishes, while the boys are required to cook the rice and collect firewood."*

The different status between the 'panti' children and the 'pesantren children' was not only known by the staff and

operate quite independently of one another. These compounds usually also contain separate housing for staff. The number of children in the 'childcare institution' can vary but generally are quite high (around 60 children). Children go to school outside in the community. UPRS in West Kalimantan provides a fairly typical example of such institutions.

Family cottage types of institutions are still based within a compound that can be quite large but each of the cottage is containing a 'household'. Usually the carer lives there with his or her family including biological children and the children in care live with them as in the case of Dr. J. Lukas. In SOS Desa Taruna on the other hand, foster mothers are not allowed to marry or have children of their own so they live there only with the children placed in their care. In the Government 'family cottage' institutions, a number of model prevails. In some cases the 'cottages' only house a group of children and the carers live in their own houses on the compound as with UPRS. In others like Huke Ina in NTB, the children live together with the carer and his/her family but they are rotated regularly from one family of carers to the other. They are also sometimes expected to help the carers in terms of baby-sitting for the children or house chores.

The vast majority of institutions understood their role as providing services that were exclusively residential. A few however, had also evolved some programmes to support children who were still living with their families. For some, as was highlighted in the case of Dharma Laksana, financial support for children's education seemed to have evolved for pragmatic reasons rather than as a result of a belief that family support should be an important role for the childcare institutions. It

management, but had also been explained to the children by the head of the institution at the time when they entered the PSAA Ibnu Taimiyah. Thus, they knew that while they were pesantren students, they were different from the other pesantren students as their upkeep was paid by the institution. Only the 'panti' children were required to "work in the interests of the pesantren". The fact that the other pesantren students paid fees exempted them from performing the work that was required of the 'panti' children.

> *"In relation to the 'pesantren children', sometimes they help...light work only... sometimes when the pesantren children ask us for help, we help them too" (child from the institution).*

While there were no specific rules, the work assigned to each child depended on his or her age and sex,

> *"Children of Tsanawiyah age are required to do work in the plantation and clean the house, while children of Aliyyah age are required to do the cooking."*

The allocation of duties also had regard to what were seen as different physical capacities between girls and boys. Consequently, the boys were generally required to do work for which physical strength was needed (hoeing, cooking rice, fetching water, and collecting firewood), while the girls were assigned duties for which physical strength was not so important (like cooking side dishes, cleaning the house, sweeping the yard, mopping the floor). *"The children work every afternoon. They cook for the pesantren students. The boys cook the rice while the girls cook the vegetables."*

Besides the obligation to work for the institution, the 'panti' children were also required to work for the institution for one year after they graduated for example, as teachers, supervising the performance of religious duties, or as carers. Although they received some payment, it was not ascertained whether it was adequate. According to the wife of the head of foundation, if a child refused to perform this duty, he or she would not receive their graduation certificate (case of Ibnu Taimiyah)

was the failure to convince parents to part from their children that had led to the provision of such programmes. Others had already filled their residential care capacity but were still able to access financial and other support which could benefit more children particularly from the surrounding communities as seemed to be the case with Eben Haezer which provided food and education assistance to 15 children living in families near the institution. In other cases, the institutions were run by social and religious organisations that provided a range of social assistance services to families in need and no links were made between these initiatives and the families of the children in care.This was the case for example with Caleb House whose parent organisation was running its own support programme for families affected by the conflict before it established a childcare institution.

Instances of institutions providing assistance to children so they could be cared for by their families were rare and only Patmos seemed to be providing assistance to some children in the surrounding communities near the institution so they could continue to receive family based care. It provided financial support to 27 children living within their families covering the cost of their education including fees and transport to school. None of the institutions assessed on the other hand, provided assistance to families as part of a strategy to return a child to his or her family by supporting the capacity of that family to care for them.

As we have seen, most of the institutions understood their role primarily in terms of ensuring children's access to formal education but also to informal education, particularly in terms of religious education. Other services such as providing food, a place to stay tended to revolve around fulfilling that priority and as a result the 'care' of children was generally understood in terms of 'managing' children in their care. In that sense it is not suprising that terms such as *'memelihara'* (to raise, to rear) and *'menampung'* (to accommodate, to take in) tended to be used by the institutions themselves to refer to the services they provide to children in their care.

All of the institutions apart from those that focused specifically on creating 'new families' spoke of their services in terms of:

1) a place to stay;
2) access to formal education including associated costs (transport, books, uniform etc);
3) food;
4) informal education including religious education but also in a few cases vocational training;
5) access to health services if the child is sick and access to hygiene in some cases;

The staff at Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe provided a fairly typical explanation of the services provided by the childcare institutions,

"The services provided to the children who live in this institution are as follows: the fulfilment of their basic needs, such as food, drinks, clothes, education, healthcare and recreation. We don't provide any services outside the institution, and the same services are provided to every child, without any distinction."

Staff at Darul Aitam articulated in similar ways what services they felt the institution provided to children,

*"The services provided to the children are: **First,** formal education (in school) and non-formal education (in the institution), with the following facilities: 1) schooling in one of the schools run by the Wathan Nahdatul Wathan Foundation, with the children being exempted from paying school fees; 2) books to the value of Rp 40,000 per child at the start of each school year; 3) a new school uniform every Ramadhan.*

***Second**, healthcare, with each child being given a bar of soap, 2 small packets of detergent, 1 small tube of toothpaste (sometimes), medicines from the institution's health room, and visits from the Community Health Center nurse to the institution's health room every Thursday between 09:00 and 14:00, at the latest. But, if none of the children are sick and*

turn up at the health room, the nurse goes home early."

In addition, as almost all of these institutions were faith based, religious education and practice was seen as fundamental to the services they provided to children as well as the way these services were delivered. In the context of the traditional Islamic boarding schools, religious education was the primary form of education but all institutions saw religious practice and teaching as a key part of the services they provided to children and of the life of the institution. Government institutions tended also to refer to 'spiritual guidance' meaning religious and moral guidance and in some cases referred also to 'mental' or 'psychological guidance' or even to 'counselling'. In the absence of individual services and care giving this tended to refer in practice to the handling of what were deemed 'problems' that occurred with children such as when they broke rules, did not carry out their chores, had trouble adapting to the institution, did not carry out religious practices as required or had difficulties at school.

Two institutions provided more specialised services in addition to the above. Caleb House in Maluku, as we have seen, focused on caring for children affected by conflict and it provided some form of trauma counselling through the services of a psychologist as well as through group sharing and religious teaching. Sayap Kasih, an institution caring for children with both mental and physical disability in North Sulawesi, had a physiotherapist providing twice a week treatment to the children within a specially arranged room.

Providing emotional, psychological support to children, creating bonds that are secure and loving, enabling the children to feel loved and able to grow was never referred to except in the context of those institutions whose focus was the creation of family unit as was the case in SOS Desa Taruna and Dr. J. Lukas. While there were some references as we have seen in other institutions to 'caring' and providing services in a 'family way', generally the care of children was left to the children themselves. Adults managed the institution and the delivery of services and would intervene when a problem arose.

Older children were expected to do the caring for the younger children. Most of the institutions assessed used a system of placing children of different ages together in a room or dormitory to ensure that the older children could 'watch over' the younger children, help them adapt, do the chores, support them if problems arose and played a role of 'bigger sister or brother'. In Nur Ilahi for example, staff explained that, *"The young children are put in the same rooms as older children, with the older children being required to look after the younger ones."*

Similarly in Muhammadiyah Meulaboh it was explained that,

> "In each dormitory, whether the girls' or boys' dormitories, junior high school and senior high school-age children are mixed. According to one carer, this was so "*the big kids can help look after the younger children." (Interview with female staff)*

This arrangement was found to be the case in most of the institutions except SOS Desa Taruna, Sayap Kasih and Dr. J. Lukas. While in some institutions there would be an adult in charge of the dormitory or the rooms such as a 'house mother or father' or a 'dormitory head', older children were invariably seen to take on the 'natural role' of caring for the younger ones, to guide them, support them in dealing with daily tasks and following the rules and the activities of the institution as well as to deal with any problem that may arise.

In fact it was found throughout this research that children were clearly taking on the care roles for one another and this, as we will see in Section X on Personal Care, was reflected in terms of the relationships they built, the way they related to the adults in charge and the ways they adapted to cope and resolve problems. With a few exceptions, in the absence of significant adults with whom they could build personal relationships and seek support, children were finding support and care among each other and this to quite a remarkable

degree. Another striking finding from this research was that where children were able to develop personal and supportive relationships with adults in the institutions it was often not with those who had been given formal 'care' responsibility but instead with the support staff such as the cook, the wife of the manager or even the security guard. These individuals often seemed to play a greater role in terms of the children's personal relationships and tended to reside in the institution and therefore to be there outside of the formal 'work hours'. While in many cases the Manager of the institution and often his wife would be seen as taking on a 'father' and 'mother' role and referred to as such, that role in practice tended to be limited to moral and spiritual guidance, motivation and discipline.

This is not entirely surprising bearing in mind the small number of staff in relation to the number of children in most of the institutions and in particular the very low number of 'care staff' whose sole function was to care for children. At the same time, it was found not to be simply a matter of lack of adult carers or the fact that these tended to 'double up' as teachers or administrators or went about other work within the parent organisation or the community. The role of adults 'carers' seemed to be primarily undertstood in relation to managing children's time, their behaviour or compliance with the rules and regulations of the institution rather than in terms of providing 'care'.

In Huke Ina, for example, a government institution in the Island of Buru which cares for children in family cottages headed by one care staff together with his or her family, the role of the 'carer' was defined as follows,

"1. The carer is required to report to the school should a child be sick or unable to attend school or take part in the institution's activities;
2. To monitor the condition of the children, hygiene problems and discipline, and to be fully accountable to the institution overall;
3. To provide guidance to the children both on an individual and group basis as regard school work, behavior and health;
4. To monitor the progress of the children at school;
5. To supervise meals in the dining room, and study in the workroom based on a 'roster system'."

In Pamardi Utomo, a government institution that cares for boys in Central Java, the roles and responsibilities of carers were explained by the Head of institution as follows,

> *"It's like this ..., we don't have enough staff to provide individual care to each child. So, to maximize the level of individual services provided, each staff member, besides his or her job description, is also responsible for supervising groups and rooms. For example, Mr. H, besides the duties set out in his job description, is also responsible for supervising rooms 1 and 2. This is so as to ensure maximum effectiveness, and supervision and control of the children."*
>
> *"So, if every room has four children, two times four is eight, so each staff member is responsible for 8 children. But sometimes one staff member may only be responsible for one room. So, that's how we ensure maximum efficiency and optimum services, besides the normal job descriptions."*

This emphasis on the carer's role in terms of watching, overseeing, organising and guiding children was found across all of the institutions in the six provinces. This was particularly evident in relation to staff's role and work in reviewing children's progress and development.

Review of the child's progress/development

Only a handful of institutions assigned to a particular staff the responsibility to oversee the management and progress of individual children. This was found mainly in the institutions that were actually focused on care where such responsibility was clearly assignated to the foster mother or 'foster family' (SOS Desa Taruna, Dr. J. Lukas). In Sayap Kasih, care was organised around a system of shift between carers who were assigned to a particular group of 4 to 5 children. In some of the Government institutions staff tended to be formally assigned to a group of children but this responsibility was actually regularly shifted as in the case of Huke Ina where children's actual place of stay was 'rotated' across the care families every semester. In the case of UPRS on the other hand, this 'care responsibility' in practice was only evident in relation to reporting and responding to disciplinary problems rather than actual case management as explained by the staff there,

> "Based on the system of one carer being responsible for 1-2 children, they will automatically have special plans for the children for whom they're responsible, although this won't be set down in writing. That's the way it's been operating to date. So, if a child does something wrong, we also question the carer. We tell him, *"You're responsible for this child"*. So they are responsible for the behavior of the children assigned to them."

In Nirmala, on the other hand, one staff pointed out that,

> *"Reviews are never conducted, and the staff and carers are never involved in arranging activities in the home. This is all up to the head. In fact, he is assisted primarily by his wife in arranging activities, rather than the other staff. Also, not all of the staff live in the institution. Most are only there during work hours from 08:00-15:00. During these hours, the children are at school, and when they come back to the institution they have a rest. So, if you want to know about activities here, you have to ask the head."*

In fact while the Government institutions tended to have formal procedures and forms in relation to the 'case management' of children including the review of their progress, it was clear that very little individual case work in practice was taking place and when it did, it was rarely for the right reasons. For a start while, Government institutions tended to have a higher ratio of staff per child, in reality most of the staff in those institutions did not have a role or a responsibility in the actual care of children.

Under the Government rules, social workers who are civil servants are divided into 'structural' and 'functional social workers'. Only 'functional social workers' are meant to carry out actual practical work with clients and there were very few functional social workers in most of the Government institutions. Half of these institutions (4) did not have any.

In addition, under the government system of professional social work, doing 'case work' including 'case management' and ' case conferencing' is the only means for these social workers to be promoted and as such get higher wages and status. As a result, the research found that much of the actual case work that was being carried out with children was primarily seen by those social workers as a means of getting 'credits' to upgrade their ranking rather than as a professional and longer term engagment with these children. The individual case work rarely extended beyond a case file being established, some sort of a service plan being determined and notes referring to that case work could be shown.

The weaknesses of this system of social work was clearly highlighted in the case of UPRS,

> *"If there was a social worker, a review could be carried out every month. But that*

doesn't happen as there's never been a social worker in the UPRS since it was established. Social workers carry out reviews so that they can increase their credits. Here, we carry out informal reviews. We're supposed to have the equipment, like weighing scales, health monitoring equipment, but I don't know where they are. I've never seen them. When the earlier childcare institution was converted into this UPRS, we drew up an inventory of assets. But I've no idea where it is. After the head of the institution moved to the Social Affairs Office, he's had no contact with us since then." (Interview with staff).

Most of the other institutions, particularly those based on a pesantren model or with a focus on providing religious and formal education, did not assign responsibility for individual children to specific carers but to the head of the dormitory or hall, usually in accordance with gender so that a female 'house mother' or caretaker would be responsible for the girls and a male one for the boys. Review generally was also collective and related primarily to addressing what was felt to be a particular problem with a child or with the management of the institution.

The review process, when it took place, tended to relate to a child's progress at school including key decisions that may have to be made about the child's education or problems that may have occurred.

In Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah for example,

"The development of the children takes place through education, through examinations and repeats, noting who performs the obligatory prayers and who doesn't." (Interview with the head of institution)

That was also the experience of children in Darul Hikmah who explained, *"They only ever ask us about how we're doing at school, what our grades are, whether we have any difficulties."*

Generally, the review process was part of an overall review of the operational issues in the institution unless a 'problem' or 'case' arose in relation to a child as explained by the manager of Nurul Ikhlas, *"Meetings of the carers and other staff take place 2 or 3 times per year, except where there is a pressing case that needs to be handled immediately."*

In Prajapati, a Buddhist run institution in North Sulawesi, this was also found to be the case,

The carers meet on a routine basis every three months, or as required. Normally they discuss the budget for maintaining the children, and conduct a collective appraisal of their well-being, including health and education, as well as any special circumstances affecting individual children, such as the case a number of years ago where a child ran away as he wanted to return home. The foundation manager was asked about how this was dealt with, and replied that the child's parents were summoned and told that the child wished to return home to his family."

In the absence of individual case managers, review of children's progress tended to be informal as was the case in Al Amin,

"I've never actually conducted a formal review. But we do have informal reviews based on our observations of the children's behaviour and conduct on a day-to-day basis. I've never maintained special records or anything like that, let alone conduct reviews on their family circumstances. How could I ever find the time for that? I have to look after them on my own, and that's enough trouble as it is." (Interview with the head of institution)

The situation in Pepabri was similar according to its Manager,

"Well ... 'review' is maybe too formal a word ... perhaps 'discussion' would be better. But we don't have formal discussions. We do it while watching TV or cooking in the kitchen. Then we (the institution manager and staff) may sit around and discuss how the children are doing. Usually we talk about problems with the children. We talk about their day-to-day behaviour and conduct. If

there's a problem, then we'll talk about it together"

Generally the review tended also to be collective and did not provide any real opportunity for children to give feedback, input or make suggestions unless these were already in line with staff as was found in the case of Nirmala,

> *"Normally it's me who conducts reviews by chatting with the children informally. We can do this whenever there's nothing else scheduled. But the children aren't really involved. For example, last Friday, (the head of the institution) sat down with the children and asked them how things were. The children asked that a religious practice competition be held. In reality, this had already been planned, but we wanted to wait for the children to suggest it. In actual fact what the children wanted was the same as what had been planned by the institution. So the competition went ahead." (interview with the head of institution)*

On the other hand when a child's behaviour was deemed to be a 'problem' the process of review could become determinedly formal, particularly in the case of Government institutions. In Harapan in NTB and Pamardi Utomo in Central Java, the concept of *'case conference'* was used, involving the staff including the social workers and the carers as well as the manager. What was discussed in those meeting though related less to progress and more to resolving what were deemed problems as explained by the Manager of Pamardi Utomo,

> *"There's so many staff here. The development of the children needs to be monitored. If a breach of discipline occurs, we discuss this jointly at a case conference, what action should be taken, and what caused the child to do what he did."*
>
> *"For normal children, we provide them with regular guidance. But for problem kids, we discuss this jointly and take joint action so as to put these children back on the right track. A recalcitrant child will be given individual guidance. But if there's no improvement, then we'll resort to group guidance."*

While the Government institutions tended to have quite comprehensive forms for reviewing the individual progress of the child in relation to 'physical', 'social', 'emotional', 'psychological','spiritual' development and even in terms of the child's personal sense of 'autonomy' and 'initiative', these forms were in practice rarely if ever used and only brief notes were kept which focused primarily on what were seen as the key problems in the child's behaviour or educational progress.

In that regard, SOS Desa Taruna fared a lot better. Foster mothers were not only provided specific training in child care and protection but assessing the progress of children from a developmental perspective was understood to be a key part of their role. The Manual for the organization specified that *"Data shall be collected on the development of the children, reflecting their progress over the course of the year. This will be focused on the strengths, capabilities and potential of each child in accordance with his or her stage of development."*

The foster mothers kept informal notes on the development of children in their care and met once a month together to discuss progress and concerns.

An example of notes kept by one of the foster mothers follows:

(D...NAME OF THE CHILD)

D finished kindergarten at the end of the 2005-2006 school year. In August 2006, at the age of 6, he entered grade 1 of elementary school.

D finds it easy to mix and adjust to his new surroundings. He has demonstrated positive physical and psychological progress. Physically, he is not fat, but he has grown quickly. His hemoglobin level is good at up to 11.8.

He now plays regularly, not only with children of his own age, but also with the bigger children, for example, playing hide and seek, and marbles. As regards communication, he can almost speak perfectly. He can relay messages from his teachers, friends and the other foster mothers.

What is particularly encouraging about D is that he is a good mixer, both in SOS and at school.

He can almost count 1-10. Although he can't yet read properly, he can write the letters of the alphabet. When some of these are put together, he can read them. Two months ago, he participated in the drum band as part of the end of the year kindergarten ceremony.

D displays some sense of responsibility within the family. For example, he will help take out the garbage with the older children. He also does his homework in the evening without having to be told to. His teacher is happy as D has changed a lot after two years in kindergarten, and is now developing normally like other children.

D participates in all SOS activities, for example, the religious service on Thursdays, story-telling on Tuesday, physical exercise on Fridays, and Sunday school.

As regards eating, D is very good and will eat everything.

He is now able to feed himself and is no longer messy at the table. In his (foster) family, D is also good, and mixes easily. He is not shy or withdrawn, is quick to smile and is always friendly. D can be said to be a cute child, his dream is to become a soldier.

June '06

Review of services and management

The childcare institutions assessed generally did not see the need to review the services or the approach taken to these services as what was provided was already pre-determined on the basis of the collective needs of children, in particular access to education. As we saw above, virtually none of the institutions felt the need to review their mission statement or the approach taken by the institution in light of staffs or children's experiences. Where review did take place it was generally in relation to the budget available, the needs of the institution or its parent organisation and operational issues such as the need to replace children who had graduated, quotas having to be filled and arrangements around staffing.

As a result, as one staff in Nirmala stated the following, *"It seems that the services provided by the institution hardly change from year to year. The head rarely holds evaluation meetings."*

One aspect that did get reviewed in a number of institutions was children's sleeping arrangement. Quite a number of the institutions, particularly government ones, practised something referred to as 'rolling' whereby children would be moved from one room or one dormitory to the next on a regular basis to ensure all children had 'good relations' but also to limit the possibility of some children getting too close while others may be left out. Decisions about rotation never involved children.

In Harapan for example, "The institution conducts a review once a year of where the

children are placed. This involves moving the children from one cottage to another *"so that they don't get bored and become friends with all the children." (Interview with the head of institution)*

The same procedure was used in Darul Aitam, "*Yes, they change rooms and roommates every year. The carers decide which rooms they'll go to and who their roommates will be." (interview with children)*

Generally children saw this as unavoidable, in some cases as desirable and in quite a number of cases as problematic. In Huke Ina where children lived in a cottage with the carer and his/her family, rotation was seen as a way of ensuring that children would be more adaptable and that different carers with different styles would be experienced. For children, it meant that those carers they felt close to would only be there for them for a six months period while carers with whom they did not feel comfortable would be experienced on a regular basis.

The fact that most institutions did not feel the need to review their services except in terms of the operational needs of the institution, meant that children were rarely, if ever asked to comment or provide feedback on the services they were provided. Despite being the primary beneficiaries and therefore stakeholders in those services, the approach taken was very much one of 'charity' whereby anything that was provided to these children was better than what they would have got at home and as such, should be received gratefully.

The implications of this approach were well highlighted in the case of Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah and could equally be said to apply to almost all of the other institutions assessed,

> "The services provided by this institution are in general only concerned with meeting the basic needs of the children, such as food, clothing, shelter, healthcare and education. Service provision is not based on an assessment of the children's needs. The interviews revealed that service reviews were never conducted by either the institution head or the carers. Thus, there is no way of knowing what the objectives and processes applied by the institution management are, or whether they are in line with the predetermined plan."

This approach not only runs counter to the provisions of international and national standards in relation to the care of children as stated in the Convention on the Rights of the Child and in Law no 23 on Child Protection, it also means that none of the institutions were really in any position to evaluate their work and services and ensure that they were actually delivering what they set out to deliver for children.

Children leaving care and after care

In a context where placement in care was almost always framed in terms of access to education, review of placement was seen as relevant only in the context where the child had graduated or had failed to progress at school. Most of the institutions made clear to children and their families that the child would be staying in the institution until the end of senior high school (SMA) unless the child did not progress at school or broke some key rules of the institution.

This was explained by a staff from Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe,

> *"All of the children understand that this institution is only here to help them graduate from high school. After that, they have to leave and live independently in the community. If, however, a child causes problems or does something seriously wrong while he's here, like stealing or refuses to follow the rules, then we will stop providing him with services. In other words, he will be sent back to his parents or guardian."*

The children in Muhammadiyah Meulaboh in Aceh, for example, did not know in any detail what was in the agreement between their family and the institution in relation to their placement but what they did know is that if

they did not progress at school or their grades were not sufficiently high they would be sent home. In one case, a girl that had failed to pass her year was expelled and sent home and the institution was no longer paying for her education.

The emphasis on children's placement being totally dependent on their educational progress and on their abiding by the rules of the institution underlines just how little the need for 'care' was taken into consideration or even seen as an issue. While these institutions publicized their focus on children who were orphaned or whose families were unable to care for them, it was striking that in practice they recognised that sending a child back to the care of his or her family was very much an option. As the Manager of PEPABRI explained,

> *"... I'm sure they fully understand. I've explained to them since they entered the institution that I can only see them through to high school graduation. That's if they behave themselves and really want to get an education. If they don't obey the rules, then I'll send them back to their parents or guardian. If they're ill-behaved and can't be controlled, I'll just send them home!"*

In practice though, it seemed that many institutions found ending the placement at graduation harder than expected. The reality that a high school certificate is in no way a guarantee to find work and the fact that many children had aspirations to further their studies meant that many institutions in practice had to find ways to support children stepping out of the institution. While many recognised this as a need, few had a system in place to support that process. What was found were some ad hoc initiatives to support the 'brighter students' to access scholarships whenever possible and some limited attempts at providing vocational training or finding a child a work placement. These seemed to have evolved mainly as an afterthought by the staff of the institutions, as is well illustrated by Nurul Ikhlas,

> *"Originally, the plan was to educate the children up to high school level. However, after some of the children graduated and didn't know where to go, I thought to myself that maybe we could support their education to a higher level. In the end, we decided to send those children who wanted it on to higher education."*

In most cases, these efforts seemed to be primarily the result of a personal initiative from a manager or some staff rather than as a part of the services provided by the institution as can be seen from the approach taken in Pamardi Utomo, a government institution for boys in Central Java,

> *"It's like this, I say to the children, what's important is that you study, with good character and personality. If you get good marks all the time, don't worry, I'll keep you at school... That's the way it is.... So, if a child keeps doing well and is always at the head of the class, I'll send him to college."*

In some cases, this personal and ad hoc approach led to some children feeling that getting access to higher education was less a matter of academic achievement and more a matter of being in the 'good book' of the manager or staff of the institution,

> *"Yeah, if you're close to M (the head) ... those who are close to her may be they can ..."* – meaning that if a child was close to the institution head, it would be possible for him or her to continue their education."

A few institutions had a somewhat more open and formal process to support children accessing higher education, particularly those institutions whose parent organisation also ran or were linked to higher education programs. Institutions under the Hidayatullah network, for example, sent those deemed to be the most performing students to the Islamic Higher Education institutions run by its organization in Balikpapan or Surabaya. Similarly, Prajapati, a childcare institution in North Sulawesi run by a Buddhist organisation, enabled performing students from the institution to enter the university run by its parent organisation (Universitas Sari Putera Indonesia Tomohon (UNSRIT)) which is located on the same campus than the childcare institution. In those cases, children were allowed to remain in the institution well past the 18 years age limit.

In fact a number of institutions had children remaining in care well past the SMA age limit. In Muhammadiyah Meulaboh for example, children who had done sufficiently well at senior high school were given an opportunity to stay on in the institution as long as they could afford to pay for their university fees and they agreed to carry out some work in the institution in exchange for a place to stay and food. This access however also depended on the available number of beds in the institution at any given time. Similarly in Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan one high school graduate had been allowed to stay on after graduation. Children who did particularly well at school were helped to look for 'foster parents/sponsors', usually donors who were providing support to the institution and who may be willing to pay for that child's higher education.

> "This year the institution sent one of the children to university as she had performed outstandingly at school and was highly motivated to go on to higher education." (interview with the head of institution)

Other institutions also tried to provide children who had finished high school some level of support either by finding sponsors to enable them to continue their education somewhere else or by supporting them to find work. Al Hidayah in Maluku provided transport money or covered the administrative costs of children who were keen to pursue higher education through a pesantren in Java. Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan looked for sponsors for children who were particular gifted academically or who were interested in studying at the organisation's theological school. Those who did less well at school were supported to find work particularly with the agricultural companies that already had links to Eben Haezer such as the citrus plantation and the palm oil plantation located near the institution.

Some institutions provided vocational training specifically with the aim of facilitating the transition to work upon leaving care. Patmos in NTB provided children who had graduated with the opportunity to follow some vocational training for 3 months such as in beauty care, sowing or computer skills before being sent home. Harapan, a government institution also in NTB provided an orientation course after graduation for 2 to 3 days on life in the community and finding work,

> "*Children who are in grade 3 of high school or vocational school normally receive special counseling about leaving the institution. They also receive help with seeking employment. I have a friend who is now working in a restaurant thanks to help from the institution." (Interview with children)*

In contrast to this, institutions whose focus was primarly on the creation of a new family for the child and on the provision of care did not limit the child's placement to high school graduation. SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java enabled children to stay after senior high school until they were 21 or up to 26 years of age where the young person was finishing university or still unable to find work. After 26 though, the child was not allowed to stay in SOS any longer no matter what his or her situation was. In order to facilitate that transition out of the institution, children were encouraged to visit and able to stay with their foster mothers when visiting. Some of the children who had graduated were also found employment including within one of the SOS Desa Taruna in Indonesia.

Dr. J. Lukas in North Sulawesi on the other hand did not place any age restriction on the child/young adult staying with his or her care family. Children were expected to move out only when they were able to be independent and support was provided either to access university education or to access vocational training to enable the young men or women to find work.

The situation of children in Islamic based institutions whose primary aim was the transformation of the child into a 'cadre' for their organisation was clearly very different. For institutions under the Hidayatullah network such as Hidayatullah Liang in Maluku and Al Muthadien in North Sulawesi, placement actually never ended unless the child had

broken some key rules or was unable to adapt. Children who came to the end of Islamic school senior level were either sent to the organisation's Islamic teaching schools or became full time 'cadres' and staff of one of the childcare institutions under the network. Unique to the institutions under that network is the fact that upon coming of age, young people in the institution are married to other cadres within the network. The marriage, where the partner is selected by the senior leaders and administered through a mass ceremony, is seen as a key part of the process of '*kaderization*' within that network. Once married the young couple is sent to work as carers and religious teachers in one of the many institutions run by the network across Indonesia. The aim is thus to spread the organisation's teaching and to create new 'families' that are focused on running and creating new institutions and are more connected to the network than their own biological family or community.

To achieve that aim, these institutions often move children in their care to other Hidayatullah run institutions located far away from the child's family and community so that the links with those families become more tenous while the links with the organisation becomes strengthened. This is one of the many stages in the development of a cadre for Hidayatullah which involves among other things the recruit being literally 'orphaned', in the sense of cutting those links with his or her family environment. This is meant to mirror the stages undergone by Nabi Muhammad himself, including the fact that he was also an orphan. In addition to being married, a young person finishing islamic high school level education in Hidayatullah is expected to work in the institution for at least a year as a volunteer, as a mark of servitude and a contribution in kind to the organisation.

In Al Muthadien the process of becoming a cadre commences with the relinquishment of all social attributes pertaining to the child before his entering the Al Muthadien community. This phase is based on the experience of the Prophet Mohammad as an orphan. Every "santri" (student of Islamic boarding school) must relinquish his ties with his parents and siblings and live as a member of the Al Muthadien community as an orphan who owns nothing and relies on no one except God. The next stage involves the cadre serving as childcare institution managers – organizing everything regarding cleaning, running of the kitchen, and seeking donors for the pesantren. The next stage involves becoming an employee or a trader, once again following the example of Mohammad, who became a vendor of goods belonging to another (Khadijah). The child at this stage is given greater opportunities to manage the activities of others, such as by becoming a counsellor/teacher or to work in businesses belonging to the pesantren. The last stage is to get married – this is when the new cadre accepts responsibility for rearing a family. This stage is based on the marriage of Mohammad to Siti Khadijah. When the "santri" is considered by his mentors to be both mentally and spiritually ready, he will be married to a "santriwati" (female santri), who has reached the same stage in the cadre-molding process. The entire process up until the marriage stage is organized in every detail by the "murobbi" (guidance) council.

Other Islamic based childcare institutions took a different approach and children did leave the institution upon graduation. Some, however, in particular those that combined an Islamic boarding school with a childcare institution also required that graduates work in the institution for a period of a year as a contribution back to the organisation. In Ibnu Taimiyah for example, in West Kalimantan, *"After graduation from Aliyah (equivalent of high school), the graduates are required to work for one year in the institution by teaching in the school or assisting the institution in some other way, such as working in the kitchen."* (Interview with head of institution)

In addition, in a number of institutions the research found that carers and staff had actually previously been in the care of that institution. This was found to have happened both formally, where the institution recruited them to become staff, and informally where their role had simply transitioned as the child became an adult and did not leave the institution. In Al

Hidayah for example, two children who had already graduated ended up staying in the institution and were filling a range of staff roles resulting apparently from a shortage of staff. Similarly in Nurul Ikhlas in Maluku, 10 of the staff were previously children in the care of the institution who were given responsibility after turning 18 years of age for some of the work in the institution, in particular the care of children, with only one who works as an administrative staff actually being paid.

In Caleb House in Maluku, the institution felt that 7 of the children who had already reached 18 years of age and finished high school were not 'ready' to leave and as a result they have been allowed to stay on and are being supported through higher education. As explained by the head of the institution,

> *"... many of them become disturbed as they're not ready to go back to the community ... when they're told that their education in the institution is coming to an end, they get really disturbed, they start raving at night."* Following an evaluation meeting of the staff and carers, it was decided that the children could continue to live in the home until they finished college, but that they would have to help run the institution and look after the other children."

In Al Ikhlas in NTB, more than half of the staff had previously been in the care of the institution before becoming its staff.

For most of the children in care, the prospect of going home was felt to be both exciting and daunting. Many had been separated from their families and communities for years at a time, some had not seen their families for long as 9 years. Returning to that unfamilar and unknown world clearly presented huge challenges and fears. Leaving the institution for many of the children meant leaving behind their entire social and emotional network, particularly the other children in the institution who had become the key figures of attachment in their lives throughout these crucial years of development. Children in many cases saw graduation and leaving the institution as a time of high anxiety,

> *"I was really upset yesterday ... I thought about going home to my village... leaving all my friends here ... going home means not meeting again."* (Child in Huke Ina)

The need to go on with their studies if they were to be able to find decent work was also a key concern for many of the children upon leaving care. One of the children in Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe for example explained,

> *"The problem, Miss, is that we only get schooled until half way,"* said A14, expressing his fears. He then explained what he meant, "B*ecause we stop, before we have a degree, it's not yet enough to get work. The important thing is to graduate, Miss, I could become a part-time teacher, or a kindergarten teacher. The minimum salary is Rp 500,000 per month (USD 50)."*

For the great majority of children unlikely to be able to get a scholarship or to access the money to continue their studies, the end of placement was a bewildering time as was highlighted by children in Suci Hati in Aceh,

> *"How can I explain my feelings... If I think about the future ... what I am going to do…I don't know what to do. I want to go to college, but I can't afford it."*

The case of two siblings of 17 and 18 years of age who were about to graduate in Nur Ilahi was also not atypical. The two girls had lived in the institution for 9 years and had not once visited their families during the entire time. Both were quite uncertain about their future,

> *"...We're going home soon, Miss ...that's why we want to get photos ...for memories"*
>
> *"… (We go home)….after graduation, Miss ... after we get our certificates"*
>
> *"I want to go to college, Miss" (the youngest sister)*
>
> *"Me, I don't want to…Mama has told me to continue my studies…but I want to go home… "But I don't know after that ... I want to go home first. After that, maybe."*
>
> *(the older sister)*

Other children clearly wanted to become self sufficient as soon as possible, either because they did not want to become a burden for their family or simply in order to be able to gain some control over their lives which had been heavily regulated by others to this point. As one child whose placement in Pamardi Utomo was about to end explained,

> *"...I don't want to go to school anymore. I want to get work as quickly as possible. You see, it's the same thing, Miss, here you have to do what people tell you, at home you have to do what they tell you...."*

Many children were keen to go back to their families, particularly if the links with them had been retained but they also recognised that the opportunities for them to find work in their home communities and to be able to become independent were far and few between. As a result, many of the children were clearly anxious to find work as soon possible,

> "After finishing school, they normally return to their home village, and then go back to Lhokseumawe (city) to look for work. They usually stay with or rent accommodation with other children from the institution."

Staff were also, in some cases, clearly feeling challenged by the process of ending children's placements, as highlighted by a staff in Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe,

> "From the emotional perspective, some children don't want to go home. They want to stay here with their friends while looking for work. But we can't allow that as we have only limited accommodation and funding for food. So ... we're forced to say no."

A number of the institutions provided a 'reprieve' time for children to leave after graduation. Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan for example, allowed children to stay on for up to a month after graduation in recognition of the 'emotional impact' that leaving care represented. In Suci Hati in Aceh, children who were granted permission from the head of the institution could stay up to 3 months after graduating. Many of the institutions allowed children to stay at least until the presentation of their high school diploma, about a month after graduation, before they had to leave.

Some institutions organised a leaving ceremony so children could say farewell and the placement could be seen to be formally ending. As explained by the Manager of Harapan,

> *"The children really look sad when it comes time to leave the institution. But they knew about this from the time they entered. Also, the farewell ceremony we hold every year is a way of formally telling them that their time here is over. But after they leave, they can come back from time to time to visit. For example, many of the children who have left the institution come back at Lebaran for a get-together."*

Parents generally did not seem to play a key role in terms of the termination of the placement and few came to pick up their children, particularly if the family lived some distance from the institution. There were a few exceptions though, as with Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan, where parents were invited to attend the farewell ceremony and to take the child home afterwards. This was also the case in Darul Aitam in NTB. In Huke Ina in Maluku, parents were asked to come and fetch their children or children would be actually taken home by a social officer under a specially funded programme provided by the District Office of Social Welfare.

Most of the government run and some of the private institutions provided children at least with some transport money so they could go home upon finishing senior high school. In Harapan in NTB for example children were provided with the fare to go home, which sometimes could be considerable as children came from a long way away as in the case of children from Sumbawa. In some institutions though, little provisions were made to ensure the child would actually be able to go home.

Children were also usually provided with a letter terminating their placement and in some cases copies of certificates. In Harapan the letter formally handing over the child back to the family had to be signed by both the head of the institution and the child's family. In Darul Aitam the process of handing over the child to his or her parents was also formalised,

> *"After graduation, we say good-bye to the children with a formal farewell ceremony in the institution. We invite their parents or relatives so as to signify a formal handover. After that, we consider them to be independent. The farewell ceremony consists of 1) thanksgiving prayers, and 2) the handover of the children to their families. Normally those who are leaving give a gift to the institution. Last year we got a carpet. We've also in the past received a cooker, steamer, wall clock, also a hoe, and a crowbar." (interview with staff)*

On the other hand, as most institutions did not organise a handing over process, they tended instead to send the child back home with a simple letter confirming that the child's placement with their institution had come to an end and as such so did the responsibility of the institution.

The only instances of children's placements being terminated early or reviewed related to children having broken what were deemed key rules of the institution and being expelled as a result, or children not adapting and being sent home or running away. As we saw above, most institutions were clear at the offset both with the child and his or her family that not abiding by the rules of the institutions or not doing well at school would lead to the child being sent back home. While few institutions had formal procedures for ending a placement, most had developed quite strict guidelines in terms of children's behaviour and children found repeatedly in violation of those rules were sent home and their placements terminated. As explained by the manager of Al Amin in West Kalimantan,

> *"This institution doesn't have specific procedures for the termination of services. Except in the case of a child who repeatedly breaks the institution's rules, despite warnings. Normally, I report this to the Foundation's executives, and the Foundation then talks to the child. If there is no improvement, we will normally send the child back to his/her parents or guardian. We think that instead of things getting worse, it's better this way".*

As we will see in the section on the use of sanctions in Section X there were some striking similarities across institutions about which misbehaviour was deemed to constitute sufficient ground for the child to be expelled and the process that followed. Generally this entailed the giving of warnings for misbehaviour up to 3 times after which, if no improvement was seen in the child, he or she would be expelled and sent home. As the manager of Darul Ulum Al-Munawwarah in Aceh explains,

> *"... violate the rules more than 3 times and the child's parents will normally be summoned. The choice is for the child to go home or stay on in the institution."*

This was also how children understood the process, as for example with children in Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe in Aceh,

> *"If a child is expelled, it's normally for smoking – it'll be overlooked the first time, the second time you'll get a warning, and the third time your guardian will be summoned and you'll be immediately expelled."*

For most institutions, however, the most severe violation that could lead to the immediate termination of a child's placement related to a child or young person having any type of romantic involvement, whether inside or outside of the institution. In some cases this rule was explained in terms of ensuring that sexual relationships would not develop in the context of the institution among children who needed to view one another as 'brother and sister'. In UPRS for example, four children were expelled (2 boys and 2 girls) when it was found that they had developed personal relationships. In other cases this was simply deemed against religious rules and teaching and any young person breaking this rule would be considered 'irrediemable'. In Muhammadiyah Meulaboh the rules were particularly strict for girls and they were seriously restricted from leaving the compound while boys on the other hand were free to go out anytime and until late in the evenings. If the girl received a young male visitor, that person would be scrutinized tightly and immediately suspected of being a potential boyfriend. In one case, a girl actually was sanctioned when her male cousin visited her and was taken to be a 'boyfriend' by the staff.

In other institutions, the prohibition on having a boyfriend or girlfriend was often explained by managers and staff in terms of preventing the negative impact this may have on the young person's education and the need to keep them disciplined and focused on their studies. In Pamardi Utomo in central Java for example, the manager explained his approach to this,

> *"We know that children from elementary school to high school are constantly changing. We monitor them one by one. For example, we give advice to the child, for example 'S, you are already at the age where relationships start. But, please understand, you're here to study what's the purpose...later once you have finished school, looking for work...you can have a girlfriend and then marry....so they get the message."*

There was no doubt on the other hand that relationships with the other sex was a key issue for the older children and that this was felt by many of them to be a particularly harsh rule. Teenagers in particular who are at that key stage of sexualization where the development of personal and intimate relationships is initiated were clearly torn between two world reality. On the one hand they were exposed at school and through the media to the idea of romantic love while on the other hand, the institution's rules forcefully rejected and penalized anything that may be seen to involve a relationship between the two sexes. Despite the rules of the institutions and the very severe punishment that it incurred, it was clear from the research that the older children in the institutions, like children everywhere, saw romantic love as key to their lives and having a boyfriend or girlfriend as a significant part of their emotional development. Many were ready to take the risks involved but generally the strict rules on relationships meant that most children concealed that part of their lives and went to great length to keep it secret. On the other hand, some of the institutions seem to go to equally great lengths to uncover any potential evidence of such relationships by regular 'razzia' through the children's dormitories and cupboards and even reading through children's letters and personal communications.

Children whose relationships were likely to be found out tended to run away from the institution rather than being penalised as one of the child in Nurul Ikhlas explained,

> *"H went home because they found out that she was in a relationship with a boy from her village. He came here, so (the Manager) found out."*

This was also confirmed by the manager of the institution,

"Normally children run away because they can't adjust to the institution's rules. For example, they stay out until late at night, get involved in relationships or like to brawl."

The line between a child being expelled and a child running away or asking to be sent home was seen to be a fine one in most institutions. Children running away from the institution was found to be common in almost all of the institutions. Generally this was understood to be as a result of a child not 'adapting' to the rules and the situation in the institution. In many cases where a child was having difficulty, the institutions would tend to send the child home rather than risk having a child running away. This seemed to be less out of concern for the well being of the child and more to do with the institution not wanting to 'manage' that situation or feeling that it is 'too much trouble'.

In Nurul Ilahi for example, staff told of a child who only stayed in the institution for 3 months and then was sent home, *"It was primarily because of the condition of the child, who wasn't ready to be so far away from his parents. In cases like this, the institution prefers to send the child home rather than have him run away."*

The primary reason given for children asking to be sent home or running away was that they missed their families. In Suci Hati for example,

"A child once ran away from here, went back to his village as he didn't like it here and missed his parents." (interview with child).

Similarly in Al Ikhlas,

"A child was once sent home, a withdrawn child who didn't want to mix with the others, didn't want to adapt even when encouraged. He said he couldn't stand it here, he wanted his family. So we called his parents and he went home with them." (interview with child)

The case of Dewi in an institution in NTB already referred to above (Dewi NTB TEXT BOX) is another illustration. Generally children who missed their families and wanted to return to them tended to make use of a holiday to go home and not come back rather than run away as was the case in Patmos in NTB,

"When a child doesn't want to stay any longer in the institution, it can be difficult, usually they miss home. We rarely have children who run away… normally they'll ask for permission to go home for the holidays and then won't come back. When this happens, we normally get a call from his or her mother. Sometimes the mothers also ask children from the same village (to pass on the info)".

If children had families not too far away from the institution, they would often try to go home more often than was allowed under the rules and therefore would end up being punished as a result. The case of a 16 year old boy in Hidayatullah in Maluku illustrates well what happens in those cases,

"He had lived in the institution for 2 years. As his family home was nearby, he frequently went there to be with his parents. Of course, this was not what the institution wanted, and his absences were treated as disciplinary violations. He was admonished and punished on a number of occasions, but still persisted in returning home. As a result, he was moved to the Hidayatullah institution in Makasar (another province). He was unable to adjust there and in the end left and returned to his parents."

Children also spoke of other children who had asked to be sent home or ran away as they missed their families and the conditions back home. In Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe, when asked whether there were children who could not withstand life in the institution anymore, the children answered,

"...Lots! wow, you can't just say one or two. There are lots of them. There wouldn't be enough paper to write down all their names, Miss," said A9, who then explained why so many of the children were unable to adjust to the institution,

"Usually if they go home, they don't want to come back. They can't stand it here as they're unable to follow the rules. At home you can get spoiled, your parents really love you."

Apart from wanting to be with their families, reasons given for children wanting to be sent home or running away tended to relate to not being able to put up with all the strict rules of the institutions as well as the conditions of life in some. This was highlighted for example by staff in Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe,

"There are children who can't abide by the rules here, like getting up early in the morning, performing prayers, studying, the chores, and so forth. These children usually run away. But they are also some really naughty ones who frequently go out at night. They know that the gate closes at 10 p.m. But they still persist in coming home at 11 p.m. They usually climb over the fence, but they will be punished. If we find out, we order them to clean the yard, clean the drains, the toilets. If they stay out late 3 times, we summon there parents and send the child home."

In Lohoraung, the government institution in the island of Sangihe in North Sulawesi, children running away had apparently been a big problem under the previous management, as explained by a staff who worked there at the time,

"... so, they weren't getting enough food, and the rules were really harsh. So, they (the children) ran away. At that time, circumstances here were very difficult. Before the children could eat after coming home from school, they had to go out looking for firewood for the cooking."

As a result a majority of the children ran away and it is then that the head of the District intervened to 'save the institution' and the present manager was asked to take over its management. It is particularly telling that it took most of the children running away for action to be taken about the situation these children faced in that government institution.

In some of the institutions where a child had run away, the staff had contacted the family of that child and tried to convince the boy or girl to come back as for example in Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah,

"... There are two children who left the institution. One moved with his uncle to Banda Aceh, so it was too far away to visit. The other used to always go home to his mother, so we had to pick him up three times. The third time, he didn't want to come back. Well, we didn't force him and his mother didn't object to his remaining at home." (interview with staff)

This was also the case in Nirmala,

It has happened, with children living nearby. When they feel fed up, it's easy for them to go back to their parents. We try to coax them back, but if they've made up their minds, we won't force them." (interview with staff)

Disturbingly, in a number of institutions there seemed to be few if any attempts at finding out what had happened to the children who had run away or even in terms of checking whether the children were safe. Muhammadiyah Meulaboh gives an illustration of what tended to be the response in these institutions,

"The child ran away in the middle of the night when everyone was sleeping, taking all his things with him, he left the institution and he never came back." The children recalled further that the institution had made no efforts to find him. When the staff were asked about this, they responded by saying that if there was a child from the same village as the runaway, the institution would just ask him to tell the runaway's parents that he had left the institution."

In UPRS, a government institution in West Kalimantan, quite a number of children were 'lost' in this a way,

"It appeared that quite a few children had run away from the institution. A child was considered by the institution to have run away if he or she left

without giving notice. Staff 1 said that 5 children had been classified as runaways, with the main reason being a prolonged absence so that the institution took the view that they had left of their own volition. They would then be replaced by other children. One reason why children ran away was that they were afraid of being punished for some infraction of the rules."

In Huke Ina, the government institution in Buru Island in Maluku, the research team found only 46 children out of the stated 50 at the time of the assessment. Two had apparently not come back from their home visits. The fact that another 2 children were missing seemed to have gone unnoticed by the staff until they were asked about it. It was found later that they had moved to stay with a friend as they did not get on with their care family and this seemed to have happened without those carers having noticed or at least reported the matter to anyone. This did not seem altogether out the ordinary either as children explained what had happened in the case of the 2 children who had not come back,

"The children recounted how two of their peers, N and M, had found it impossible to adjust to the institution. The children did not know why these children had found it so hard to adjust. In the end, the two children returned home for Idul Adha (Religious celebration) and never returned. The children said that the institution had taken no action to find them. They also said that the children in question had not been present when the children had lined up to be counted (which they do everyday before dining). The staff had then asked the assembled children where the two missing ones were, to which the children replied, *"They've not come back yet."* No subsequent efforts appear to have been made by the institution to find the missing children."

Both children and staff pointed out that the first period of adaptation when a child enters the institution was what children found the hardest but after a while they simply adapted or ran away. In SOS Desa Taruna for example, the cases of children running away tended to take place within that initial period when the child found adjustment to their new care situation hard. According to staff, if a child was not found within the next few days, the staff would look for him or her near the town market in Semarang.

"The reasoning is that after a few days being away from the institution, the child will be hungry. So the market is a likely place where he will look for food. If we find the child, then we bring him back. The child will not normally object"

While that period of adaptation could often be very difficult for children, it was clear that they usually tried very hard to adapt,

particularly if this was seen as their only chance of accessing education. In that regard, the research found that the prospect of being expelled for breaking some rule was often perceived by children as worse than any other punishment because they saw this as putting an end to their chances of an education and with that a better life. With that in mind, some children were willing to put up in some cases with some truly difficult conditions including sometimes violent and arbitrary behaviour by the staff.

It is important to note in that context that none of the institutions carried out any type of assessment of the capacity of a family to take back a child or young person even in the

context of ending a placement. While the institutions clearly relinquished responsibility for the child upon his or her graduation back to that child's family, the termination of the placement was in no way linked to a family's capacity to care for that young person nor even the young person's capacity to care for himself or herself except in the case of Dr. J. Lukas and SOS Desa Taruna. It is quite striking that childcare institutions that identified as one of their main criteria for admission being an orphan or an otherwise 'neglected' child, did not seem to be at all concerned about that child's care or family situation upon terminating the placement. In only one instance, the case of N a ten year old girl in Woro Wiloso, a government institution in Central Java, was concern expressed by a carer about what was likely to happen to the child at the end of her placement.,

> *"N, 10 years of age, grade 4 of elementary school, lived with her grandmother before coming to the institution. The whereabouts of her parents are unknown. The problem is, if her grandmother passes away and N graduates from high school, where would she go home to? Where would she live? What would happen to her and who would she go back to?"*

The reality, as we have seen, is that lack of parental or family care was rarely the reason for the placement in the first place and it was almost never the focus of the services provided to the child. As a result, most institutions were clear that children had families to go back to and the question of whether these would be willing to care for them simply did not arise. In addition, the institutions seemed fairly confident that children leaving their care would be able to take care of themselves. In any case these institutions clearly felt that their responsibility towards that child had ended upon the end of their school education. As expressed by the head of Darul Aitam,

> *"Normally, the branches send children here to become cadres. So, we train them up, and, God willing, when they leave here, they're ready to be used. By 'cadre' we mean that the child will become an imam, a preacher, yes, a cadre of the organization."*

Almost none of the institutions assessed had a monitoring system in place regarding the situation of children and young people who had left their care. A few of the Government institutions had occasional follow up visits if funding was available but this did not seem to be either regular or reaching all children who had left care.

UPRS in Kalimantan for example, combined its monitoring of children who had left its institution with its once a year 'outreach' process to recruit new children. Huke Ina in Maluku had funding to carry out a one off visit to children who had left care after a six months period. The process seemed to be mainly aimed at finding out what had happened to them but did not seem to be linked to any type of support services or interventions should the young person actually need their help. As the head of that institution explained,

> *"It always saddens me to see our children go home to become farm laborers or when they fail to find a job."*

In some cases, where an institution had, through its parent organisation, access to a local network such as institutions run under Muhammadiyah for example, news of the children who had left the institution sometimes reached them through these networks. In Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe for example,

> *"To help us monitor things, we ask the alumni from the institution who are now living in the community, usually in the same village or district, to tell us by telephone or text message how the children are getting on."* (interview with the manager)

Some of the other faith based institutions also made use of their religious networks to get some news from the children who had left their care, as was the case with Eben Haezer,

> *"There's no special mechanism for monitoring the children who leave the institution. However, monitoring is conducted informally, particularly when the institution managers visit churches in the villages. This is because the children*

normally were accepted by the institution at the recommendation of their local church." (interview with the manager)

Generally though, the onus seemed to be left to the children who had left care to be in touch with the institution. Only in the cases where they had done so was the institution able to know what had happened to them and what challenges they had faced. It is likely though that those individuals that keep in touch are precisely those that have succeeded to make a life for themselves. In any case, no after care services were provided though in some instances as with SOS Desa Taruna, relationships with carers were still possible. Visits by alumni were usually welcomed by the institutions, particularly when these could be linked to identifying new recruits or support the institution in some other way.

Child protection policy and practice

Only one out of the 36 childcare institutions assessed had a formal child protection policy in place or some sort of system to enable child protection issues faced by children in care to be known or responded to.

A child protection policy together with a system to implement it is crucial to ensure that institutions are able to identify, address and support any child in its care that may be facing harm such as abuse, neglect and exploitation. It enables the institution to send the clear message that violence against children will not be tolerated and that the institution is a safe environment for the child. In addition it supports children and staff to address issues of violence both within the context of the institution but also the impact of violence which children may have been exposed to prior to entering the institution or are experiencing outside of it including at home and at school.

LIFE STORY:

SITI, Girl 16 years old, West Kalimantan

Siti was born 16 years ago on 26 June. Her spine was broken when she was a child and this has interfered with her growth. As a result, Siti is now only about 1 meter in height and she has a protruding spine and a deformed body.

Siti was born to an unfortunate family. Her father was a heavy drinker and gambler, and would frequently beat Siti's mother when drunk. When Siti was not yet a month old, her father lifted her up after fighting with her mother and threw her against a rambutan tree.

It is likely to be this that broke Siti's spine. The problem was exacerbated by the fact that she never received any medical treatment.

One month after Siti was thrown against the tree, her mother died following a beating at the hands of her father, who then fled and whose whereabouts are still unknown. Siti was left all alone, disabled and disfigured. After her father ran away, Siti was taken in by a neighboring farming family, who had no children of their own. They then adopted Siti as their own child. After that, Siti lived with her adoptive parents, and was raised and educated as their own child.

However, Siti's suffering was not at an end. When she was in grade 5 of elementary school, Siti's adoptive mother died following an illness. Siti's adoptive father then remarried with a widow who already had four children of her own. So, Siti now had four siblings. After this, Siti found herself gradually being edged out of the family. Her adoptive father's new wife focused all of her attention on her own children and showed little concern for Siti. After graduating from elementary school, Siti received no more

SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java was the only institution that had a clear statement that cases of violence against children should be responded to by its staff and managers although that statement, found in the Manual of its parent organisation, did not seem to be accompanied by a clear system or procedure to respond to such cases.

Across the majority of institutions there seemed to be little awareness of the risks faced by children in relation to physical, sexual or psychological violence or of the potential impact such violence may have on children and their development. What was particularly surprising for institutions whose stated focus was on 'neglected children' was that almost none of the institutions seemed to recognise that as a result of that neglect children may have particular care and support needs. No attempt was made on the part of the institutions to identify at admission time any possible history of violence or neglect in the child's life that may require a different approach

schooling for two years, and in the end was forced to go out into the fields to work, despite her physical impairment and her sadness at being rejected by her adoptive parents.

Despite everything, Siti still dreamed of being able to continue her education. These hopes were realized after Siti's elder sister, who lived in the childcare institution, invited Siti to come to Singkawang and seek a place in the institution.

However, there were still a number of problems that had to be overcome by Siti. When she arrived at the childcare institution, she was enrolled in grade 1 of junior high school, when in reality at her age she should have been in grade 3.

Siti also faced money problems. During the course of one year, she was only sent a total of Rp 75,000 (USD 7.5) by her adoptive father. This was because he himself was not well-off. While the childcare institution supplied food and paid for Siti's education, she still needed money for personal necessities such as soap, shampoo and toothpaste. During menstruation, Siti was forced to use a piece of folded cloth as a kind of diaper as she was unable to afford sanitary napkins. She would then wash this cloth time and again.

In order to earn money to purchase personal necessities, Siti did what she could, including washing clothes for the pesantren (Islamic boarding school) students, together with her friend, R. For this she received Rp 20,000 (USD 2) per month. She also had to perform chores and duties in the childcare institution, despite her physical impairment. Among the duties that Siti was required to perform were pruning and cutting the trees, helping with the cooking, and cleaning the home of the head of the pesantren.

Siti was also made the subject of jibes and teasing by the other children in the institution, and frequently called "Ateng" (a comic figure) because of her short stature. This obviously compounded Siti's lack of self-confidence. As a result of her disability and different appearance, Siti tends to burst out crying when asked about her hopes and expectations for the future. Pessimistically, she says that she does not have the courage to hope.

One of the things that has encouraged Siti to stay on in the childcare institution is the fact that she also has a lot of friends who care about her there. Their care is manifested by their giving of clothes and school requisites to her. Siti never feels she is treated differently by them. In fact, she feels happier living in the childcare institution than in her own home, where she was denied attention and affection. In the childcare institution, she has the love and affection of her friends, and it is this that encourages Siti to persevere.

To this day, Siti harbours a desire to revenge herself on the father that she doesn't remember, but who left her deformed for the rest of her life.

"If I hadn't been thrown like that by my father, I wouldn't be deformed ... and mum wouldn't have died."

The most recent news that Siti has heard about her father is that he has remarried and has children with his new wife. However, he has never made any effort to find Siti. To this day, Siti is still filled with hatred and a desire for revenge.

or particular support. As we saw earlier, with a strong focus on access to education and virtually no individual care being provided, the great majority of the institutions did not recognise the need to assess a child's own particular circumstances or history as part of the selection or admission process.

Despite this, in some cases children's experiences of violence at the hands of their families or in the context of their communities were identified, often after placement and usually in the context of a child not 'adapting' properly. Specific support or services were generally not provided though, instead it was expected that with time and with the support of other children, those children would 'recover'. As we have seen, a few institutions specifically recruited children who had been victims of conflict as was the case with Caleb House in Maluku, PEPABRI in West Kalimantan and Darul 'Ulum Al-Munnawwarah in Aceh or victims of a disaster like the 'tsunami' in Aceh as in the case of Suci Hati, Muhammadiyah Meulaboh and Darul Ulum. Surprisingly among those institutions, only Caleb House recognised the need to provide particular support to these children and that tended to focus on 'trauma counselling'. Huke Ina, the government institution in Buru Island which also has in its care a number of children clearly affected by the conflict including children who had been directly involved, had no support system of any kind in place for these children. Instead children relied on each other for support.

It was clear from the research that family and inter-communal violence had been a contributing factor in a number of the placements and that it had impacted considerably on the lives of many children in care. Family violence, particularly in the context of reconstructed families or step families after a divorce had led to children being placed in care or children running away. Siti's story above provides a striking illustration of the legacy of violence on a child's life and how it resulted in a placement in care.

The case of another child A4, in PEPABRI also shows the clear links between family violence and placement in care,

> "A.4 was born on 15 April 1993, the fifth child of the family. A.4's mother died when he was one year old. He was then looked after by his grandmother in Pontianak. At that time, his father was also living in Pontianak and had remarried without informing the children, including A.4. *"Dad married in secret."* A.4 and his younger brother were then taken by their father to live with their stepmother.
>
> A.4 was in grade 1 of elementary school at the time. However, after a few months living with his father and stepmother, he found he could no longer stand it. *"My stepmother was really evil. When we came home tired from school, she would order us to work, to cook for the whole household, wash the dishes and clean the house. We would be really tired. But if we didn't do what she told us, she would beat us with a rattan cane. It was really sore, Miss. She beat us all the time when we didn't do what she told us. But she was always nice to us when dad was around. So dad didn't know that she beat us.*
>
> *In the end, I couldn't stand it any more and went to live with grandma again. Then when I was going into grade 2 of elementary school, grandma brought me here, to the Pepabri institution. Dad didn't know at the time, but in the end he found out. My brother is still living with dad and is still being beaten. They've also stopped sending him to school."*

In Al Hidayah, the case of an 8 year placed in the institution as a result of abuse by her step father was also identified,

> "S (8 years of age) was frequently subjected to violence by her stepfather. He frequently beat her, on one occasion with a belt buckle so as to draw blood. Her stepfather was frequently drunk on the local alcohol, and would also hit S's mother when she tried to hide the alcohol in the dirty washing. When her father was enraged, S would run away so as to avoid being beaten. As the child

was relating her story, she pointed to scars on her forehead."

Similarly 3 of the children placed in Caleb House had been placed there as a result of family violence including two twins who were abused by their father, after their mother died in the conflict in Maluku. The father used to burn cigarette butts on their cheeks and the marks can still be clearly seen on their faces. The third child was hit so badly and repeatedly by his mother that his back was badly hurt and is damaged as a result causing the child serious difficulty with walking.

Across the institutions, there seemed to be much less awareness of the potential impact of a history of inter-personal violence on children than of the potential impact of conflict. Even in Caleb House the focus was very much on children who had 'witnessed' their families killed in the conflict or had been directly affected rather than children who had been victims of violence by family members, "There are no staff in the institution that have received training on how to recognize and respond to signs of violence."

It was clear from the research, however, that many of the children who had been put into institutional care were bringing with them often painful histories of neglect and abuse at the hands of their families or of the loss and destruction of their families a result of conflict or disaster. In some cases, children had been in the institution when the conflict had broken out as with Nurul Ikhlas in Ambon or when the tsunami had hit as in the case of Suci Hati on the west coast of Aceh. The extent to which their world had been affected by these events came through powerfully when speaking to these children as was the fact that in many cases they had only been able to rely on each other to recover.

It is obvious from the stories children tell that their experiences in the context of family

CHILDREN AFFECTED BY CONFLICTS

MALUKU: Hasanah's story (Girl, 20 years old)

A. *Child's Particulars*

Name: Hasanah

Place and date of birth: Luhu, 6 April 1987

Parental status: Mother alive and father dead

Length of time in the institution: 15 years

Religion: Islam

B. Reason for entering the institution

In 1992, Hasanah's father passed away, leaving her mother with 6 children. As life in Seram was difficult, in the end Hasanah's mother decided to go with her six children to Lahat to work. In Lahat, Hasanah's mother found work as a gardener at the home of a rich person. She then met Mr. A (who is now head of the childcare institution), who was seeking out children who were in need of care. Hasanah's mother was interested, and brought all of her children to the institution. Since 1992, Hasanah, her five siblings and her mother have all being living in the childcare institution. At that time, Hasanah was not yet attending school. However, the twins were in grade three of elementary school, while her sister was in grade 1.

After taking up residence in the childcare institution, the burden on Hasanah's mother was eased considerably. *"I could relax. The children were being looked after. At that time, Hasanah was still not at school, while the twins were in grade 3 of elementary school,"* recalled Hasanah's mother, describing the time when Hasanah first arrived at the childcare institution.

C. Life in the institution

1. Attacks by the "Obet" (nickname used in Ambon for Christians)

"The ninth of September 1999 is known as the bloody Idul Fitri," explained Hasanah when commencing her description of the civil disturbances she experienced in Ambon. At that time, she was 12 and still in grade 6 of elementary school. She is still traumatized about the events that almost cost her and her friends their lives. *"We had been invited to an event by the manager of Bank Bapindo. We were followed on the way home. We came under a hail of stones. The car kept going. At Karpan (Karang Panjang), the car almost crashed into a gully. All of the kids were screaming. Mum was crying."*

After "Bloody Idul Fitri", the disturbances became commonplace. *"One night,"* Hasanah continued, *"the children were watching TV in mum's house. Suddenly, we heard the electric siren go off. That meant danger. The adults sent us out the back door as the "obet" were already at the entrance gate."*

All of the children were sent to seek safety in Lorong Putri village. In order to get to that village, said Hasanah, the children had to cross a barbed-wire fence. They were then taken in to people's homes. All of the children were crying as the adults were still at the childcare institution. *"It was only the small children who were sent to safety. The bigger children stayed behind to help the adults fight the 'Obet'."*

During the course of the disturbances, the childcare institution was attacked 5 times. *"The worst attack came soon after the disturbances started. The houses in front of childcare institution were burned. They also tried to burn the mosque at the front. But luckily, all that was burned was the cloth curtain separating the men from the women."* With regard to the early stages of the disturbances, Hasanah described her feelings as follows: *"At the start, I was terrified and felt like I was going to die. We thought we were going to be chased out by the 'obet'."* After the initial disturbances, the childcare institution was given protection. *"They told me to go around the perimeter sprinkling (holy) water."*

Attack after attack occurred so that it was impossible to sleep comfortably at night. The childcare institution staff warned, *"Be on your guard, don't go outside the home, don't sleep too soundly."* Gunfire was heard by the children most nights. *"If we heard shooting, we would all pray for the "obet" to be killed,"* recalled Hasanah.

One night they tried to bomb the childcare institution, but the bomb missed and hit a resident's house instead. The house was burned to the ground. The children ran away in panic. Hasanah related another story. One evening, just after Koranic study, Hasanah was leaving the mosque. A bullet whistled past her face. *"I was really lucky I wasn't hit. It passed just in front of my head"*. The Ustad ordered us back into the mosque.

Other heartbreaking events that Hasanah says she will never forget:

- The time Ade died. Ade was a child in grade 3 of elementary school who was shot during an attack.
- D, who was in grade 6 of elementary school, joined the jihad. He was shot in the temple, but they were still able to save him in the hospital. According to Hasanah, *"When the doctor wanted to take out the bullet, he tried to give D an injection first, but he couldn't get the needle to break the skin. The doctor said that the child must be using something, yeah, an amulet. He had an amulet tied around his waist. It was only after this was taken off that they were able to inject him. A lot of blood came out."*

During the course of the disturbances, Hasanah witnessed many disturbing events, such as *the following:*

- *"The obet have no feelings, they kick people in the head. I've often seen the obet kicking the heads of 'acan' (nickname for Muslims)."*
- A dog running around with a severed hand in its mouth
- A dismembered corpse
- People fighting hand-to-hand with spears and machetes

One time in Ramadan when things had been quiet for a while following a ceasefire, a joint breaking-of-the-fast meal had been

arranged by the 'obet'. However, the event ended up in shooting. According to Hasanah, *"During Ramadan, the 'obet' invited us to break the fast together. The venue was near the church. However, as we were leaving 'obet' territory, there was an explosion and a fire started."*

2. Joining the Jihad

"I wanted to join the jihad, but mum wouldn't let me." The girls were instead told to cook for those on the jihad. Every night, Hasanah and the other children would cook for the members of the security forces and militia guarding the childcare institution.

3. Trauma

With regard to Hasanah's feelings during the disturbances, she had this to say: *"I was afraid, I hated the 'obet'. I wanted to join the jihad against the 'obet', but I was afraid. And I was also told not to by mum."* Hasanah's experiences led her to hate the 'obet'. As she says, *"I still hate them deep inside. Even if I'm smiling on the outside, inside I hate them with all my heart. I hate the 'obet' from Ambon. 'Obet' from outside Ambon are OK."*

Even though almost 5 years have passed, the disturbances are still affecting Hasanah. Even today, she is still nervous. *"To this day, I'm still afraid when in 'obet' territory. I'm always on my guard. If I meet an 'obet' on my own in the street, no problem. But I'm still not brave enough to go into an 'obet' village on my own."*

Hasanah hopes that the peace will be permanent and that she experiences no more horrors. She also hopes to be able to shake off her fear of 'obet' and 'obet' villages.

ACEH: T's story
(Boy, 15 years old), Lhoksemawe,

T was the son of a GAM commander.* Not only T's father was a member of GAM, but so was his brother. Both of them were shot dead by the TNI. T related his feelings and experiences as the son of a GAM commander.

"Dad died on 5 August 2003. He had been sick in the forest. I brought rice and medicines to him. But his hideout was given away by a spy. Dad's hideout was discovered by the TNI. Dad came out of the back door, and was shot dead. When he was shot, I was on my way back home," T recalled. He said that after his father had died, his remains were not brought back to the village. *"They would give us back the body if we collected it. So, me and mama went to the TNI to get dad's body back."* T was heartbroken to see his dad's clothes covered in blood. *"When we arrived, they wouldn't give us dad's body back directly. They questioned us first."* When asked what the TNI had asked his mother, T replied: *"I don't know what they asked mama. But they told me not to be like my dad, not to be a rebel."* T said he did not reply when the TNI said this to him. *"They kept telling me what to do. Then they gave us back dad's body."* According to T, neither he nor his mother cried at the time. *"Mum said that we're not allowed to cry. We had to accept it as dad had been wrong. Mum didn't agree with dad being in GAM."*

T knew that both his dad and brother were GAM men as they were rarely at home. Rather, they frequently stayed in the forest. They also carried guns and GAM flags. *"Dad and my brother had guns. They often went off into the forest. At home, dad would tell stories about the struggle. Dad had a big GAM flag, but didn't fly it at the house. He hid it as he was afraid the TNI would find out,"* He then described his feelings as the son of a GAM commander, *"It's not nice. I was afraid of losing dad."* Not only was he afraid of losing his father, T was also upset as he rarely saw him. *"I hardly ever met dad as he was always in the woods. He rarely saw his children."* As a result, T would often go into the forest with his mother to meet his father. It took between 2 and 3 hours walking in order to reach his father's hideout. If T's father himself wanted to see his wife and children, he would order one of his men to bring them by motorcycle.

One time T and his mother were collected by his father's men. They were brought as far as the forest by motorcycle, and had to walk from there on, with the motorbike being left at the nearest village. T was exhausted and started to cry. He had to be carried by his

mother. They eventually met his father, and T stayed for a couple of days. *"I wasn't afraid in the forest. I liked playing with dad's radio, annoying the TNI", "I wanted to stay with dad in the forest, but mum said I couldn't as I had to go to school."* T had a number of reasons for wanting to stay with his father in the forest. *"Dad liked telling stories about the struggle. He also liked reading a book called "Sumatra Siapa Punya" (Who Owns Sumatra). He showed it to me and told me what it was about. I liked listening to dad's stories. The book was all about the adventures of the Cut (A famous heroine in Aceh). According to the book, GAM is right as so much of Aceh's wealth has been taken to the centre, and not shared with the Acehnese people, so that they have been forced to rebel."*

Before T's father was shot by TNI his brother had also been shot by TNI *"My brother was shot at the back of the house on his motorbike. He was on his way home to warn dad that the TNI were in the village. But before he reached home he was shot."* T heard the shooting that resulted in the death of his brother. *"My brother was shot 6 times – in the legs, abdomen, head – although he was shot, there was no blood,"* recalled T.

As T's family were pro-GAM, the TNI were frequently posted at his house. T wasn't afraid when the TNI soldiers were in the house. In fact, he admired them, with their uniforms and weapons. *"I really admired them, they were great, their uniforms were cool, so were their guns."* He continued, *"Dad's gun was different from the TNI guns."* According to T, neither his mother, himself nor his siblings were disturbed by the presence of the soldiers. *"Mum said it was no problem. The soldier's often asked mum about dad, but mum would say she didn't know anything. Mum was often threatened, shouted at, me too. But I had been told by mum to say that I knew nothing if asked by the TNI."* While T never saw his mother being assaulted or physically abused by the TNI, he did see her frequently being questioned aggressively. However, his mother never became angry.

The experience that made the most impression on T was when he witnessed his elder sister being taken away to the TNI post in a big TNI truck. *"She was crying so hard she couldn't answer their questions. So the soldiers slapped her around the face, blindfolded her and brought her in a TNI truck to the Army post. My sister had a telephone in her house, so they thought she was a spy."*

When T was asked how he felt about the TNI, he replied: *"No problem. Mum says that I shouldn't seek revenge as dad was in the wrong. If dad hadn't joined GAM, then he wouldn't have been hunted down by the TNI."*

T heard shooting and news of people's deaths almost every day. He was no longer frightened by the sound of gunfire. *"No, it's no problem, as long as you don't go outside the house. If there's fighting going on, you can't go to school. So school was often interrupted."* Because of this, T's mother decided to send him to the childcare institution in Lhoksemawe and T consented. So he and his elder sibling now live in the institution.

According to one of the institution's staff, T comes from a relatively well-off family. They own oil-palm and durian plantations, and are engaged in trade. The childcare worker said she had visited their house. *"T's mother brought him here so that his schooling would not be disrupted. As there was frequently fighting in their village, their school was often closed."* This accorded with what T had to say, *"Mama says that she brought me here so that my schooling would not be disrupted. She often visits me here. And whenever we have holidays, I go home to visit mama."*

ACEH: N (Girl, 16 years old) and S (Boy, 17 years old), Meulaboh.

Two children who hailed from villages located within military operations zones. They related their experiences of violence, and how they had witnessed their fathers being killed, *"I secretly watched as dad was killed by the TNI."* This was related by N with a sad expression, but fiery eyes. She then told how TNI troops came to her village and rounded up all the

villagers in the square. Suddenly, the soldiers opened fire, mowing down the men, who were lined up in ranks, including her father. N says that she no longer harbours a desire for revenge as she believes that human beings do not have the right to exact revenge – rather it is God who will punish evildoers. N admits that she only vaguely remembers the incident as it happened back when she was in grade 5 of elementary school. Nevertheless, she still feels nervous when she undertakes the long journey to her home village.

One boy, S, related how his father had been killed during the massacre at the pesantren (Islamic boarding school) led by Tengku B (religious leader). The Tengku, according to the child, was the most famous imam in Nagan Raya, the place where the child came from. Many people, both from within and from outside Aceh, came to visit the imam's pesantren in order to seek his advice and guidance. The boy related how intelligence officers suddenly arrived at the pesantren, which they believed was a GAM base. He said that they tried as hard as hard as they could to get close to the imam, and remained at the pesantren for two weeks. They even offered to lend him their vehicle. One week after they had left, the intelligence officers returned to the pesantren, accompanied by a squad of TNI soldiers.

"The atmosphere was very tense. Our area was surrounded by TNI troops. They were also patrolling with aircraft. The TNI soldiers then rounded up all the people from the village – men, women, the old, the young, and put them in the pesantren, on the second floor. After everyone had been rounded up, a TNI soldier with camouflage stripes on his face ordered Tengku B to come out. However, all the children urged him not to. Despite this, the imam emerged. He was then lined up with all of the other men in the pesantren yard. Without any order being given, the soldiers opened fire and shot all of the men, witnessed by the women children from the second floor of the pesantren. S related his story slowly and deliberately, with his eyes staring into the distance.

At the time of the pesantren massacre, S was in grade 5 of elementary school. He believed that he too would be killed. However, the children and the women were then brought to a mosque located beside the scene of the massacre. S did not get an opportunity to see his father's remains as they were immediately dumped in a mass grave. After the death of S's father, his mother decided to remarry. S said that he didn't want to interfere with the happiness of his mother, and that his stepfather refused to pay for his schooling. As a result, he resolved to move away from home and enter the childcare institution in Nagan Raya. He was in grade 1 of junior high school. S said that life in that childcare institution had been far from quiet as it was located on the borderline between TNI and GAM territory, so that shooting was often to be heard. In fact, exchanges of fire took place just about every day. On one occasion, the children had been caught in the fighting and kicked by Mobile Brigade (Brimob) troopers. S couldn't take it any more and in the end went to his cousin's house in Meulaboh and enrolled in the Muhammadiyah junior high school. He only had his bus fare in his pocket at the time. When attending the Muhammadiyah junior high school, S had met other children from the childcare institution, who then encouraged him to seek a place there. Armed with nothing more than determination, he made his way to the institution. After three attempts to gain a place, he was finally contacted by the head of the institution in Meulaboh and offered a place. He entered the institution as he was about to start grade 2 of junior high school (2002).

At one stage, S had considered joining GAM so as to free Aceh from Indonesia. Besides seeing the TNI as evil on account of the fact that the Army had killed his father, he also believed that Aceh had never benefited from its position as a part of Indonesia. In fact, in S' view, Aceh had suffered as its resources had been siphoned off. Furthermore, many

Acehnese had been massacred, especially during the New Order era.

In the end, S had decided not to join GAM, although his elder brother and cousin had long been members. His mother advised him to get an education. S decided that the best way to get revenge would not be to join GAM, but rather to get an education and become successful so that he could be an influence for change in the future. Despite his aspirations, S is going to be faced with a major obstacle – namely, the lack of money to pay for university after finishing high school. As a result, he is now at a loss to know what he should do so as to ensure his future.

**) GAM (Gerakan Aceh Merdeka) is the acronym for an armed group that fought for independence for Aceh from Indonesia.*

ACEH: CHILDREN AFFECTED BY THE TSUNAMI

SUCI HATI, Meulaboh (West Aceh)

All of the children who had been in this childcare institution in 2004 were affected by the tsunami. The children had been carrying out their normal chores, cleaning the childcare institution, when the tsunami struck on a Sunday morning. The disaster claimed the lives of the Ustadz' three children, who also lived in the childcare institution complex.

The children related how they immediately ran to the mosque for safety. This was later used as a temporary shelter. The children were then moved to tents in an IDP camp while awaiting the rebuilding of the childcare institution, which had been levelled to the ground by the tsunami.

While they were in the IDP camp, the boys and the girls occupied separate tents.

Not all the childcare institution staff lived in the tents with the children. The girls were accompanied by three lady cooks, while the boys were accompanied by only one male member of staff.

According to the children, the ustadz and the head of the childcare institution didn't live in the IDP camp as both had rented houses close to the location.

The children said that they lived their lives in the camp without any special supervision from the childcare institution staff. They ate with the other IDPs at the public kitchen. Similarly with study, school and prayers, the children looked after themselves without any special attention from the staff. The children complained about the discomfort they experienced in the tents, *"not nice ... hot ... leaky roof"*.

The children also told of their grief at losing friends and relatives to the tsunami. One child told how she had simultaneously lost her mother, grandmother, elder sibling and younger sibling, *"…They were in Samatiga ... it's 15 km from here ...now it takes about an hour just to get there.... I was here (in the institution) at the time ... my mum died ... I was told by my stepfather ... 'there's no point in asking for your mum any more'. Now there's only four of us ... two older siblings ... and one younger sibling."* Her mother's younger sister survived and took on the role of her mother. *"I was closest to mum's sister. She was badly injured by the tsunami, but she's recovered a bit since, but she's still got a limp. Her husband was killed. Her children were killed also."*

Besides family members, the children also lost good friends to the tsunami, *"X ... our friend ... because it happened on Sunday, which was a holiday ... she had gone home ... we had met earlier on Friday... she said she was tired. … Someone who came back after the tsunami told the cook what happened… Apparently X was on her way to the mosque….that's when it happened."* The children also recounted about their neighbourhoods being destroyed, and bodies not being found

so that they had been unable to bid farewell to their friends for the last time: "*The roads were all gone ... it was impossible to go ... her body was never found ... everyone ... friends ... grandma ... mama ... good friends ... especially school friends ... sad ...*".

The children expressed their sadness at losing their close friends. It was then that they revealed their innermost feelings: *"It's not like it used to be ... it's different now ... there's no one like her ... her nature ... her response when we had a heart-to-heart ... and other things ... if there was a problem ... because she was strong ... a bit of a tomboy ... she could respond to things like problems at school…."*

The conditions in the wake of the tsunami produced various psychological impacts on the children, including a deep feeling of sadness and dejection that the children were finding hard to put into words, *"I cry if anything happens. Here, for example, if someone is upset, like if they're tired after school ... if someone gets scolded when they've done nothing wrong ... why before it wasn't like this ... Ok, it happened, but not so often ... sad ... upsetting."*

The psychological effects of the tsunami were most profoundly felt by the children in the first year after the disaster. Among the problems experienced by the children were difficulties sleeping and nightmares. *"Basically, if there was a tremor, I'd always remember ... we used to talk about the tremors ... they happened every week ... if there was a tremor, we'd all go down ... dreaming, dreaming that another tsunami was coming ... after the tsunami I couldn't sleep ... for more than a year ... when we were in the open ... raining ... thunder and lightening ... I was scared ... nothing was certain ... nowhere to live ..."*

The situation in the wake of the tsunami also had an impact on the children's achievements at school. *"My performance at school got worse ... I remember ... after the tsunami hit ... I had no interest in studying ... there were no books ... I didn't want to go to school ... I had no uniform ... I had no shoes."*

The children said that it took them a full year to recover from the trauma inflicted on them by the tsunami. The children employed various means of lightening their spirits,

"Sometimes it comes back ... I try to get over it ... almost a year now ... I normally go for walks ... nowhere in particular ... I usually go for bus rides ... I get on and off again and again ... if I'm at home sitting on my own ... at first, it's OK ... but then I start remembering and crying."

The children also described the role their peers played in relieving their burden: *"just praying ... sometimes sad, remembering ... if I am down, I tell a friend ... she likes to tease me about it .... she doesn't like to see people crying ... she gets upset too if she sees people crying ... 'oh dear, why are you crying ... like that ... it's up to God ... it's OK ... you won't be sad for long ... you'll be OK tomorrow ... go to sleep ... tomorrow you'll have forgotten."*

The fact that they were living together also helped the children get over the trauma, *"I've forgotten about it a bit, now ... it's not like it was before ... because I'm here with my friends ... not like in the village ... it took a while ... but because we're all together living in the tent ... so we could forget quickly"*. (Interview with 3 roommates, whose family members and friends fell victim to the tsunami)

DARUL ULUM, Lhoksemawe, Anto's story (15 years old boy)

Anto, who is from Calang Meulaboh, is the only child in the institution that comes from outside Lhoksemawe. He originally came to the Darul Ulum as his neighbour knew the ustad there. Anto is happy that he is now in Darul Ulum as it will allow him to get an education and study as a *santri* (Koranic student). However, there is one problem preying on Anto's mind – the amount of assistance he receives is becoming smaller. *"I'm getting less and less assistance. They promised me I'd be sent to high school, but I'm getting no assistance now. I just get a bed and food. I'm also disappointed as all my friends are visited by their parents and given money, but nobody gives me money, except for grandma when she visits now and again. But she's getting on in years. It's a pity for her."*

Anto then recalled his traumatic experiences during the tsunami,

"It was Sunday and I had just woken up. Mama was opening the shop and dad was out. There was me, mama, and my younger sibling. I felt the earthquake, the closets fell over, the shelves collapsed. I heard a rumbling noise. Everyone shouted that the sea was retreating. There were lots of fish left high and dry. So everyone ran out to gather up the fish. I didn't go. There was a big rumbling noise again, getting louder. Everyone ran to the mosque, the sea rose. The wave was enormous. God help us. Everyone was running to the mosque and praying. I could only think that it was the end of the world. I remembered mum. She was behind me. She told me to run, dad was also running. Thank God, the massive wave didn't crest. If it had crested, we would all have been dead. We kept running up into the hills."

Anto then recalled his experiences in the hills,

"While we were taking refuge in the forest, I slept on under a tree. There was no tent. We ate what we could get, leaves, coconut milk... I felt so weak. It was only after two weeks that a helicopter dripped food – that was the first time we ate real food. As well as the helicopter, Marines also arrived to help us. In the end, we got plenty of help. Lot's of Westerners arrived. We ate an ox that one of the Marine's shot. The ox had ran up here from the village."

Anto lived in the forest for three weeks. He was then collected by his grandmother. Grandmother was in the hills trying to find out which of her children and grandchildren had survived. It was then that she met up with Anto. After that, he lived with his grandmother, but as her financial circumstances were difficult, he was eventually sent to the childcare institution.

Leila's story (Girl, 16 years old)

Leila's house was only 20 meters from the beach, so that when the tsunami struck, there was nothing that her family could do to avoid it. Leila was sobbing loudly as she related her story to the assessor – occasionally they would hug. After she managed to calm down, she would continue her story of how she had struggled to save herself, her mother and her siblings from the tsunami.

"When the tsunami struck, I was tidying up the yard. Mum, my brothers and sisters, and my nephew/niece(s) were in the house. Dad had gone to the market. The water came in higher than your head ... I ran to the road. Then the second wave came, even bigger than the first. We held hands – mum held my right hand, while my sibling held my right hand. She was swept away by the water ... they found her dead body that afternoon."

Leila stopped talking, and started sobbing uncontrollably. She and the assessor hugged each other. The assessor then decided to change the topic by questioning L and Z, Leila's best friends, who were also present. As the assessor chatted with them, Leila began to calm down and rejoined the conversation.

"I held mum's hand and wouldn't let go. There was lots of timber, debris, the water was swirling around. But I kept on holding mum's hand and praying. I knew mum wasn't strong. I wasn't strong either. I couldn't breath. My hair was full of debris. There was a big piece of wood, I grabbed it for mum's head. Mum was already weak."

Leila kept praying that God would save her mother, but she was aware that her mother was already weak. So, when she saw the piece of wood, she placed her mother's head on it. She then stayed by her and helped her face death:

"I still remember mum dying on that piece of wood. Her body was still in the water. I held on to it with my left hand, and hugged her and caressed her head with my right hand, while praying all the time. I knew she was dying – her breathing was strained. She drew three big breaths and then she died."

Leila saying that even as her mother was drawing her last breaths, Leila tried to cheer her up by saying, *"Mum, would you like to hear my story?"* Leila related this while hugging the assessor.

"... I was really glad that I was there when mum died. I held tightly onto her body, and brought

it to the mosque. There was water up to here (pointing to her chin) in the Mosque. I placed mum's body on the pulpit. I was inside the mosque on my own as everyone else had climbed up onto the roof."

That afternoon, as the water began to recede, people started to arrive at the mosque and relay news on who had died and who had survived. Among those who had died were Leila's father and her 4 nieces and nephews, while another niece and one of her siblings were missing. Their bodies have never been found. All of Leila's family members who died in the tsunami were buried in the village of her brother's wife as this was removed from the coast and had not been affected by the tsunami.

After that, Leila lived with her brother in his wife's village. She had stayed for a while in the IDP camp at Lhok Sukun, but she didn't like it as there was nothing to do there except study the Koran, play and sleep. There had been people to cheer her up there, but *"I wasn't interested. I would just sit on my own. When I lost my mum, I lost everything. I didn't like mixing with people. If I heard people having a good time, I would get angry and go off on my own."*

Since that time, Leila has been withdrawn, and quick to get angry. This was stated by her friends, *"Leila's become very touchy ... she flies off the handle very quickly. But she's getting better now."* Leila herself agreed with this assessment, "*When people ask me about the tsunami, I never answer. I just cry."* Leila is still traumatized by the tsunami, *"I still remember it, even now. If someone talks about the tsunami, I don't want to hear. I get away as quick as I can. I can't listen. It just makes me cry."*

So Leila summed up the trauma she experienced. She added, *"If there is a happy or joyful atmosphere, I can't stand it. I can't control my emotions. I still remember it all. So I just go to my room, crying and praying."* She still is loath to return to her home village as this brings back too many memories of the tsunami, *"I don't want to go home as I always remember what happened."* She also says, *"If someone is talking about a disaster, like yesterday there were floods in Jakarta, or there was an earthquake somewhere, I don't want to hear. My body starts shaking, my chest hurts. When this happens, I go straight to my room, just crying and praying."*

Following the tsunami, Leila has frequently experienced pain and has been x-rayed a number of times. *"I still have a pain in the chest, like I'm being bitten by ants,"* she explained.

Leila's friends are fully aware of how much she suffered, and so do their best to keep her occupied and amused."

violence, conflict or disaster are still very much a part of their lives and in many cases they have had to develop their own ways of coping. Beyond providing some 'trauma counselling' and moral and spiritual guidance to ensure children were not carrying feeling of revenge or hatred, institutions caring for children who had been affected by violence or tragic events had not put in place any other strategy or identified any particular need to support children's recovery or to overcome the challenge of reintegrating themselves within families and communities that were badly affected.

In the few cases where 'counselling' had been provided, it seemed very ad hoc and usually the result of the involvement of national and international organisations in the aftermath of that crisis rather than as a result of identified needs or a planned response provided by the institutions to individual children in their care. Children also did not always find 'trauma counselling' helpful as was explained by a child in Suci Hati about the 'counselling' provided to them through their school,

> *"There has been counselling ... from our school ...*

Yesterday in school ... we were told to tell what happened during the tsunami ... 'what happened'…'where did we run to...'. Actually, the teacher from school ... he worked in the Office of Education ... an expert.

(It was)…in front of the whole class. Some of them laughed….

We were told to act out what happened, running, crying out for help. One child said, 'Sir, there's no point doing this again ... it will only increase the trauma.'

The teacher said not to worry, make it funny…

There doesn't seem to be any point... Going home, it seemed that I started to remember it all again."

In a similar vein, institutions which spoke of supporting children to overcome anger and feelings of revenge against 'the other side' and of reconciliation between communities had actually removed children from communities that had since moved on from the period of conflict and where relations between communities had slowly been rebuild. The children however continued to live in institutions that were almost entirely segrated and as a result they were provided with few opportunities to actually mix with children from the other community and understand their common experiences. This was found to be the case for example with both Caleb House and Nurul Ikhlas in Maluku. This raises some serious worries about the challenges some of these children will face when they have to leave their institution and return to a world that has actually moved on from the conflict.

As well as a general lack of awareness about the history of abuse and neglect of children who were placed in their care, most childcare institutions showed also little awareness that child protection concerns could also arise when children were in their care. As a result, the issue of having an organisational policy that explained how the institution and its staff should respond to such protection concerns was simply not on the agenda.

When asked about cases of violence in the institution staff and managers tended to respond that there were none as the institution was operated under the principle of 'loving one another' or 'caring for one another'. As the Manager of Al Ummah explained, the values on which the institution was based was that younger children were loved by the elder children and younger children respected those that are older. As a result, according to the manager, children protected one another and, *"To date there's been nothing to worry about."* .

Similarly, the head of Al Amin explained his approach to child protection,

"I strive to create a familial atmosphere in this institution. I tell them that there all like my own brothers and sisters. So we should all love and protect each other. Consequently, I require the small children to call the older ones "kakak" (elder sister) or "abang" (elder brother), while the bigger children address the younger children by their first names."

Some of the childcare institutions that were run by faith based organisations also pointed to the fact that their faith would not tolerate violence and as such it could not happen in the institution. That was the case for example with Prajapati which is run by a Buddhist organisation,

"It is not possible that there could be violence in this institution as Buddhist teaching tells us to love everyone, whatever their ethnic background, religion or family background."

Similarly the manager of the Hindu based Dharma Laksana, which is explained how it approached child protection, *"By implanting a sense of love and brotherhood in all of us here."*

When responding to questions on child protection and violence however, most Managers and staff understood this primarily to be about violence perpetrated by children onto children. Few seemed to consider the possibility of violence being carried out by staff or carers in the institutions, let alone other adults outside of the institutions who may have contact with the children. When asked about

cases of violence in Nirmala, the Manager explained,

> "Since I've been head of this institution, there have been no cases of violence. If the children fight among themselves, they will be warned or punished by, for example, not been given pocket money."

A similar response was given by the head of Nurul Ikhlas, *"The most common form of violence in the institution is fighting among the children, especially the boys. With the girls, it's mostly verbal."*

Violence between children was 'checked' not only through the regular emphasis on acting as 'brothers and sisters' but also through strict enforcement of regulations and sanctions against children who fought. As explained by the head of Al Hidayah,

> *"The institution doesn't have any special procedures to protect the children from violence. However, there are regulations laid down by the institution's management, which are set out in the disciplinary rules of the institution."*

As we will see in the context of Personal Care and the use of sanctions, fighting among children tended to be formally prohibited by the institutions and sanctioned. This was clearly seen by many of the institutions as the primary way of preventing violence among children. A child in Muhammadiyah Meulaboh for example related how cases of fighting among children were resolved,

> *"There once was a brawl. The children involved have left now... it was a misunderstanding... someone else stole something... they suspected us... we didn't know anything about it ... Once it was found out about the brawl, we were all assembled and admonished, told where we went wrong ... to be friends again."* (interview with child)

Similarly, children in Nirmala also explained how fights tended to happen and how they were dealt with,

> *"When the girls fight, it usually doesn't go further than shouting or ignoring each other (as they don't want to get into trouble), but normally that doesn't last for long. But if the boys (elementary school and junior high school) fight, they use their fists and scream at each other. Once a pair of boys had a one-on-one fight (this happens frequently due to minor disputes such as cheating at volleyball or accidentally spilling food or drink on another boy). Both of them were summoned by the head and told they had done wrong and to make up. If a child makes the same mistake twice, his parents will be summoned to the institution. If the child keeps making the same mistake, he will be expelled and sent home to his parents or family."*

While there was a general feeling by both staff and children that there was no violence in their institutions except for the occasional fights between children, when asked about being hit though a totally different picture quickly emerged. Darul Aitam in NTB in that regard provides a very telling example of this,

> *"We are usually hit if we don't go to the mushola (prayer house) or don't work. Basically, if you break the rules, well you'll be punished. Maybe you won't get breakfast, or you could have your head shaved if you make the same mistake continuously. Y had his head shaved because he often didn't go to the mushola. If you have a boyfriend or girlfriend, or steal, there's no mercy and you'll be expelled. Once they found out that I'd been sitting together with a girl when I was outside for recreation. I was summoned as soon as I got back and told not to see her again."*

Physical and psychological punishment was found in the majority of the childcare institutions. It was often routine and both staff and children had come to see this as part of daily lives. It was also generally not seen by either of them as violence. As children from Harapan in NTB explained,

> *"As for violence, there isn't any. But there are punishments if the children break the rules. These include being ordered to do squat jumps or to do push ups by the carers for not performing prayers or not doing picket duties." (FGD with children)*

As a way to educate and discipline children, the use of physical force together with humiliating and degarding treatment was widespread and many staff saw this as a key part of their role. In fact, as we have seen above, together with organising the daily schedule and overseeing the children, disciplining children was seen as the primary role of carers. This belief in the need to discipline children with force seemed to be shared by many although few expressed it as openly as one former care staff at Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe,

> *"Acehenese children are hard. There's no point being soft with them, you have to be hard. If you're not hard, they won't obey the rules. So, we have to pinch and tweak them, shout at them, hit them, slap them, especially the big ones. If they go out all the time at night, I'm not going to tolerate it. I send them directly to (the institution head), or other carer."*

The forms of violence used in the context of discipline or 'educating children' ranged from punching, slapping, hitting with wood or rattan canes, pinching stomachs, pulling ears, making the children crawl in the mud, making them run around the field, carrying heavy loads, making them stand in the sun, doing push ups or 'scout jumps', throwing dirty water on them, shaving the child's head in public as well as locking them up in toilets and other forms of isolation. Generally the more serious the offence or the more 'naughty' a child was considered to be, the higher the level of physical violence. Interestingly 'punching' seemed to be perceived as bordering on violence in some cases and therefore not necessarily acceptable while all other forms of hitting were seen as merely 'punishment' and not held as violence. Pinching the children's stomach and caning with rattan were the most common forms of punishment but shaving of heads and throwing dirty water on children were also common for repeat offenders.

This scale in terms of the use of physical force was explained by the manager of UPRS,

> *"The policy is, yes, provide assistance. With regard to policies on violence, at most I tell the carers not to slap the children, but its OK if they pinch or hit the boys on the legs if they get out of control. But they mustn't hit them on their torsos or the head. But me, I'm a hard one, this is for the children's own good. Sometimes even when we act harshly, the children don't pay any attention."*

Similarly in Huke Ina, another government institution, the use of violence by carers was seen as essential by some because otherwise children would not learn,

> "The response of the institution to violence between the children is to slap both of the offenders and tell them where they went wrong,*"... if you don't use violence here, the children won't listen".* (interview with staff)

In addition to physical force and humiliating treatment, children were given a range of other sanctions that involved doing extra chores such as cleaning toilets, cutting grass, getting water or having to learn by heart and recite major parts of the Koran for which they would be further punished if they did not succeed. As we will see in the later part of this report dealing with sanctions, such punishments were

particularly prevalent for children who did not carry out religious practices correctly in some of the Islam based childcare institutions. However similar sanctions were also found in a number of other types of institutions including government ones for other violations of the rules.

The explanation provided by children about violations of rules and sanctions incurred in Hidayatullah for example, is both telling and quite representative of the situation found in many of the other institutions,

Table 7 Violations committed by children and punishments received

Child Code	Violation	Punishment
Child 1	Late for prayers	Cutting the grass in an area of approx. 50m^2
Child 1	Leaving institution without permission	Cleaning the toilets and filling the bathing tanks
Child 1	Fighting	Rolling around an area measuring 25 X 4 m^2
Child 1	Being out at night without permission	Slapping and kicking
Child 2	Making fish bomb	Rolling around an area measuring 25 X 4 m^2
Child 2	Late for prayers	Pinched on the stomach
Child 2	Late for prayers	Cutting the grass in an area of approx. 50m^2
Child 3	Being out at night without permission	Slapping
Child 3	Late for prayers	Pinched on the stomach
Child 4	Going home without permission	Scolded
Child 4	Late for prayers	Pinched on the stomach
Child 4	Going home without permission	Rolling around an area measuring 25 X 4 m^2
Child 4	Going home without permission	Cutting the grass in an area of approx. 50m^2
Child 5	Late for prayers	Rolling around an area measuring 25 X 4 m^2
Child 5	Eating with left hand	Rolling around an area measuring 25 X 4 m^2
Child 5	Eating while standing	Pinching
Child 5	Leaving the institution without permission	Slapping

Source: FGD with children, 30 January 2007

Children in Nurul Ikhlas recounted similar experiences,

A10 (girl, grade 6 of elementary school , 15 years old :

Hit with a rattan cane on the legs, pinched on the thighs leaving bruises, shouted at. The punishments meted out to A10 were because she frequently overslept for meals. If she didn't turn up on time, then she might not get anything. As she said, *"Half the time I eat and half the time I don't."*

A8 (girl, grade 1 of MAN, 16 years of age)

Scolded and hit for arriving late for meals

A9 (girl, grade 2 of junior high school, 14 years of age)

Scolded and beaten with a rattan cane for being late for meals.

A11 (girl, grade 1 of MAN, 16 years of age)

Scolded, hit with a rattan cane, denied food on account of being late for meals and not performing picket duty.

A2 (girl, grade 3 of junior high school, 15 years of age):

Scolded for burning the rice. According to A2, this only happened because she had to cook the rice during school hours. *"I forgot, I was in class. When I got back the rice had been burned. The cook was really angry."*

A13 (boy, grade 4 of elementary school, 10 years of age)

Frequently scolded by the cook and hit by the Head as he often gets in fights and leaves the institution.

In most cases punishment was administered by the Manager or the staff but in a few of the institutions, children were also collectively punished for the wrongdoing of one or forced to carry out the physical punishment onto other children. This was apparently meant to ensure that all children felt punished. In one of the government institutions, examples of this practice were found as illustrated by the case below,

"One year ago, a girl (A6, grade 1 in high school), slept overnight in a friend's house without permission. Upon returning to the institution, she was scolded by the staff. That evening, before dinner, all the children were assembled in the kitchen. A senior staff ordered A6's classmates to pinch her. Then the children of the same religion as the girl (Catholic) were ordered to pinch her. This took place before the assembled children and the other staff. In the end, the girl fainted, but nothing was done to help her (after this, the other children lost their appetites, but were nevertheless forced to eat). Many of the children were reduced to tears upon witnessing this spectacle. They were then scolded for this: *"Who's crying? What are you crying for? Those who feel sorry for her, who are crying for her, step forward!"* The terrified children remained where they were and dried their tears.

However, one child did step forward. When the senior staff asked her, *"What are you crying for"*, the child said, *"Have pity on her, Sir."* He replied *"There's no need to pity her, she broke the rules."* After she came around, A6 was ordered to eat in front of the children. *"Poor A6, she had to eat her food while crying. Her spoon was shaking as she lifted it."*

"After dinner, she went to her room and locked the door. She took a pair of scissors, intending to kill herself. Luckily, there was another girl in the room, who took the scissors from A6 before she could hurt herself."

Another case involved A7, who was in grade 3 of elementary school. During dinner one night, a staff asked the child, *"What time did you get up at?"* The child replied, *"4 o'clock,* Sir." The staff repeated his question, because normally A7 got up at 5 o'clock. This time A7 said that he had got up at 5 o'clock. The staff then slapped him on the face. *"So, why did you say 4 o'clock?"* A7 was also ordered to do push ups while the staff used his foot to press him down on the floor. *"Sir was really upset."* The

punishment inflected upon A7 is still remembered by A8, one of the older children. The occurrence reduced A8 to tears and she says she will never forget it. *"I'll always remember what happened. A little child was ordered to do push ups and then pushed down. I couldn't look at it, as he was being scolded and told off."*

Cases of punishment administered to all children for the fault of one were also found as children in one institution explain,

> *"We were once hit by (staff member). The problem was that one of our friends ordered soup at a food stall, but didn't pay for it. (The staff member) found out, and in the end he hit us all with a piece of wood."Why's everyone being hit?" "Because if one does wrong, you all do wrong."*

In some of the institutions where there were not enough adult staff to supervise, older children were used to discipline younger children creating problematic power relations between the children, as in Muhammadyiah Meulaboh,

> "As there was no carer specifically assigned to the boys' dormitory, responsibility for imposing punishment on the elementary school children fell to the high school and college students. This involved the beating of the younger boys by the older boys." (FGD with children)

This was also quite common in some of the more traditional Pesantren where a system involving selected older children as head of dormitories or as part of a 'student body' with powers to make rules and bring sanctions to the other children meant that, in many cases these children had a role in 'reporting' on the behaviour of the other children. This was seen for example in Ibnu Taimyiah in West Kalimantan with its OPPPIT system (organisation of students of the Pondok Pesantren Ibnu Taimyiah),

> "Supervision in the dormitories was carried out by senior students who were members of OPPPIT. These seniors were responsible for supervising all the activities of the other children, whether children from the childcare institution or fee-paying students. It should be stressed that the principal duty of the OPPPIT was to uphold discipline in the pesantren, rather than looking after the children. *"No, Miss, it's got nothing to do with looking after them. The OPPPIT members are only responsible for imposing punishments." (interview with child)*

The *OPPPIT,* for example, played a key role in sanctioning children who broke the rule prohibiting them from speaking their local language and they would fine the repeat offenders or get them to stand in the sun holding a sign hanging around their neck saying '*Don't be like him*'.

Children often took this treatment as a given and had been clearly told, and in some cases had come to believe, that this was for their own good and their education. When recounting about the punishments they received, some of the children in Darul Hikmah stated,

> *"M is always breaking the rules and we all get punished. Also, if it's time to get up for tahajud prayers and we don't wake up, Ms. I (a member of staff) throws water on us."* According to the children, if they are punished, it is because they have broken the rules and so they just accept it."

The research showed, however, that it was the humiliating and degrading treatment at the hands of the staff of the institutions that in some instances upset them most, even when it was only verbal.

In one institution, for example, some of the children explained that while under the previous management they had received physical punishments, it was the emotional violence that they now received under the present management to which they objected the most. The children explained that,

> '...Emotional violence is frequently inflicted by one of the members of the Foundation, who regularly scolds the children using abusive language, such as calling the children *"ungrateful wretches."* Emotional violence is often directed at children considered to have broken the

rules. For example, a child who is frequently late returning home to the institution (after 22:00), whatever the reason. Such a child will be "put on trial" in front of the other children. According to the member of the Foundation, she does this so as to discourage the other children from committing the same violation. The words that she often directs at them include: *"You, you're given food and lodging here, but you still don't want to obey the rules. So, what are you doing here? If you don't like the rules, just get out!"* Sometimes, she doesn't hesitate to order the children out in front of the forum. The children feel embarrassed being scolded by this manager, and humiliated in front of the other children, which is the reason why some leave the institution. Among them are a number of children who were so upset by being told to leave, that in the end they did actually leave the institution and return home to their parents."

The use of public shaming sessions or 'trials' for children who were deemed to have violated the rules of the institution but also the use of derogatory terms and name calling was found in a number of childcare institutions.

In one institution, children expressed feelings of being hurt in particular by the the words used by their carers to denigrate them and their families such as,

> *"Now everything is hunky dory... just remember that you were eating rubber tree seeds before."*

Another child said that she felt really 'hurt' when she heard those words from the staff. *"As poor as we were, we never had to eat rubber tree seeds, Miss. It's horrible having to listen to that."*

In addition their carers often referred to them as 'pigs' ("kunyuk" in the local language and a particularly derogatory terms for Muslims) or called them 'lazy'

Other instances were found where children were reminded regularly of the fact that their families were poor to ensure that they felt 'grateful' for whatever they were given in the institution and would 'behave'. In one of the government institutions, remonstrating a child sometimes entailed threatening to expel her and then letting her know 'what to expect',

> *"... For example, I'll say to them, 'If the staff here don't like you anymore, then you are expelled what are you going to do? It's hard enough for your mother to find food to eat, let alone having a girl as a child... With boys, they can sleep anywhere and that's no trouble but with girls, don't they risk being in trouble?' 'Yes, that's the way I talk to when admonishing them. They often start crying'."*

In UPRS, children are required to recite out an oath everyday before the evening meal which is plastered on the walls and doors of most of the key buildings and that leaves them in little doubt about how the institution and their carers view them,

UPRS Students' Oath

"I am here because my parents cannot pay for my education. Because of this, I will follow all the rules of this institution and will accept expulsion if I break them.

I will abandon all of my bad habits, laziness, dishonesty and trickery.

I will be disciplined and study hard, honest and polite at all times which are to be the ultimate values to be followed, so as to become a useful person for the nation, society and my family and myself.

Here I will show care for the other children, the environment, and I will grow and develop as a person not as someone who is dead but as someone who is alive in real life and as someone of value to both myself and other people."

A later addition to the oath which had to be recited by the children every time the oath was recited stated,

> *"I am not just here to eat, sleep, study, and defecate, but I must be clever!"*

While the use of violence to discipline and punish children was still widespread and common, there was also some indications that greater public awareness of violence against children was starting to have an impact in some of the institutions.

In Suci Hati for example, the Manager of the institution had given the instructions to the staff that in line with the socialization around Law no 23 on Child Protection, they would no longer be able to hit children,

> *"From now on there will be no more hitting ... everywhere, not just in the institution ... the government has also said this." (FGD with boys)*

In other institutions, cases of violence that were deemed to have gone 'over the limits' had actually led to the staff in question being either replaced or moved. In Hidayatullah for example, as a result of a particularly violent beating given by a staff to one of the children, discussions had taken place among the staff and it was decided that the use of certain forms of violence deemed too serious were not allowed anymore,

> *"There once was a case here of violence being inflicted by a staff member on a child. It was considered that his actions were excessive. So, a meeting of all the managers was held to discuss the case. As a result of this, excessive actions, like hitting, slapping and kicking that could endanger the children, have not been repeated." (interview with staff)*

In one institution in Aceh, a staff that was recognised as having been particularly fond of physical punishment was moved on but only to become the head of their school,

> *"With regard to the staff, before we had X. He was a real disciplinarian. But I must admit, the children here are really spoiled. Some of them are lazy about praying or studying. Normally, the child would be shouted out... but if they didn't do what they were supposed to do ...ya, just give them a slap. So, I saw the purpose of it. It was to educate the children. But there were some staff who didn't agree with this. So, there was some conflict about how the children should be educated. In the end, X resigned. Now he's the head of the Aliyah Muhammadiyah Madrasah." (interview with staff)*

Similarly, in another institution in West Kalimantan, a previous manager was removed as a result of children's complaints to the founder about his use of violence. However, the present manager and his wife also use physical punishment and that has not yet been reported. The fact that the previous process had entailed children being gathered together in a group and asked one by one their view, seemed to have put off the children from reporting any further violence to the founder.

In fact there were generally no formal avenue or mechanism in place for children to report cases of violence or other concerns they may have and certainly no confidential ones. As a result, in cases where children may have wanted to share some of their concerns, the real possibility of retaliation by staff was always present as can be seen in Ana's Life Story at the beginning of this report. One of the key rules for many of the institution is that the child will not 'bad mouth' or bring any ill repute to the institution and this is often understood to mean that children are not allowed to speak about what is happening in the institution or be critical of it with the outside world. As no mechanism for reporting is provided within it, it leaves children with little avenue for getting their concerns addressed.

Another illustration of what could happen when children tried to report their concerns was provided by a Government institution for girls. The children had felt that the situation in the institution had dramatically changed following the arrival of a new manager. Personal relations with the new manager were deteriorating fast and children felt uncomfortable with her as well as angry that their school fees that had previously been paid

by the institution were no longer being paid. Some of the children took it upon themselves to write a letter explaining their situation to the local department of Social Welfare under which this institution operated. As a result, a team was sent from that department and questions were asked of the new Manager who was given 3 months to overcome some of the problems. While school fees started to get paid again not long after the team left, some of the children were also called up by the Manager and questionned about their role in this matter. This resulted in further worsening of relationships between the children and the manager.

In that regard, it was particulary worrying to find that none of the institutions seemed to have any awareness of the potential impact of violence or other forms of harm on children in a context where power relations are extremely pronounced and where children's vulnerabilty is therefore very acute. The lack of a child protection mechanism meant that children were left unclear not only about what was appropriate behaviour but also to whom to report any concerns they may have had and how to do safely. Even where children had become aware of their rights in relation to violence through education at school for example, they were provided with no mechanism through which they could ensure their implementation.

Al Ummah was a case in point,

> 'A number of the junior high school girls said that they had been taught about child protection, and what their rights and obligations were. The said that they had been told at school that children were not supposed to be hit or slapped. However, none of the children (boys or girls) knew what procedures should be followed or what they should do if they were subjected to violence – how or to whom they should report such incidents. Meanwhile, one boys said that the procedure used by the carers to prevent violence was merely to say *"No fighting"*

While many institutions spoke of children being able to speak to anyone and report matters to anyone, it was far from clear how they would be able to do so safely in an environment where violence is often used and even where it is not, their ability to continue to access education is entirely dependent on the will of the institution's manager and staff. In that context, the research found cases of children being willing to put up with some very difficult conditions and even with physical punishment rather than endanger their chance of finishing school.

In addition to violence by the staff in the institutions, children also identified violence at school as a key concern, both in relation to physical punishment by teachers and in one case, derogatory treatment by other children at school.

In Darul Ulum for example, children pointed out that while physical violence was not used inside the institution itself, it was used in its school,

> *"... if any one breaks the rules, he'll be told off. No one beats us, but we can be ordered to stand in the sun or be slapped with a rattan cane."*

Similarly with Al Ummah, it seemed that while some of the older children were being told of their right not to be beaten, the elementary school level children were facing exactly that from their teachers,

> 'The physical punishments applied by the teachers included hitting with a book or ruler. Such punishments would be applied if a child committed an infraction like not doing his homework or raising the flag the wrong way during the flag-raising ceremony.'

In Wahyu Yoga Dharma on the other hand, children spoke of being often called names at school or being ridiculed by other children, including,

> " 'nerd'…'village bumpkin'…'you're a pauper with things you shouldn't have' (trumped up pauper)…'child of the panti/institution'…'that's what children from care are like!'..."

Violence among children in the institutions was also not just a matter of arguments or

fighting. In many cases, the system of putting younger children with older children meant that children looked after one another but there were also instances of bullying and older children in a number of institutions tended to use their position to 'boss around' the younger ones, particularly in order to get them to take on the daily chores. In Patmos for example, the Manager did recognise that it had happened in some cases,

> *"There used to be a lot of that, Miss. One of the bigger kids ... would send the smaller ones to fetch water. If they didn't do it, they'd get a beating. But he's graduated now and returned home to Kupang.".*

In Muhammadiyah Meulaboh, the research also found that younger children were being ordered around by the older ones,

> *'The smaller children, both girls and boys, were frequently ordered around by the older children. This included being ordered to carry the belongings of the older children or to go to the food stall for them. The younger children were unable to refuse such orders. It also appeared that the younger children were somewhat scared of the older children."*

In that regard, relations between older and younger children could sometimes be strained as was found in Darrurokhmah between children who had already graduated and were taking on 'oversight/care' roles and the younger children.

Two of the children expressed those feelings of resentment also through their writing, in particular complaining about what they felt was unfair treatment by the older girls,

> *"I would like the older girls who have graduated, when they're telling us what to do, to remember what they were like themselves. Didn't they also break the rules? I've seen them playing up, denying things that they had done when they got found out."*
>
> *"I just want to see everyone being treated the same. We're all the same. If the older girls want to give us a telling of, they shouldn't be rude. Those of you who want to give us advice, please use polite language!"*

This research found on the whole though that children had built extremely supportive and solid relationships with one another, often providing the only secure emotional attachment which they could rely on. This was particularly the case as a result of the general absence of adult carers who could fulfill these needs but also as a result of their shared experiences and situations. As we will see in the Personal Care section, it was striking that children always referred to other children in the institutions in terms of their primary support network and the people they could share things with and could trust. In institutions where physical punishment and sanctions were particularly harsh, a real sense of 'them' and 'us' had developed among children and they had formed their own protective networks in particular in opposition to adults. This meant that in many cases, children would not report on other children and would often prefer to resolve their own problems between themselves rather than having those referred to adults. It also meant that in some of the cases where children were used by adults to carry out physical punishment, children tended to 'play out' the punishment whenever possible, pretending to hit and being hit to satisfy the adults but supporting their peers first of all.

These positive relationships also seemed to extend to relations between children of opposite sex in the mixed institutions where boys and girls were allowed contact. In many cases boys and girls were seen to be very supportive as well as very protective of one another. As one girl in one of the institution in Aceh explained in relation to one of the older boys in the institution,

> *"V is a good older brother as he often brings the children home to their villages. He also often lends money to the children if they need it. He also takes them to the Community Health Clinic (Puskesmas) if they are sick."*

Remarkably perhaps, considering the levels of violence experienced by many of these children and the closed and over-regulated

world in which they live, almost no instance of sexual violence were identified or referred to by the children. Bearing in mind the sensitivity of such cases and the stigma often associated with them, it is quite possible that more in depth and specific research is needed in order to get a true picture of sexual violence in the institutions, whether committed by adult carers onto children or between the children themselves. In a couple of instances, however, such cases had previously come to the surface,

In one institution in West Kalimantan in 2004, a case of sexual violence involving two children from the same institution was detected. It is telling however that it was the teacher at school rather than the carers at the institution that recognised what had happened to the children in their care,

> "A case of sexual violence occurred in this institution in 2004, involving a boy who was in grade 3 of Junior High School at the time and a girl who was in grade 5 of elementary school. The boy was accused of raping this girl. This case came to light after the girl, who had previously been very outgoing at school, suddenly became withdrawn and introverted. Her teacher noticed the change and asked her what the matter was, whereupon she revealed what had happened. The case eventually ended up in court.
>
> The head of the institution and carers testified during the court hearing. The boy was found guilty and received a prison term of 3 years. Meanwhile, the girl ran away from the institution and her whereabouts are unknown. She felt great shame as a result of the incident as it was widely talked about and even appeared in the local newspaper. The institution head sought to find her and reported her disappearance to the police. But she has still not been found. It is rumored that she is currently working in Malaysia, although there is no word as to what work she is doing there.'

The way this case was handled without protecting the identity of the victim or providing her with support afterwards point to the serious limitations on the part of the childcare institutions when it comes to child protection.

In addition, the case of another institution also raises some serious concerns in relation to the protection of children. That institution had actually been first established in 1990 but was closed down after it was discovered that one of the staff had raped and got pregnant one of the girls in its care. As a result,

> "The carer in question was sentenced to 3 years in jail. After news of this surfaced, there was a crisis of confidence in the institution, and people were no longer willing to place their trust in it. One by one the children were withdrawn by their parents or guardians, and in 1998 the institution was officially closed."

It is interesting to note that the surrounding community actually responded to this case once identified but there is no indication that the parent organisation, had any mechanism in place at the time to prevent such violence taking place in the first place nor that it has established such a system since. In fact, while it reopened 4 years later with a new manager and a new focus, the research found that it still had no system to ensure that violence against children within that institution did not take place. Instead as explained by its manager,

> *"We have no specific child protection policy, except that we are guided by the Child Protection Law. Should a case of violence occur here, for example, if I were to beat a child, I'm sure that one of the children would report this to one of the ustad or ustadzah, or directly to the foundation executives as they come here on informal visits almost every day to inspect the condition of the institution and the children. In other words, the children are free to relate whatever happens to them."*

In that context, the research found only two cases of referral by the childcare institutions to a child protection agency or network. Darul Aitam in NTB once referred the case of one its students that had run away to get married without consent. "Elopement is actually allowed under 'adat' (traditional law) in Lombok, and normally takes place when the girl's family object to the marriage. In such cases, the girl is normally hidden by the boy's family for a few days, and then the boy asks the girl's family to set a date for the wedding."

As we saw earlier, SOS Desa Taruna was the only institution which had a policy statement on child protection and staff were provided some training on violence against children and on recognizing and responding to signs of violence. The manager explained that when he was working in the institution in Flores, he had reported a teacher to the local child protection agency for hitting one of the institution's children and the teacher had been prosecuted.

In addition to violence against children, the research also found some evidence of self-harm including two cases of children who had tried to kill themselves. In one case, staff had ordered children in an institution in West Kalimantan to punish one of the girls by pinching her repeatedly in front of everyone. As a result of the punishment, the girl fell and fainted. She then ran to her room with scissors in order to try to kill herself. In her room, one of her friend managed to wrestle the scissors from her. Her friends in the institution say that she is often sick and weak, quickly lose hope and as soon as there is a problem or she is under some pressure, she faints.

In another case in Maluku, a teenage girl had been struggling with her own sense of identity including her identity as a young woman. According to the psychologist working with the institution, this was the result of the trauma she had experienced at discovering the bodies of her parents who had been murdered during the conflict. As a result of the enormous psychological pressure she felt under, she had tried a couple of times to kill herself. While the girl in this case was provided 'treatment' by the childcare institution, the focus seemed to be more on getting her to accept her gender as a young woman rather than actually addressing her deep psychological scars as a result of the death of her parents.

By not ensuring that children were supported and felt they could confide and develop relationships of trust with significant adults both within and outside of the institutions, those childcare institutions were leaving children extremely vulnerable and isolated when faced with both personal and psychological struggles. There seemed little awareness in the childcare institutions about the potential for self harm when children are left without support system and on their own to cope with personal crises including the emotional impact of violence whether committed in the institution or outside.

LIFE STORY:

Lina, 13 years old girl (North Sulawesi)

Lina is a dark complexioned, straight-haired and very withdrawn girl, and appeared somewhat tense when being interviewed. She has just turned 13 and is in grade 7 (grade 1 of junior high school) at the State Junior High School in Tondano. It proved to be very difficult to elicit information from her, with her responses to questions generally being very brief. She said that she had entered the childcare institution when she was six, which would mean that she has been in the home for seven years. This was confirmed by the head of the childcare institution, and the institution's cook).

When asked how she had came to be in the childcare institution, Lina replied that she could only remember running onto a ship with her aunt (her father's younger sister), Aunt E, whose husband was Manadonese, and lived in Manado. They were fleeing from the troubles in Ambon. Lina had almost fallen victim to the Ambon troubles, which had resulted in so much loss of life. "I was slashed ...", she recalled. The scar on the back of her is still visible, although it has started to slowly disappear. According to one of the staff, during her first months in the childcare institution, Lina's sleep was disturbed, and she was easily startled.

Afterwards, Lina was brought to Manado to live with her Aunt E's family. However, things did not go well for Lina, as her uncle would frequently vent his anger on her whenever he quarrelled with her aunt. In addition, her uncle's parents would also pick on her. Lina was frequently abused, and referred to as Aunt E's "bastard daughter". One of the neighbours, the institution's cook who was a relation of Lina's uncle was upset to see Lina being constantly subjected to such abuse and resolved to do something to help her. She spoke to Aunt E, explaining that she was the cook at the childcare institution and that she wanted to bring Lina to live there. To cut a long story short, that was how Lina ended up in the childcare institution in Tondano.

Ideally, the family should be the safest and most comfortable environment for a child. However, this was not to be so in Lina's case. When asked about her family, she could only remember the names of her father and mother and that they came from Toliang-Ambon. Lina was the youngest of 4 children. The first child was a boy, the second a girl, the third a boy, and then Lina. Of her three siblings, she could only remember the name of her elder sister. She had already completely forgotten the names of her two brothers. It appeared that Lina's links to her family in Ambon had been almost completely severed.

Some 4 months ago however, one of her brothers, who was carrying out an assignment at the Manado State University in Tondano, arrived at the childcare institution to bring Lina back home. Lina didn't recognize him at all. In fact, she was afraid and didn't want to return to Ambon. In order to build up trust, the head of the childcare institution, advised the family to regularly send things to Lina. In this way, she would come to know them better. However, to date Lina appears to prefer living in the childcare institution with her close friends, who like to joke and kid around with her. And so, Lina is still in the institution. While the other children in the institution normally return home twice a year during the school vacations (July and December), she still has not desire to return to Ambon. For Lina, her home is now the childcare institution.

X. Personal care

IN THIS SECTION, we discuss personal care, that is, how the childcare institution manages the care and maintenance of the children under its care, including such aspects as food, play and recreation, care of children in residential institutions, privacy, choices, dignity, social relations, identity, upkeep, control and sanctions, children's views, and the care of infants and younger children.

The informants were selected from among suitable individuals that were competent to provide answers on the aspects being studied. They consisted of members of the childcare institution's parent organisation, its manager, its staff including social workers, carers, cooks, guards depending on the aspects being assessed as well as the children themselves. Teachers, doctors and nurses were also interviewed as whenever possible some parents. In order to ensure consistency in the

information obtained, a number of responses given by each informant were crosschecked with those given by other informants.

Food

In all of the childcare institutions studied, the children received three meals per day – breakfast, lunch and dinner although the quantity and quality varied significantly across the institutions. As regards the quantity and quality of food, it was found to be generally better in Government institutions that in private ones. In Harapan for example, a government institution in NTB, the children were served quite a varied range of food, including fish, meat and vegetables at designated times. The children also received snacks twice a day (in the afternoon and at 10 p.m. after they had finished studying). Sometimes the children were also given milk to drink in the morning. On the other hand, in Lohoraung a government institution in North Sulawesi, children were served the same food for lunch and dinner, a quite typical practice which meant that different meals did not have to be prepared.

The picture was a lot more varied across the private institutions. In the majority of institutions, children were served rice, a vegetable like cabbage or morning glory, tempe (fermented soybean cake), chilli, salted fish, and either fish or an egg once a day. In some, the food provided was even more limited. In NTB for example, in Darul Aitam, Darul Hikmah, Al Ikhlas and Patmos, the children were fed three times a day on rice, vegetables, chilli and only occasionally fish. They were rarely served chicken or meat. They normally only received these during ceremonial or ritual meals. As one child from an institution in NTB said, *"... it's really nice when we're invited to an Iziban a week."* [1]... *"It's making up for our nutrition, Miss."*

The same was found in childcare institutions in other provinces as meat seemed to be available only if there were special occasions. A child in Aceh explained *"Chicken ... where are we going to get chicken from ... we get chicken if there's a ceremony..."* and *"Mutton ... we get mutton if someone's hosting a sedekah (religious-linked meal)"*. Government institutions also provided meat only a couple of times a week. Unlike the other childcare institutions, Prajapati in North Sulawesi adhered to the principle of vegetarianism in line with Buddhist teachings. Breakfast consisted of rice porridge (*bubur*) on its own, or rice porridge mixed with green beans, accompanied by biscuits. Meanwhile, lunch and dinner consisted of rice and a number of different vegetables.

Even though the children received three meals per day, the quantity and variety was often limited and in some cases was clearly inadequate for children that were still growing. Not all of the childcare institutions allowed the children to get additional serving. In a number of institutions, the food was divided out by the kitchen staff and no "seconds" were permitted. If seconds were allowed, then this would be confined to rice, and exclude vegetables and side dishes. Children who were still hungry would have to fill themselves with rice or whatever else was still available. In general, children were not afraid of seeking extra food: *"If I'm still hungry, I'll do it, Miss."* According to one child in NTB, however: *"If we're still hungry, we just go to sleep ..."* In some childcare institutions, additional food took the form of instant noodles, which would normally be consumed in the evenings or at night.

Only Pamardi Utomo, a government institution in Central Java had consulted with the local Health Centre (Puskesmas) about the nutritional needs of the children in its care. In the majority of childcare institutions however, the government standards for nutrition (4 is healthy and 5 is perfect) were not satisfied.

The food most commonly and frequently served consisted of rice, vegetables, tempeh (fermented soya bean cake), salted fish and chilli. Milk was sometimes given but fruits were not often provided which is surprising in a context where fresh fruits are readily available and cheap. The menus in the childcare institutions were determined by the management or the cook usually on a daily basis according to what they had found at the market. The same applied to the purchasing of food. A different situation

however, prevailed in SOS Desa Taruna and Dr. J. Lukas, which are institutions that have adopted the "cottage model", where responsibility for the menu was delegated to each family.

Generally children were not involved in deciding the menu or buying the food although in some institutions they were sometimes asked for their suggestions. In these institutions, the cook would ask the children what they would like to eat. For example, a child in the Muhammadiyah childcare institution in Central Java recounted as follows, *"If I'm asked by (the cook) to go shopping with her, she often asks me what we like to eat. I often tell her what my and the other kids' favourite foods are so that no one will be complaining about (the cook)'s food. But, I know that the institution probably doesn't have enough money to satisfy everything that the children want."*

In one institution, children complained that the food had changed after a new manager was brought in. One child said, *"Before, it used to be "four healthy, five perfect". Now, it's one healthy, five sick."* Ever since the management of this childcare institution had changed, the children no longer received milk to drink every day, and they felt that the food was no longer tasty or served in line with the menu schedule.

Quality and quantity of food in relation to available funding

Serving three meals a day is obviously a costly exercise and the childcare institutions were found to spend very different amount of money on it. The situation was worse in Darul Aitam in NTB, which allocated only Rp 1,000 (0.11USD) per day per child not including the cost of rice to provide for three daily meals. Hidayatullah in Maluku only provided Rp 3,000 (0.33USD). SOS Desa Taruna allocated Rp 3,500 (0.38 USD) per child per day for elementary-school-age and younger children, and Rp 4,500 (0.50 USD) for junior high and senior high school children. Darul Ulum in Aceh allocated Rp 4,000 (0.44 USD) per day per child. At Dr. J. Lukas, the amount allocated to food was higher at Rp 5,500 (0.61 USD) per child per day, excluding rice. The situation was better at Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan, where the budget to feed 35 children is Rp 300,000 per day or an allocation of Rp. 8600 (0.95 USD) per child per day. All of these institutions received the BBM subsidy scheme that provided them in 2006 with Rp. 2250 per child per day (0.25 USD) rising a little in 2007 to Rp. 2300.

On average, the amounts allocated for food tended to be much higher in the government childcare institutions. In UPRS in West Kalimantan, for example, Rp 12,000 (1.33 USD) was allocated per child per day while Harapan in NTB provided Rp 9,000 (1 USD) per child per day, with this money being provided out of the provincial budget while the BBM subsidy money was used to purchase snacks for the children. Nirmala in Aceh allocated Rp 10,000 per day (1.10 USD) including the purchase of milk. Meanwhile, in Pamardi Utomo and Lohoraung, Rp 7,500 (0.83

USD) and Rp 5,500 (0.61 USD) was allocated to feed each child per day. The biggest amount allocated for food was found in Huke Ina in Maluku where Rp 20,750, (2.30 USD) was allocated per child per day consisting of a food subsidy from the local government budget of Rp 12,500 (1.39 USD) for meals and Rp 6,000 (0.67 USD) for snacks two times per day, as well as Rp 2,250 (0.25 USD) from the BBM subsidy funds. As can be seen, there are wide variations between childcare institutions with the allocation on average of more than Rp 5,000 per child per day for the provision of three meals in Government institutions while private institutions allocated less than Rp 5,000 per day on average.

The research found that cooks and kitchen staff had general awareness of the differing nutritional requirements of children of various ages, but were required to keep within their budgets. Funding problems related not only to a lack of funds on the part of the institutions but also on the way spending was prioritised. For example, the money allocated for food in one childcare institution in NTB was also used to pay for the costs of education and healthcare. At the time of the assessment, the food suddenly improved in that particular institution, with the children being served eggs, chicken and fresh fruit in the form of watermelon – foods that the children rarely received. The research found that food allocation was frequently not prioritised as the institutions tended to compare the children's current circumstances to what they were used to at home, with the food in the childcare institution normally being better. One child residing in Muhammadiyah in Cilacap remarked as follows: *"Compared to other people who find it hard to get food, we never go hungry. Even though the food is simple, at least we get fed every day."* As a result though, while children received 3 meals a day the research found that in many cases the food provided was not optimal in terms of the needs of children both in terms of quality of nutrition and quantity.

The children were found to be involved in all stages of food preparation and cooking. In fact, this was one of the compulsory chores required of the children under the "picket" system. Their involvement included cleaning, cutting and slicing, preparing the seasoning, cooking, serving, dishing out food to the other children and washing the dishes after the meal. The compulsory work in relation to food preparation varied from one institution to another, but all were basically related to the above activities. In some of the institutions, the children were also assigned additional work, including collecting firewood in the forest and cutting it, as in the case of the Ibnu Taimiyah, Eben Haezer, and Nurul Ikhlas. In Nur Ilahi, children were also involved in the shopping and in determining the menu.

While in general the cooking was seen as girls' work, boys were also involved in some of the institutions, while girls were involved in collecting firewood sometimes seen as boy's work. In the Ibnu Taimiyah childcare institution, which is linked to a pesantren, the children not only prepared meals for the other children in the institution, but also for the family of the pesantren leader and those pesantren students who paid fees and were thereby excused kitchen duties:

> *"All of the girls in the institution take turns under the "picket" system to cook. In addition to doing so for all of the children in the pesantren, they are also required as part of their "picket" duties to cook for the family of the pesantren head.*
>
> *The same obligation applies to all of the boys in the institution who are required to*

perform the same duties, although the amount of time devoted to each task differs. Under the "picket" system, all of the boys are required to collect and cut firewood for cooking. They are also required to cook rice and boil water, and to serve food to the other children."

Children on "picket" duty were normally required to rise earlier than the other children. For example, at Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan, the children on duty were required to get up at 2 a.m., whereas the other children rose at 3:30 a.m. for religious meditation. As part of their picket duties, the children were normally required to help the kitchen staff.

In general, the childcare institutions provided the children with their own food recipients or container, sometimes plates, together with utensils in the form of glasses, and spoons and forks, or were equipped with large food trays where rice, vegetables and side dishes were laid out. However, some of the institutions, such as Darul Hikmah, suffered from a lack of plates so that latecomers had to wait for the children who were there first to finish eating. The children themselves did the washing up and putting away of the dining utensils. These were either kept communally in the kitchen or individually in the children's lockers or rooms. In all cases, the dining utensils were washed after use. However, the assessors found the proper hygiene was not observed in all cases as sometimes washing-up soap or liquid was not available, while the sanitation conditions in a number of institutions were deficient, including lack of proper attention to drains and garbage disposal.

Meal times were greatly looked forward to by the children, even where they were responsible for cooking the meals themselves. Disappointment sometimes arose however when one child's food was eaten by another, even though an individual portion was assigned to each child. This seemed to happen primarily when some of the children were late coming back from school. As the food was generally tightly apportioned, this could mean children going without food. Time for meals were generally pre-set and were the same for all children except in some institutions children from elementary schools that tend to finish earlier were fed first. Evening meals however were taken communally and prayers before meals were mandatory, whether said privately or en masse. Some of the childcare institutions had specific arrangements at mealtimes. In the UPRS, for example, after the bell announcing the meal was ready to be served, the children would have to line up in ranks first, and pronounce the "children's oath" in military fashion before proceeding to eat.

The government childcare institutions, in general, had dining halls where the children would assemble at the set times for breakfast, lunch and dinner. By contrast, not all of the privately run institutions had dining halls. In some, meals were served in the assembly hall, guest room, kitchen or in the yard were children would sit or crouch on the floor to eat their meal. In Ibnu Taimiyah, the children ate their meals in their rooms/dormitories.

Adults were found to rarely dine with the children. If adults were present, this was for supervision purposes only. The assessors found that the children generally were relaxed and happy at meal times as not only they were getting sustenance, but they could also meet up with all the other children, and were free from pressure or the threat of punishment from the managers or staff. In some of the institutions however, eating time were much more regulated and children were made to line up to be counted, had to enter the dining hall one by one and eat in an orderly fashion under the supervision of the staff.

Some of the childcare institutions provided porridge for children if they were sick. However, others did not if the sick child was still able to eat rice. In the UPRS for example, sick children continued to be served the same meals. If a child was seriously ill, his or her food would be brought by another child, but the food would continue to be the same. During the fasting month (Ramadan), meal times would be adjusted so that breakfast would be served before dawn, with a breaking-of-the-fast meal in the evening, normally supplemented by sweet treats. The fasting

month also sees people donating food to childcare institutions, often all at the same time, so that there could be a surplus of food. In one institution in Kalimantan, it was found that the staff would serve the surplus food the next day without being reheated first. The children complained that *"... sometimes the staffs keep the cake for a long time and only bring it out when it's almost mouldy."* As a result the children were once served spoiled food on one occasion during the fasting month, and they suffered food poisoning. A number of institutions were found not to cook food for the evening meal, instead reheating food from the afternoon, or only cooking once in the morning, with this food also being served for the afternoon and evening meals.

Drinking water generally tended to be provided by boiling water and placing it in a dispenser or container. Preparing water for drinking was often part of the children's chores. Water however was found not to always be available and easily accessible, in particular at night. In a number of institutions, the children brought water in glasses or an empty bottle to their rooms. A few institutions provided a mineral water dispenser.

On the other hand, drinking water was not provided at all in Darul Hikmah and Al Ikhlas in NTB and as a result children were forced to drink untreated well water or water from a collection tank. The children said that they were used to this and rarely suffered from stomach complaints. Some of the girls however explained that they refrained from drinking water after eating as there was no way to boil the water. In NTB, there seemed to be a popular belief that untreated water was best. However, this may well be due to a lack of awareness that water in rural areas is different from water in the towns and urban areas where the childcare institutions are located.

Health

Wide variations were found regarding the provision of healthcare services to the institutionalized children. The Government institutions were found to generally be equipped with First Aid kits including some generic medicine kept in a room put aside for health purposes. They also worked together with their local community health centre (Puskesmas) or a local doctor. On the other hand while some of the private childcare institutions had similar facilities, others had none whatsoever. Ibnu Taimiayah in West Kalimantan, for example, would send sick children to the Puskesmas or hospital: *"Or, if necessary, we would seek help from the child's sponsor ("bapak angkat"). So, we can say that we have a health section."*[2] Similarly Darul Hikmah did not have any First Aid kit and tended to send children to buy basic medicines at the local corner store whenever needed or to the local health centre. Darul Aitam on the other hand operated a clinic which was attended by a nurse from the local Puskesmas every Thursday from 9 a.m. until 2 p.m. Similarly, a doctor provided free medical services at the SOS Desa Taruna home every Tuesday, Thursday and Saturday. Eben Haezer also ran a local community clinic and the children from the institution could visit whenever needed.

In general, health problems suffered by the children were addressed by the institution's managers or staff. The illnesses most frequently suffered by the children were reported as headaches, flu, respiratory problems, stomach upsets, skin diseases and fevers. The first response would normally involve the administration of medicines that were available in the institution or were purchased from a nearby store. If this failed to restore the child to health, he or she would then be brought to the local Puskesmas. However, there were also childcare institutions that were found to be lacking responsiveness to children's illness, and would simply wait for the child to recover on his or her own. If that failed the child would normally be sent home — either brought there by a staff member or another child— or the child's parents would be called. In one of the institutions, the managers and staff appeared not to care about whether the children were sick or not. One of the children during a focus group discussion said resignedly, *"You could die and they wouldn't care, Miss!"*

In this particular institution, the children were neither brought to hospital nor to the local Puskesmas. On one occasion when a child had been seriously ill, the other children had to telephone his parents to bring him home. Another child was found to have been suffering for two days from a recurring attack of asthma at the time of the assessment. When reported by the assessor and children to the manager, he replied nonchalantly, *"He's always sick with asthma ..."*

However, in the end the manager agreed to lend his car so that the child could be brought to hospital, where he had to undergo inpatient treatment. The children were worried about falling sick as they believed the management and staff would do little to help them. This unease was also voiced by a child in a childcare institution in Central Java: *"I don't like not being well or being sick here. If I was at home, I could tell my mum and dad. But here, you don't like talking about it even to the other children."* It seemed that children in residential institutions could ill afford to fall ill despite the frequently insufficient nutrition and in some cases poor hygiene situation in the institutions.

The lack of response in some cases by managers and staff to illness among the children in their care demonstrated a general lack of concern for the children's health. This was borne out by other aspects, such as the lack of first-aid kits in some of the institutions and the fact even where such kits were available, there contents were often deficient, and consist of little more than iodine/betadine, bandages, and headache, stomach and flu medicines. A treatment or examination room was also frequently absent in the private childcare institutions. Most of the childcare institutions also had no arrangements with the local Puskesmas or a local physician so as to facilitate the treatment and medication of sick children. Only a few of the institutions, including Pamardi Utomo, Muhammadiyah Cilacap, SOS Desa Taruna, Darurrokhmah, Patmos, Prajapati and Lohoraung had arrangements with a local physician or Puskesmas for the provision of free medical services. This is despite the fact that the provision of such services should not be difficult given the existence of Puskesmas in every district, and auxiliary health centres in each village/sub-district. In addition both Woro Wiloso and Darul Hikmah were able to sign up under the *Disadvantaged Family Health Insurance scheme (Asuransi Kesehatan Keluarga Miskin/Askes Gakin),* which helped reduce the cost of medication.

On a positive note, however, not only did the Pamardi Utomo have arrangements for the provision of healthcare services to the children, it also worked with the local Puskesmas so that the children could receive guidance on hygiene and health, and to ensure that the meals provided by the home satisfied "four healthy, five perfect" requirements.

While children were required in many cases to provide a health certificate upon admission, their health was not checked again during the course of their placement, except when they fell seriously ill. In Dorkas in North Sulawesi however, medical examinations were conducted once a year by healthcare professionals who visited the institution. According to a number of girls in Patmos in NTB, *"they once examined our eyes and checked our blood types, but we never found out the results as they were given to the Manager."* Immunizations were also not provided by the childcare institutions, let alone conducting checks on immunizations. Normally, the children would have received their immunizations prior to entering the childcare institution or would receive them at school. This seemed never to be considered part of the institution's role as it was deemed to be the responsibility of the schools.

Neither did the institutions provide formal health education. The promotion of safe and healthy approaches and behaviour was also not stressed or conducted in a focused manner. It was only if a child fell ill that health advice would be provided. In general, the institutions took the view that matters concerning bathing, personal care and so forth came naturally and did not need to be taught in a structured manner. Despite the importance of information on reproductive health to teenagers, this was not provided by the childcare institutions. The children from Al Amin received such

information at school, while the children from Al Hidayah also received information on health and the dangers of drugs at school. In Dorkas however, the institution provided information to the children on the dangers of drugs and HIV/AIDS and in Eben Haezer, children were provided with information on drugs, delinquency and education on the dangers of free sex.

The childcare institutions were found not to maintain health records for each child. The normal practice in Indonesia is for such records to be maintained by the places where the children received treatment, such as the Puskesmas, hospital or doctor's practice. Usually, these institutions maintain records on each patient treated, with the records only being accessible by, and intelligible to, the attending doctor, and the patient only being informed of his immediate illness and the medication or treatment required. Within the residential institutions, however, the only records kept on children's medical history were in the heads of the managers and staff.

Water was found to be a major problem in a number of the childcare institutions assessed. In Suci Hati in Aceh, the water was found to be yellowish in colour and in Nirmala, also in Aceh, the water was also yellow and smelt bad. In UPRS and Pepabri in West Kalimantan the bathing water was turbid, almost brown or black in colour. In the Darul Hikmah in NTB, water was in short supply and had to be fetched from a well. Even then, it was malodorous due to contamination by the children's bathing water. Due to the work involved, the children were loath to fetch water and as a result only bathed once a day. In Harapan, since 2001 the institution has faced some serious water shortages due to the lack of an effective pumping system. The bathrooms have only been able to be used in the mornings and evenings when the water is running and the tanks in the bathrooms remain empty of water for the rest of the day. In Prajapati in North Sulawesi, children often had to walk 3 km to a hot spring to get washed and wash their clothes during the dry season as a result of water shortages in the institution.

The bedrooms in a number of childcare institutions were also found to be unhygienic, with stuffiness and dampness being common problems. There was often general untidiness and a lack of ventilation, which obviously does nothing for the health of the children. In Pepabri in West Kalimantan there were on 5 beds in a room for 8 girls. The small size of the room also compounded the problem as it measured only 3,5 x 4 m. There was little ventilation and as a result the room smelled bad. While there was a window, it could not be opened because of fear of mosquitoes.

In Hidayatullah in Maluku the institution was caring for 63 children (46 boys and 17 girls). The girls were sleeping in two small rooms of about 4 x 4 m and the boys were sleeping in a building with only 4 bedrooms. The space and conditions were no suitable for such a big number of children. Children did not have any individual space assigned to them and would sleep wherever there was a space. Some of the children would end up sleeping in the middle room which served as a study room and as a dining room. They generally laid down blankets on the floor or just slept directly on it. In the boys' rooms too, children would usually sleep without beds but with mats on the floor. There were only 5 wooden beds for 46 boys. The place looked dirty as it was not regularly cleaned and a number of animals often went through it, including chicken, cats and even

goats. One of the girls' room was very dark and had no ventilation whatsoever. There were only 3 wooden beds without mattress to be shared between 17 girls.

In Darul Hikmah in NTB the conditions were also worrying. In the girl's barracks, 33 girls slept in two rooms on the floor with only thin mats. 20 boys slept in only two rooms but they had wooden beds. In Darul Aitam, the conditions were, as explained by a member of staff, *"The place where the children sleep now, oh my God, it is damp, they can see the stars through the holes in the roof."*

While most managers or staff tended to say that they were ready to respond to possible eventualities such as children's sickness or a natural disaster, a general lack of concern was in evidence in many of the institutions in relation to children's safety and well being. Many of the managers took the view that it was normal for children to fall ill and that they would get better of their own accord. According to a healthcare worker in Eben Haezer, *"These children rarely get sick. It seems that they are protected by God. They rarely even get an upset stomach."* It appears to be this attitude that led to a lack of responsiveness to the health needs of children living in residential institutions.

The childcare institutions also often stated that they were ready and knew how to respond to minor accidents or emergencies. But the majority of childcare institution did not have any emergency preparedness kits including fire extinguishers, or rubber boats or other emergency kits to respond to earthquakes, floods or other natural disasters and there were no strategy or plan devised in case of an emergency.

Education

As expected from the fact that the majority of childcare institutions had made education their primary objective, children were found to enjoy good access to education, as shown by the fact that 98% percent of the children in these institutions were attending elementary school, junior high school or senior high school. Twelve of the 36 childcare institutions assessed actually had their own schools, whether in the form of a pesantren or a formal educational establishment.

The educational goals of the childcare institutions were achieved primarily through the provisional of the financial support the children needed for their education in particular the payment of the children's school fees. Neither the children nor their parents were expected to contribute to the costs of education of a child placed in the institution as this was clearly the responsibility of the institution. However, the situation was somewhat different for the children in childcare institutions that were associated or attached to a pesantren. As we saw earlier, in Ibnu Taimiyah in West Kalimantan, for example, the children from the institution were exempt from paying the monthly fee of Rp 160,000, for attending the pesantren and received their food and board, as well as an education. However, in return the children had to donate their labour to the pesantren, including serving meals to the other pesantren students.

The funding required for sending children through elementary and junior high school was significantly reduced in light of the implementation of the Government's School Operational Assistance (BOS) scheme which is meant to eliminate or reduce the costs of school fees for children at both levels. Accordingly, the money formerly spent on school fees tended to be used by the institutions to pay for school-related expenses not covered by the BOS scheme, such as the purchase of books, extra-curricular activities, and writing requisites and copybooks. The institutions also provided money for the purchase of school uniforms, bags and shoes but these were not always provided with enough frequency which meant that, in some cases, children's schooling could be affected. In Suci Hati in Aceh for example,

> *"The children also receive uniforms, shoes, and copybooks from the institution once a year. However, the children say that this support is inadequate as a pair of shoes cannot be expected to last one year.*

Similarly, only two sets uniforms are insufficient for a full year. The children also complain that they do not receive schoolbooks from the institution, and that they have to borrow these from their schoolmates. Accordingly, they have to rely on assistance from their parents as regards shoes, uniforms and schoolbooks" (interview with a child)

The majority of institutions also provided pocket money for snacks and to cover the cost of public transportation, where required. The exact amount of pocket money varied from institution to institution. Al Amin, for example, provided Rp 500 (0.05 USD) per student attending elementary level Islamic school - Madrasah Ibtidaiyah- (paid every day or every two days), while children attending junior high school -Madrasah Tsanawiyah- were given Rp 2,000 (0.20 USD) per day. In Nirmala in Aceh, children received Rp 5000 (0.50 USD) per day. Not all of the 36 childcare institutions automatically provided pocket money to the children in their care. In some cases, the children had to work for their pocket money. Pocket money tended to be distributed in the morning each day by the manager and children had to queue to receive it and in the process take leave to go to school. Children sometimes would save the money including choosing to walk long distance rather than use local transport in some cases so that they could later use their savings for other needs including personal toiletries or even the trip back home to visit their families.

While financial support for the children's education was provided by all of the childcare institutions, support with the actual process of learning was only provided by a small number of the institutions. Generally children were left to get on with their studies and progress was checked on when things were not going well or for some, on a more regular basis. In some of the institutions children were given encouragement with their education and the manager and staff checked on children's progress.

In Patmos, for example, although the manager in charge of the institution was elderly and had more than 100 children under her care, the girls said that, *"She keeps a check, Miss ... especially on how we're doing at school, how our grades are, if we're having any problems at school..."*

On the other hand, the research encountered cases where the Manager of the institution was more focused on the situation of the institution rather than the child as could be seen in one case where the manager explained, *".. I often meet with the teachers so that they hear what I have to say. If, for example, a child is held back, doesn't progress to the next grade, I go to the teacher and say, if this child doesn't get into the next grade, then I'm going to lose out. So I ask them to just let the child move up to the next grade."*

Clear period of times were usually set out for children to do their homework which they tended to do together but generally with little support from staff.

In some of the institutions, no facilities were provided for children to study including rooms for that purpose or tables and chairs. This was the case for example in Al Ikhlas in NTB, Pepabri in West Kalimantan and Lohoraung in North Sulawesi. Children in Al-Ikhlas only studied if they had homework to do and they used the main hall to do so. In Hidayatullah children had no tables to study and the children studied in the room for prayers. In Muhammadiah Cilacap in Central Java, children had to study on the floor of the office and in the visitor's room as there was no study room and no tables and chairs provided.

Another problem faced by the children was the late payment of school fees, particularly in the case of private schools, where the children might be told by the school staff to remind the childcare institution to pay. In general, however, such problems could be overcome by discussions between the childcare institution and the school. In Lohoraung in North Sulawesi, the manager had faced some difficulties in paying school fees as the government assistance the institution received was meant to only cover food costs. The institution ended up having to use parts of those funds to pay for children's fees. As this

was not enough, the manager also started a catering business in the institution to make up for the shortfall. She also has had to borrow money from her friends, in some instances, to pay for the children's fees. Fortunately, some of the children were attending a state elementary school. As a result, as explained by the head of that school,

> *"So, they (two children from the institution) are exempted from school fees. They also get their books from the school, paid for out of BOS funds for poor children. The school also has a program for providing poor children with uniforms. There school fees are also taken care of."*

In the private schools which were attended by other children, BOS was also received and used to reduce the school fees but not to the same extent and the institution still ended up paying for some of the fees.

The picket system (performance of compulsory chores in the childcare institution) could also cause problems for children with their schoolwork and attendance. A number of children living in an institution in Maluku, which had a school attached, revealed that they would frequently be summoned from class to perform their chores if they were on picket duty. According to one teacher, a major problem was the late arrival of the children for school or their failure to turn up due to their roistered for picket duty, *"It's difficult for the children here. They often don't turn up, or are summoned from class to do this or that."*

While on the one hand children who study within the institution do not have to travel great distance to school, they also lose the crucial opportunity to socialize outside and develop support network with other children and adults outside of the institutions. On the other hand, children who attend school outside of the institutions were found in some cases to travel great distance everyday to attend school and in many cases the lack of money or transport from the institution to school, particularly to senior high schools which are far fewer in numbers, meant that children had to walk or find ways to get across considerable distance to their school. In the case of Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan for example,

> *"High school, SMEA and STM schools are located even further away, with the children having to cycle to the main road and then take a public minibus. A one-way trip on the minibus, so that the children need Rp 2,000 each day for going to school. However, this is not provided by the institution so that the children have to work to raise their minibus fares. Normally the boys do this by working in the citrus groves owned by the village head, who is also the founder of the institution, or the plantations owned by the head of the institution and other staff. As for the girls, they wash clothes for (the founder)'s family."*

In Hidayatullah in Liang, children were also not provided with money to pay for transport or pocket money. This is despite the fact that the Junior and Senior High Schools were located about 3 km from the institution and it meant children have a 40 mins walk everyday to school and again back. If children had a little spare money they tried to hire a local bike rider at a cost of IDR 2000 (0.2 USD) each way.

The fact that the children have so much to do in the institutions where they reside and that they rarely get support with their home work or studies, may partly explain why not many of them excel at school. While a few of the children in the institutions were found at the top of their class, the research found that generally children were performing in an average way or even poorly at school and some failed their examinations.

The children who lived in childcare institutions that were associated or linked with pesantren or other Islamic educational establishments (madrasah) were automatically enrolled in the education programs provided by the organizations running the pesantren or madrasah. Six of the childcare institutions studied were associated or linked with pesantren, namely, Darul Ulum, Darul Hikmah, Darul Aitam, Ibnu Taimiyah, Al Muthadien, and Hidayatullah, while 3 other childcare institutions were also involved in educational

activities, two of which were involved in Islamic education: Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe and Nurul Iklhas, while the third, Dharma Laksana, was a Hindu educational establishment.

In other childcare institutions, the children were allowed to choose where they wanted to go to school, although this choice was not entirely free as it was ultimately up to the managers to decide which type of school they would attend. Some institutions selected the schools themselves, normally based on cost or distance considerations, or the child's abilities. In Patmos, for example, the girls said that the schools they attended were the ones they had selected, *"We can attend whatever school we want, Miss, depending on our grades ..."*. However, new children of junior high school-age were frequently sent, if their grades were good enough, to Junior High School No. 9 as it was nearby.

Even if the children successfully managed to graduate from high school, another concern for the institutions was whether they would be able to secure gainful employment upon leaving the institution. In order to prepare the children for employment, many were directed towards vocational school (SMK) instead of high school as the latter was often perceived as being more suited to children who intended to go on to college. It was assumed that by sending children to vocational school, they would be taught the skills they needed so as to secure jobs immediately after graduation. The children normally concurred with this. As one child said, *"You can get a job quicker."* According to this child, upon graduating from the administrative and office management technical school (SMEA), he would be able to immediately find an office job, or become a sales person in a big store. *"Later, I'll be able to get a job in a mall."* Similar views were expressed by other children attending this vocational school. Besides this, technological vocational schools (STM) were also found to be very popular among the boys as graduating from such a school made it easier to find work, such as in an auto repair workshop or as a driver.

In a few instances, children were encouraged and even supported towards tertiary level education. In SOS Desa Taruna, Dorkas, and Prajapati, children had the opportunity to progress to higher education. This was not the case, however in the other institutions, although as we saw above, in a few cases some of the institutions were helping children who had performed particularly well at school to find donators to finance their university education. In a few cases, they would enable those children to even continue to stay in the institution. In Patmos for example, the children were free to continue their education, and the manager provided support and advice to them. Three children were attending college and were allowed to continue living in the institution, although they had to pay their own way through college.

Generally though this was not an option provided to children, both as a result of lack of funding and the institutions' focus on children up to senior high school level. As one child said, *"We want to go to university ... but what can we do ... we're only in the home for a limited time."*

Besides facilitating children to attend school, a total of 13 of the 36 institutions had provided some sort of vocational and life skills training to the children. Five of these were in Central Java, three in West Kalimantan, two in Maluku and one each in Aceh, NTB and North Sulawesi. The number of children receiving vocational and life skills training amounted to 543. Among the skills taught in these childcare

institutions were concrete block making (176 children), computer skills (92 children), sewing (87 children), traditional dancing (69 children), handicrafts (50 children), motorcycle repair (16 children), music (14 children), auto repair (7 children), landscape gardening (7 children), livestock husbandry (6 children), driving (5 children), beautician skills (5 children) and singing (5 children). Clearly, a great variety of skills were taught with the stated aim to support children in gaining future employment.

Motorcycle repair, auto repair, music, livestock husbandry, and landscape gardening courses were only provided for boys, while the beautician courses were only taken by girls. This revealed prevalent gender stereotyping

in many of the vocational trainings run by both private and Government institutions. Girls would almost never been given the opportunity to learn mechanics or to take a motorcycle or auto repair course. Boys on the other hand would rarely been given an opportunity to take beautician or sewing courses (of the 87 children taking sewing courses, only 9 were boys). This did not always seem to be the case however. In Darul Aitam in NTB, it was found that all of the children (except for children of 6 years of age) were trained to make paving and concrete blocks, and were involved in readying the sand and cement, mixing it and then pouring it into the moulds. This training, which obviously involved a great deal of exertion, was provided as part of the construction work at Darul Aitam and was regarded as a contribution by the children to the childcare institution and the pesantren.

Some of these vocational training schemes were found to be very ad hoc in nature and in some cases had operated for only for short periods of time reaching small numbers of children before being abandoned. Others were clearly linked to providing to the needs of the institution including its building work or livelihood schemes including livestock raising while at the same time being seen by the institution as serving to teach children life skills.

As with other children, children living in residential care also frequently experience problems at school. Some of the most frequent problems encountered were playing truant, fighting with schoolmates, and difficulties with homework. The use of physical punishment by teachers and bullying or taunting by other children at school was also frequently mentioned in this context. (See section IX on child protection issues).

With regard to unexplained absences from school, these elicited a variety of responses, depending on the childcare institution involved. In Patmos, for example, the child concerned would normally be summoned by the head: *"(the Head) normally summons the child and gives him a warning and advice."* In Muhammadiyah Meulaboh, a child who was found out to have missed class without permission would not only be given a warning, but, as the children revealed, *"If you played truant ... you'd get slapped.... You also get slapped for fighting ..."*

The children from Caleb House in Maluku experienced similar problems. Children who frequently played truant said that it was often in order to avoid a teacher who was particularly hard and who liked to hit. Some children also they did not like the English class, *"Because it is hard…I don't like the teacher...he's bad ... he often hits..."* Staff at the institutions generally did not believe the reasons given by the children because some of children were deemed to be playing truant too often. The staff also said that they had an agreement with the teachers, particularly those at elementary

and senior school levels. If something a problem occurs with one of the child from the institution at school, they would be called straight away to the school. Other children also admitted to rarely doing their homework because of laziness. Another problem mentioned by children about school was the fighting which often occurred at school with other children. As one child explained about why he hit another child who apparently had annoyed him, "He tried to wipe my face… with the eraser…So I hit him."

Play and Recreation

Children's days in the institutions usually began early and finished late. In fact, the research found that on average children were getting little sleep with nights averaging 5 to 6 hours. While children were usually able to nap sometimes during the day, their days were found to be very packed. In general, it was found that most of the children's time was taken up with school, doing their daily chores in the institution, working for the institution, religious practices and finally sleeping. Accordingly, they had little time left for play and recreation. Normally, the only free time they had was after returning from school and lunch, or after bathing and the evening meal, or at night. During these times, the children would normally chat with their friends, or just sit out watching passers-by. The following two examples give some insight into children's daily activities.

Eben Haezer (West Kalimantan): Daily schedule of activities

TIME	Activity	Description
02.00 - 04.15	Get up, work in the kitchen	For the children assigned to morning cooking duty
04.00	Get up	All children
04.30 – 04.45	Morning prayer	In the hall, all the children participate
04.45 - 06.00	Bathing, breakfast	Some of the children run around, play volleyball, the younger children scuffle with one another
06.00 – 12.30	School	For the children attending morning classes
12.30 – 14.00	Lunch, rest	Some of the children go to the plantations, to the forest, play in the yard or retire to their rooms
14.00 – 17.00	Rest	Some of the children sleep, some play in the yard, some water the flowers
17.00 – 18.00 18.00 – 21.00	Bathing,dinner, evening prayer. Study	All the children After evening reflection, all of the children study in the same room
21.00 – 22.00	Retire to rooms, chat with friends, sleep	All children

Source: Discussions with the children

Hidayatullah: Daily Schedule of Activities

No.	TIME	ACTIVITY
1	03.00	Get up for 'lail' prayers
2	03.30	After 'lail' prayers, back to bed
3	04.30	Get up for 'subuh' prayers
4	06.00	Cleaning (sweeping the rooms and yard)
5	06.30	Bathing and getting ready for school
6	07.00	Breakfast and departure for school
7	12.30	Return home from school
8	13.00	'Dzuhur' prayers
9	14.00	Lunch and rest
10	15.30	'Asar' prayers
11	16.00	Religious studies (reading Koran)
12	16.30	Afternoon cleanup (sweeping yard)
13	18.30	'Magrib' prayers followed by religious studies until time for 'isa' prayers
14	20.00	Dinner
15	20.30	Study
16	21.30	Sleep

Source: Discussions with the children

A number of the childcare institutions had playing fields and sports or artistic/musical equipment, and allocated special periods for sport or artistic pursuits in the afternoon or on Sundays and holidays. Among the sports or games on offer were, for example, soccer, volleyball, table tennis, kasti (game similar to baseball), sepak takra (type of ball game), badminton and chess. None of the childcare institutions possessed facilities for all of these activities. In fact, of the 36 childcare institutions surveyed, only 12 actually possessed sports facilities (33%). Only 7 of the childcare institutions (19%) provided musical instruments for the children, including tambourines, guitars and violins, with the exact instruments available varying from institution to institution. In many cases, the institutions had the facilities but the equipment was already broken or worn out and had not been replaced.

In general, Government institutions had better sports and artistic/musical equipment and facilities than the private ones. UPRS , for example, offered the children volleyball, badminton, chess, table tennis and soccer. The boys availed of these facilities at 4 p.m. each day following their afternoon naps after returning from school. The girls normally only watched, although some of them also participated. The limited number of childcare institutions offering sports and artistic/musical facilities highlighted the fact that play and recreation were not considered important for the children.

The time available to children for sporting or cultural pursuits was even further restricted in those childcare institutions that prohibited the children from watching TV or playing outside the institution. In the Eben Haezer childcare institution, for example, those children who attended high school in the afternoon, besides having to perform routine tasks like cooking, and cleaning the rooms and yard, also worked in the plantations owned by

the head of the institution from 7 a.m. to 11 a.m., for which they were paid Rp 20,000 per week. The same applied in Darul Aitam, where children were required to make paving and concrete blocks for the extension of the home. Unlike the children in these two institutions, the children in other institutions, such as Ibnu Taimiyah, were allowed to take a nap in the afternoon until 3 p.m. after returning from school. In Pepabri, the children were allowed to watch TV, while in Nur Ilahi they were allowed to play tambourine and watch TV all day on Sunday. In all of the six institution surveyed in NTB, the children were also allowed to take a nap in the afternoon and were free to spend their free time as they pleased.

The fact that a number of the childcare institutions allocated very little time for play and recreation appeared in some cases to be based on a belief that these were of no benefit, and only served to waste time or "spoiled" the children. According to a former member of staff at an institution in Aceh:

> *"The children in care are spoiled. Everything they need is provided for them, especially the food. All they have to do is eat. They're spoilt with food. Children have to learn how to take care of themselves, they need to be trained. All these children do is go to school, sleep, play, no work out of the ordinary. This only kills the children."*

The lack of freedom to play may also be seen from the comments of the children. One boy in Muhammadiyah Meulaboh in Aceh said: *"It's really boring, Miss. In the afternoon, we're not allowed out. We have to work."* A girl in the same institution voiced her feelings as follows: *"It's like being in prison. We're not allowed out ... we just shout out "hello" to passers-by."* In fact in that institution, girls are not allowed out after dark (around 6 pm) and are only allowed out during the week from Monday to Friday when accompanied by another girl. Boys, on the other hand, are allowed out everyday and until 10 pm.

Children were usually not allowed out except to go to school or to carry out some religious activities or other activities required by the institution such as searching for wood or going to bathe in the local river. Children were also required to go back to the institution straight from school and they would be punished if they came back late. Most of the institutions prohibited children from going out in the evenings. Where such prohibitions were in place, children would have to find ways to get around them on various grounds, as was the case with one girl who was participating in extracurricular activities at school and was forced to lie as the staff in the institution would not believe her.

As we saw earlier, carrying on relationships with the opposite sex was the thing that was most frowned upon in all of the childcare institutions studied. While institution managers were aware that strong attraction to the opposite sex started during the teenage years, they took the view that such relationships interfered with study and had the potential to endanger children who may engage in pre-marital sex. The sanctions against those found guilty of engaging in relationships with the opposite sex were found to be severe and therefore children's time often found to be tightly restricted outside of the school times and children were not provided with time to hang out.

Viewing TV was usually subject to restrictions in childcare institutions. In some cases, the children were only allowed to do so on Saturday evening or Sunday. On other days, they were required to study. The TV sets also tended to be located in the house or the lodging of the staff and managers and so children would only be able to watch TV when those staff agreed.

Recreational activities outside of the institutions were found to be rarely provided to the children by the institutions. Those childcare institutions that were able to organize such activities did so only once or twice a year. This was found to be the case even though some of the institutions were located within or near areas where recreation could easily be accessed including beaches, mountains or parks. In Dharma Laksana in NTB, for example, children were at most given once a year the opportunity to go to the beach even though the institution itself is located on the coast of Lombok.

Al Mutadien in North Sulawesi on the other hand provided recreation twice a year during the school holidays to the beach or the local Marine Park, the local hills or the zoo. Such activities were greatly enjoyed by the children as they were able to enjoy nature and were freed for a while from the routine and drudgery of institutional life.

In Prajapati, children were found to actually enjoy the long walk to the hot spring during the dry season to get bathed or wash clothes as it meant being able to enjoy the world outside and the landscape of north Sulawesi. In Eben Haezer as in a number of other institutions, looking for wood for fuel was seen by children as an opportunity to enjoy nature, find fruits to be eaten and spend some recreational time together outside of the once a year event organised by the institution.

Some childcare institutions however never organized such activities as was found to be the case in Suci Hati and Darul Ulum in Aceh, Ibnu Taimiyah in West Kalimantan, Lohauraung in North Sulawesi, Muhammadiyah Cilacap in Central Java or Huke Ina in Maluku for example.

Children's work

All of the children living in the childcare institutions were required to work. This work covered everything involved in the running of the institutions, apart from office administration. The work was carried out based on what was referred to as the "picket system", where the children were formed into boys' and girls' teams. The operation of the picket system was described as follows by a child from Lohoraung:

> *"So, when it comes to our turn, Mama (the head of the institution) assigns chores to us. Normally, the chores are different every day. For example, on Monday I might be cleaning the kitchen. Other kids are cleaning the yard. Then on Tuesday, it is my turn to clean the yard. That's the way it works."*

The requirement to work was a non-negotiable one (otherwise the operation of the childcare institutions would be interfered with – the children would not eat and the institutions would not be cleaned). However, the picket system also meant that the children needed to always be able to juggle doing the chores, attending to the everyday religious practice while also attending to school and their school work. As the children from Nurul Ikhlas explained, they found themselves in a dilemma: if they did not do their picket chores, they would be scolded, and if they did do their chores, their schooling would be disrupted.

It was clear from the research that the fact that these childcare institutions had been able to grow and develop was due primarily to the fact that a lot of the work of the institution was actually carried out by the children themselves. The lack of adult staff in the great majority of these institutions meant that children's labour was being relied on as a key part of the operation of the institution. And children's labour meant in reverse that the institutions did not feel the need to recruit sufficient staff to operate and maintain their facilities. Children in these institutions needed to be both strong and resilient and the institutions' practice of only recruiting those who were already able to look after themselves

made that clear. As stated by the manager of one childcare institution in NTB, *"All types of work – if the children are capable of doing it make them do it!"*

In a number of the childcare institutions, little distinction was made between the work carried out by boys or girls. Firewood would be collected by both and boys were also involved in the cooking. However, in the majority there were clear gender distinctions made in the allocation of the work. According to the female institution manager in Muhammadiah Meulaboh in Aceh, *"As they're girls, they will become housewives and they will have to be able to do the housework."*

In Al Amin in West Kalimantan, chores were also allocated based on gender. In a discussion with the girls, the situation was described as follows, *"For the girls, they are assigned to cooking duties in the kitchen, and then cleaning up the rooms. Everything is scheduled. The picket schedule is drawn up by Miss Sri (staff)."* In addition, the girls also were involved in buying the food at the market. Meanwhile, as regards the work performed by the boys, the children had this to say, *"The boys have to mop and sweep the floor, throw out the rubbish, and clean the bathrooms and toilets in line with the picket schedule, except for the small children. They don't have to do picket duty. Only the older children, from grade 4 in elementary school onwards (9 years old). The older children also have to wash their own clothes, while the small children's' clothes are washed by T (an older girl in the institution)."*

Among the various types of work and chores performed by children in residential care were the following:

- Own needs: washing and ironing clothes. The clothes of the smaller children were usually washed by the older children.
- Preparing meals: collecting and chopping up firewood for cooking, purchasing ingredients for cooking, washing rice, fetching water, cleaning and cutting up the food that is to be cooked, laying the table, doing the washing up and putting away utensils.
- Cleaning: sweeping and/or mopping the floors, cleaning the bedrooms, kitchen, bathrooms, toilets and other rooms.
- Cleaning up around the institution: removing garbage, sweeping the yard and pathways within the complex, cutting the grass, cleaning up other areas, watering the plants and vegetable plots.

According to the managers, these chores were set for the children as a form of education so that they would become used to doing them, as the skills would be important for them in the future. It was clear however, that the institutions would simply not be able to run without children carrying out this work due to the lack of staff in most institutions. Children were generally not supplementing the work of adult staff but actually carrying it out instead of adult staff in most cases, indicating that this work related more to the needs of the institutions than the needs of the children.

Beyond having to contribute to the day to day running of the institutions the children were also given tasks in some cases which were clearly done to further the work of the institution rather than to be educational in nature. In that regard, the work required of children in a number of childcare institutions

could in no way be characterized as usual. Among these types of work, ranging from the lightest to the heaviest (besides the types of work described above), were the following:

- Cooking for the pesantren children: This was required of the children living in Ibnu Tamiyah. This institution housed both children in care and pesantren students. In return for receiving assistance, food and education from the pesantren, the children in care were required to cook for the pesantren students. This was stated during a discussion with the children: *"The children in the institution work every afternoon for the pesantren children – the boys cook the rice, while the girls cook the vegetables."* Besides cooking for the pesantren children, those on duty were also required to cook for the head of the pesantren's household and to clean and mop the floors in that house. These duties were not required of fee-paying pesantren students.
- Assisting with the institutions' small business schemes: In Lohoraung for example, the catering and cake business was one of the ways in which the childcare institution sought to raise funds (the head of the institution was an expert caterer). Cakes were normally ordered to celebrate festivals, such as Christmas or Lebaran, while the catering business was busiest at the weekend. Both girls and boys were required to work once a month upon coming back from school, and would be paid between Rp. 15,000 and Rp. 20,000 (around 1.5 to 2 USD) for their labour, which they then used as pocket money. The children from Muhammadiyah Meulaboh in Aceh also worked as guards for the water refill enterprise managed by the Muhammadiyah Foundation, and receive remuneration for their work.
- Minding the children of staff: The children living in the Huke Ina childcare institution were required to look after the children of the families with which they lived. Based on the observations of the assessor, the children were required to tidy bedrooms, clean the bathrooms, wash dishes and clean the yards of their care families. Some of the children were also required to look after the children of their carers, including feeding and bathing them. Some of the children appeared to be responsible full-time for looking after the children of their carers.
- Helping donor families during Lebaran (Idul Fitri): this was required for example of children in Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan. The childcare institution would send the children to work as domestics with donor families over the Idul Fitri season. The term used was "lending" the children to the donors. In such circumstances, the children would not return home for Idul Fitri, but would instead work 3 or 4 days for a donor family. In return they would be paid wages. One child had this to say: *"We can't stand working with donor families during Lebaran... you know, their children are different ... it's much nicer in the institution."*
- Working as domestic in the houses of staff or doing washing for members of the surrounding communities. In Eben Haezer some of the girls were taking in the laundry of the neighbours in order to be able to get some pocket money to pay for personal needs. *"One woman, X, normally has washing to be done. She is a relative of one of the staff. Her house used to be near the institution, but now she has moved and lives quite far away. A1 (child) collects the washing from X's house on her bicycle. She does the washing twice a week in the morning before going to school as she attends classes in the afternoon, and is paid between Rp 15,000 and Rp 20,000 per week. She uses the money to buy sanitary napkins and other personal requisites."(interview with a girl, 18 years old)*
- Providing one year, often unpaid, service after graduation from high school. This requirement was applied by some of the childcare institutions that were also pesantren like Hidayatullah, Al Mutadhien and Ibnu Tamiyah. Upon graduation from Madrasah Aliyah (equivalent of high school), the children were required to

serve for a year in the childcare institution, depending on their skills. This was explained by the head of Ibnu Taimyiah as follows: *"Upon graduation, the children are required to work in the institution for a year by teaching or helping the institution in some other way, like taking care of the kitchen."* This model is frequently applied by pesantren, and involves the children serving as teachers or supervisors during religious activities, taking care of younger children or working in the kitchen. According to one of the organisation's staff, if a child refused to perform such services, he or she would not be given their graduation certificate. It was stated that this internal policy was designed to promote selfless service, improve the skills of the children, better equip the children to live in society, and to empower the children.

- Fund-raising: Boys were required to participate in fund-raising activities in the Al Muthadien institution. They were required to collect "infak", "sedekah" and "zakat" funds during Ramadan so as to pay for breaking-the-fast meals and the distribution of alms to the destitute. They might also be required to collect funds in other months if something special was planned. The funds were collected on a door-to-door basis and were then counted by a staff member and distributed to the destitute around the mosque. Each boy could collect between Rp 600,000 (USD 60) and one million per month (USD 100), and received 13 percent of the funds he collected. The money was used to purchase clothes, books and to make important photocopies. Fund raising is one of the methods employed by Al Muthadien to mould its cadres.
- Building work for the institution: This occurred in a number of institutions including Nurul Ikhlas, Hidayatullah, Caleb House and Al Ikhlas. As part of this work, the children would paint roof tiles, walls, carry bricks and sand etc, so as to reduce the cost of the building work, as well as expedite it. In Al Ikhlas no special schedule was arranged for this work, and it was carried out en masse. According to the head of the childcare institution: *"The children are helping during the building stage by painting the roof tiles."*
- Making concrete and paving blocks, laying out garden, erecting fence: These forms of heavy work were required of the children at the Darul Aitam home. Almost all of the children were involved in making paving and concrete blocks. The work consisted of readying the sand and cement, mixing it, and then pouring it into moulds. As revealed by one of the managers, the gardens in the institution grounds had also been dug and laid out, and a low fence erected by the children. The obligation to work applied to both boys and girls, and also during Ramadan, with the girls being required to make concrete blocks. Each room, which housed four children, was required to produce 100 concrete blocks per night. The work continued all night long during Ramadan, from Tarawih prayers until the dawn meal. As a result, the children were virtually deprived of sleep during the night. Instead, they slept during the day as school was out for the duration of the fasting month. The blocks that they produced were not sold but rather used to construct the walls of the childcare institution. The outer walls of the home were all constructed from concrete blocks, with these all being made by the children. A number of the children objected to having to do this kind of work, but others regarded it as part of their duty to their teachers and the pesantren. In fact, they said they felt honoured to be involved in the work, even though they were deprived of sleep for most of the night. They regarded this as part of their religious devotions, which, in the case of the work carried out in Ramadan, would bring about even greater blessings for them.
- Working in citrus groves: This work was carried out by children at the Eben Haezer home. High school children who attended school in the afternoon worked in the grove on Saturdays, which was owned by

the head of the institution, from 7 a.m. until 11 a.m., and received Rp 20,000 (around 2 USD) for their labour. The work carried out consisted of pruning the fruit trees, picking the fruit and keeping the grass down. The citrus grove had an area of some 2 hectares. Sometimes work in the grove was also used as a form of punishment for the children. Nevertheless, the institution management took the view that this was a form of recreation and a good way of filling in the children's spare time. The work was performed by both girls and boys. As the head of the institution said: *"All, both boys and girls, are the same when it comes to work, although the girls only prune the trees. They don't have to do any hoeing. It's only the boys who do this."* He also said: *"Yes, we often involve the children in light work, like cleaning the house, dorms, cooking. They can also do heavier work once a week, like working in the citrus grove, collecting firewood normally on a Tuesday ... bringing vegetables home so they can sell them to the neighbours or managers ... they do these things so as to get more pocket money."* The older boys also helped to clear the undergrowth and weeds in the staff's citrus groves for Rp 5,000 per visit.

In many cases children saw this work as crucial in order to get the pocket money they needed to be able to meet certain personal needs not provided by the institutions, including toiletries, snacks and paying for transport costs to school or to their home for the holidays. This also provided them with some degree of autonomy as they would not be totally dependent on whatever they were given by the institution. In other cases, children saw this work as their contribution to the institution in return for the services provided or had been taught to think of this work as part of their religious duties.

Based on the above description, it is clear that many of the childcare institutions were not solely concerned with the care and education of the children. Child's work was in fact a key requirement not only for the operation of the institution but also for the child being allowed to stay in the institution. The main sanction for a child who refused to work was being expelled from the childcare institution. While the work was often referred to as 'educational' in nature or 'light work', in reality some of the tasks performed by children were not conforming to Indonesian and international law on child labour. A number of the tasks performed could, in fact, be categorized as among the worst forms of child labour under Presidential Decree Number 59 of 2002 (on the worst forms of child labour), such as working as domestics or carrying out heavy work, such as making concrete blocks and carrying building materials.

While all of the childcare institutions gave their own reasons for involving children in work, such as providing them with vocational training and life skills, ensuring the children contribute to the institution and feel like they are participating in the aims and mission of the institution, nevertheless, the circumstances described above reveal a lack of compatibility between the objectives of childcare institutions and the use of child labour to advance the interests of these institutions. Childcare institutions are supposed to be professional services providing care and protection to particularly vulnerable children including neglected and abandoned children and these

institutions should not be operating on the basis of children's work.

Privacy

Few of the children had heard of the concept of privacy. In fact, when it was explained by the assessors, many of the children first took the view that it was not something that was important or necessary. This attitude seemed closely connected with the communal nature of their lives in residential institutions, and the collective approach taken by those who care for them who generally did not see physical or personal privacy as important. Two boys at in Al Ummah home stated for example, *"Everybody must be treated the same, Miss. Anyway, we don't have anything (property) that's important or valuable ..."*.

A similar sentiment was expressed more forcibly by a child during a discussion in Hidayatullah *"We're all members of a religious community here. It's only when you're in the grave that privacy comes into effect."*

Communal pressure was found to be strong, especially in those childcare institutions that attempted to mould cadres to work for their parent organizations. Here, everything was done together so that there was little room for privacy. According to one of the girls at the Suci Hati institution, *"it doesn't get a lot of attention ... because we do everything together here ..."*.

However, other children had an understanding of privacy. As was stated by one child in Al Ikhlas, *"Privacy is something special for yourself."* According to another child, *"Privacy is something that can't be shared with other people,"* and *"Privacy is something that you can't tell to anyone else."* A boy from Darul Hikmah also made the following statement, *"Well, there's no privacy here. Whatever one child does, all of the others will know. Like me, I've got a girlfriend in the girls' dormitory. Everyone knows. It's embarrassing sometimes ..."*. Pressure to conform, the crowded conditions in the childcare institutions, and the rules, including the prohibition on relationships with the opposite sex, all combined to reduce the level of privacy enjoyed by the children.

The opinions expressed by the children in this regard were closely connected to the views on privacy of the institutions' managers. A few managers saw privacy as being connected to providing children with some personal space, such as the provision of individual closets, rooms and lockable toilets/bathrooms. However, most managers and staff saw privacy as a lesser need for children than providing them with food and education. For example, the manager of the Suci Hati home said, *"We don't pay a lot of attention to the children's privacy. For us, the most important thing is their education."*

Another reason for the lack of attention to privacy was advanced by the head of Al Ummah:

> *"As the children are young, there is nothing that has to be kept secret. I would love to provide them with facilities that are capable of giving them privacy but, we can't due to a lack of money. However, even though there is no door on the entrance to the girls' rooms, they are still safe. This is because the girls are in a different building to the boys, and the boys aren't allowed to enter their rooms."*

Concepts of privacy as understood by staff in the institutions tended to relate mainly to ensuring physical separation between boys and girls and in some institutions actually providing children with individual closets for their personal belongings and clothes or imposing strong sanctions on Peeping Toms and prohibiting more than one person from bathing together.

In the Islam-based childcare institutions, boys were habitually separated from girls under the rules on "*muhrim*". [3] In Al Muthadien, for example, the girls and the boys' dormitories were separate and in Hidayatullah Liang and Muhammadiyah Meulaboh there were strict separation between the sexes.

The lack of a private physical space was particularly acute in institutions that used dormitories or where high numbers of children

were crowded in a room. While it is common in Indonesia for children and families to often live within very confined physical spaces and sharing a bed, in many cases, is seen as normal and even desirable, in the context of the childcare institutions, having to share a bed or a mattress with two or even more children meant that these children really did not have a space to call their own. In at least 14 institutions children had to share beds. Generally this meant two children sharing one bed. In Hidayatullah the situation was particularly bad with only 5 beds for 46 boys and 3 beds for 17 girls. This meant that many of the children had to share beds but also that many ended up sleeping on the floor. This situation was quite similar in Nurul Ikhlas where there were only 8 beds for 57 boys and 7 beds for 44 girls. On the other hand, in institutions where children were provided with bedrooms to be shared by only a few children, the situation tended to be better in terms of physical privacy and in those cases children were generally able to make the space their own by putting up posters or personal items.

In Caleb House, for example, children had been able to make their bedrooms more personal,

> *"Posters or photos are put up on the walls above their beds by the children. The girls' rooms appear neater and have much more in the way of decoration than the boys' rooms, which are quite untidy as tables and clothes are placed on the beds, although their rooms are not dirty. In the girls' rooms, the decorative elements include flowers on the study desks, and paper decorations hanging from the roofs."*

Most institutions provided some lockers or cupboard facilities for children, generally to be shared between two, or up to four or five children. In most of the childcare institutions, even where cupboards were provided, they frequently could not be locked. The situation was worse in those childcare institutions where the children did not have any closets at all, but only cardboard boxes for the storage of clothes and other belongings. In Al Ummah in Aceh, children used cardboard boxes to put their clothes in and only one child had a cupboard that he had brought from home. In Darul Ulum Munawarrah in Aceh, children had also brought cupboards from their homes or bought one with their own pocket money. In Darul Hikmah the cupboards had no doors and were shared communally by children. Children in Dr. J. Lukas in explained that they did not want to put private items such as letters in their cupboards as these could not be locked up and they were worried that their foster parents or other children would read them or use their personal belongings.

Even in institutions which provided some facilities for children to keep personal items however, the practice of 'surprise' searches (referred to as 'razzia') conducted by staff on the belongings of the children demonstrated a clear lack of concern for privacy.. Such searches were quite common and were aimed primarily to check on children's conduct to ensure they did not violate the rules of the institutions as explained for example by the head of Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan,

> *"Sometimes we search the closets of the children. But we only confiscate inappropriate things, like skimpy clothes, love letters, things like that. If we find skimpy clothes, we sometimes order the stitching to be ripped open. We once found a love letter. We've still got it, it's with one of the staff. The boyfriend wasn't from here.*

We summoned the girl and gave her a talking to, but we did it in private, not in front of the other children."

Similar searches were carried out in SOS Desa Taruna. While the children had their own lockable closets, some of the children said that they were not brave enough to keep a diary as it might be read by the female staff, something that had happened before. According to the children, the foster mothers liked to pry into the children's personal affairs. This was corroborated by one of them, *"... sometimes I like the check the children's closets to find out if their keeping anything they shouldn't have, like cigarettes, love letters, or similar kinds of things."* If a child was found to have something prohibited in her closet, then she would be reprimanded and the offending item seized. Those children who had there own closets were among the lucky ones, even though the staff had access to a master key.

In Sayap Kasih, the childcare institutions caring for children with disabilities, children's own clothes were made to be shared between all of the children and in one case, a boy got quite upset that he could not keep the clothes given to him by his grandmother. While the aim was clearly to encourage sharing and communal living, not allowing children to keep their own clothes may well unnecessarily undermine their sense of individuality and privacy.

The conditions regarding bathrooms and toilets also highlighted the diverse arrangements that had an impact on children's privacy. The situation was found to be best in those childcare institutions that applied the cottage model as each cottage had its own bathroom and toilet that could only be used by the residents of the cottage, and would generally be well-maintained and locked. In the SOS Desa Taruna, for example, one cottage had two bathrooms and two toilets for a maximum of 12 children. In institutions not based on a cottage system, toilets and bathrooms were generally shared between many more children and often could not be locked. In some institutions, bathing and going to the toilet was carried out in the open at public water sources, such as a river. In Eben Haezer, for example, the children bathed at two wells located approximately 50 and 100 meters from the institution respectively. The well used by the girls was located near a road and provided no privacy. In addition, the children also sometimes bathed at a public bathing facility that had only recently being constructed by the village (50 meters away). The children bathed in the morning in the dark (starting at 4:30 a.m.), despite the fact that the wells were surrounded by long grass so that the children were at risk of running into snakes or poisonous centipedes. For toilet purposes, Eben Haezer provided two buildings (with each consisting of two toilets), with one of the buildings being located behind the girls' dormitory and one behind the boys'. However, both of them were located outside the home's perimeter (approximately 3-5 meters away). This situation not only involves a lack of privacy, but also potentially creates unnecessary protection risks.

Institutions that cared for both boys and girls generally provided separate bathroom and toilet facilities. In Wahyu Yoga Dharma on the other hand and in institutions using the family cottage system, boys' and girls' bathrooms and toilet facilities were shared. A lack of light was found to be a serious problem in almost all of the bathrooms/toilets, particularly those in non cottage-based institutions. A dark and murky atmosphere was observed by the assessors in almost all of the childcare institutions studied, but particularly in the private institutions. Not all of the bathing/toilet facilities were located within the institutions.

Privacy regarding personal care and cleanliness also involves the supply of bathing requisites to all of the children, and the provision of sanitary napkins to the girls. Every child should have his or her own individual bathing requisites, such as soap, toothbrush, toothpaste, shampoo and towels. However, not all the childcare institutions provided for these and those that did often did not provide enough. Sometimes the children would receive them only when there were gifts from donors or when they were supplied to them on a routine basis by their parents. In a number of cases, children were found to save their pocket

money or carry out paid work so they could buy their own toiletries. If they ran out of toothpaste or soap and no more was immediately forthcoming, they would borrow from other children or not use soap or toothpaste at all. In the case of shared bathrooms, the children used bathroom bags/containers where they kept their soap and toothpaste, and which they brought back to their room after finishing washing. Thus, children brought their personal toiletries back and forth to the bathroom, just like a person living in a rented room in a boarding house.

As with bathing requisites, sanitary napkins were not provided to the girls by all of the childcare institutions. Girls in Suci Hati Aceh, Darul Hikmah in NTB, or Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan for example, would have to buy sanitary napkins themselves out of their pocket money or money they received from their parents. Otherwise, they would have to borrow them or use cloths that they washed for reuse. In a number of cases, girls also did that because they were to shy to ask staff for the napkins. Guidance about personal hygiene and care during menstruation was sometimes given by the staff when girls experienced their first periods as was found in Al Ummah for example. More usually however, the girls would only receive advice from the older girls in the institution.

Beyond the physical aspects of privacy, there seemed to be little awareness in the institutions of children's needs for personal spaces, places where they could be on their own or places where they could meet and discuss with other children or staff, including be provided with individual counselling or support. Special areas for such purposes had been set aside in none of the childcare institutions that were surveyed. In many of the institutions where space was at a premium, there was simply nowhere for the children to have heart-to-heart conversions or receive counselling. In fact, in these institutions, space was so lacking that the same rooms were often used for a variety of purposes. And so, the children had to find there own places to be alone or chat with a friend in confidence. For example, the children from Dr. J. Lukas would use the walk home from school to have heart-to-hearts, while in Lohoraung the children would chat behind the institution. In Muhammadiyah Cilacap, the children would talk in their rooms or on the second floor if no one was around, while those in Patmos would get together in their rooms, study room or "the yard of the girls dormitory under the rose-apple tree."

In a few cases, the children would take themselves off to the beach to get some time on their own, such as the children from Huke Ina, which was located right beside the beach. In other childcare institutions, the children would try to get some time on their own in the garden or vegetable plot or the prayer room ('musholla'). Accordingly, it was clear that the children would seek out and avail of places where they could be comfortable and felt safe to chat with and share confidences with their friends. The bedroom, which is normally considered to be a person's most private place, was not a favourite place for such private sharing among the children due to the presence of other children (where dormitories or shared-rooms were employed). The fact that bedrooms were frequently small, lacking in ventilation, crowded, lacking in curtains and with the beds crowded together clearly

revealed the lack of attention given to children's need for privacy. This resulted in many cases with children feeling uncomfortable and made it difficult for them to be on their own.

When visiting the sort of places described above for private conversations, children's most common companions were friends, roommates or older children who could be trusted and give advice. The matters discussed covered a wide variety of personal and confidential. In some of the institutions, as described in the section on social relations, the relations between the staff/managers and the children were quite distant so that it was impossible for the children to talk to staff members about personal matters. A big age gap between the children and those responsible for looking after them, such as was the case in Patmos and in Pepabri, also sometimes made it impossible for the children to confide in the staff. Other reasons why children did not confide in staff members was that they were difficult to reach, or would only scold the child. As one child from Al Ikhlas said,

> *"It's difficult to meet the staff, and you'd be afraid of being scolded if you talked openly to them."*

Not surprisingly in such circumstances, the children would be afraid to discuss anything with staff members that concerned problems in the childcare institution or with management, or to discuss anything to do with relationships with the opposite sex, which were forbidden in all of the childcare institutions surveyed.

Another problem was the fact that most of the childcare institutions did not provide any private space where children could receive visitors, whether from their parents, or other family members or friends from outside. Such meetings usually took place in the parlours, assembly halls, in the official room for guests of the institution or in the yards of the institutions. In Huke Ina for example, which is based around a cottage system, the institution did not provide any private space for those wanting to visit the children. The rooms usually used for that purpose was the visitor's room of the carers. Nur Ilahi, on the other hand, did provide a special room for guests including children's families who were able to visit and even stay over.

The above description shows that while privacy was often not regarded as a priority by the institutions and many children were not familiar with the term, the need for some personal space at the physical and personal level was nevertheless felt by children and they had to develop their own strategies to find ways to access it whenever needed.

Choice

Across the 36 childcare institutions studied, the opportunity for children to make choices was almost exclusively limited to major educational decisions. Some institutions, on the other hand, allowed no room whatsoever for children to make choices.

The freedom to choose a school was generally identified as the one opportunity given to children to make a choice by almost all of the childcare institutions except Woro Wiloso in Central Java where the choice of school was left to the institution. In a few institutions this freedom of choice also extended to vocational training courses undertaken as part of the extra curricular activities at school particularly for the older children as was the case with Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan, or Dorkas and Dr. J. Lukas in North Sulawesi for examples.

In reality though, the choice of school was found to be limited in practice by the availability of funds from the institution, distance and what were deemed the 'academic' capacity of the children. As the Manager of Pamardi Utomo in Central Java explained,

> *"It's all about compromise and consensus here. We don't have a dictatorial system. We make them go to vocational school, but if the children aren't interested, then we're only wasting our time. Even if they graduate, there's no guarantee they'll get a job. Some of our students have graduated from teacher-training college and are now working as teachers, some of our high school graduates have become police*

officers. But if a child wants to go to high school but doesn't have the ability? That's children for you. But we try to encourage them."

Those childcare institutions that enabled some choice by the children in relation to their education generally provided them information on the schools available, particularly in the case of vocational schools, and the sort of skills required by the job market. Cost, distance and friends were the principal factors taken into consideration by the children in making their decisions. In reality, however, the final decision was rarely taken solely by the child based on personal preference as he or she also had to take into consideration the financial capacity of the institution. This was illustrated by a child from Darurrokhmah in Central Java,

"*... normally, we children are allowed to make our own choices when it comes to school. Even if the school was far away, we could still choose it. But as most of our friends are attending school here, we don't have much choice but to go to school here also."*

The children fully understood that all of their educational costs were covered by the childcare institutions. In the Muslim-based childcare institutions which operated together with a pesantren, children were generally not provided with a choice of school as they had to attend the school provided by the parent organisation.

Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan, however, was a positive exception in that regard as it provided children in its care with a greater range of choices regarding their daily lives. As one member of staff at Nur Ilahi explained, *"The children are already big so that we often ask them about things concerning the institution, like what they want to eat, even the colour of the paint for the walls – it's they who decide on the colour for the rooms. You can see that the colour of each room is different – some have gone for blue, some yellow, some pink."*

The fact that the children in some childcare institutions were not permitted choices was seen as resulting from various factors. The most common reason expressed by the childcare institutions themselves was a lack of facilities and money. As a result of these limitations, the management and staff felt that offering children a choice was simply unrealistic. Children have to take what they can get. Another reason given in some cases was the belief that providing children with choice would be 'spoiling them' and children were seen as needing strict rules and discipline, as was the case at Woro Wiloso in Central Java for example. In such institutions, the only choice the children were given was to follow the rules or to be punished. In those pesantren-based institutions that applied the 'cadre' systems, the children had to submit to all the rules and teaching methods that were applied, with the result that they were groomed or moulded in line with the formula established by the organization running the institution.

The restrictions on children's choices were not confined solely to education. In Huke Ina, the Government institution in Maluku for example, the children said that they were not afforded choices regarding any matters impinging on the operation of the institution, such as the services provided, the pattern of care, the "rolling" mechanism for the placement of children with foster families, the choice of foster families, or the food served. Everything was decided by the institution's management. One child said, *"No you can't, .(choose). ... there are rules to be followed if you live here."*

In Lohoraung in North Sulawesi another reason given for limiting children's choices was the isolated location of the institution on the remote island of Sangihe which meant that not many choices were deemed available.

With regard to religion, as we saw earlier children in almost all the institutions were required to perform their religious duties and doing so constituted one of the most important rules of the institutions. Religious practice was in most cases in line with the religion on which the institution was founded and while few institutions admitted children from different faiths, those that did tended to require these children to also follow the teachings of the religion of the majority. In Prajapati in North Sulwesi for example, one of

the children said: *"We are allowed to perform our religious duties in line with the teachings of our respective religions. But we are introduced to the values of Buddhism. In our view all religions are good. Many of Buddha's teachings are good and applicable to our lives, such as his promotion of simplicity, wisdom and spirit."* Similarly in Patmos in NTB, there were a number of Catholic children that worshipped according to Protestant rites following the ethos of the institution and the religion of its manager. This was explained by one child: *"Yes, for prayer and worship, we follow Protestant rites as the lady in charge here is Protestant. But on Sundays we go to the Catholic church ..."*

Quite a different situation prevailed in Nur Ilahi, whose primary objective was to educate new converts to Islam. Even though this institution gave children choice as regards to such things as the food they ate, the schools they attended, and even the colour of the paint in their rooms, children from other faiths who entered the institutions were required to become and live as Muslims.

Given their high level of dependence on the institution in order to access education, the scope for children to exercise choice was in reality very restricted. The considerations and decisions put forward by the staff/managers were generally to be followed by the children and this applied not only to questions of education, but to all other aspects of life in the institution. Children who refused to accept or comply with the decisions that had been made for them would face punishment, or even expulsion from the institution which in turn means the loss of education. Where choices were provided, it tended to be in cases where these coincided with the priorities of the institution itself and its staff, as we saw earlier in the case of Nirmala where children had asked the institution to organise a religious practice competition and the management had agreed to it because as the head of the institution explained, "*In reality, this had already been planned, but we wanted to wait for the children to suggest it. In actual fact what the children wanted was the same as what had been planned by the institution. So the competition went ahead.*"

Dignity

Every child is a unique individual with own personal needs and capacity as well as experiences. The fact that there were generally no individualised services in the childcare institutions but instead services tended to be provided collectively meant that children living in residential institutions were often treated on a uniform basis, rather than as individuals entitled to dignity. The children from Darul Hikmah in NTB, for example, said that a positive image or concept of self was not promoted, and that the staff never provided them with encouragement or the information they needed, save as regards religious duties and schoolwork.

The strong emphasis by the institutions on these children being 'neglected', 'orphans' or from poor families also meant that low self esteem was sometimes being promoted by institutions and children saw themselves as 'abandoned' or orphaned even when they were not. In some institutions the process of identification of the children with orphan hood was particularly encouraged. Al Muthadien in North Sulawesi and Hidayatullah in Maluku for example, turned all of their charges into "orphans" during the cadre-grooming process. Relationships with families were actively discouraged in these institutions and children moved across provinces to different institutions

so that they would not be able to maintain strong bonds with their own family.

In other institutions, children were often reminded of their social status either as orphans or as children from deprived families, sometimes with the aim of encouraging humility or feelings of gratitudes for what they were provided with, sometimes apparently with the aim of creating a sense of shared 'fate' among the children. In the Government institution in West Kalimantan children were left in no doubt about how they were viewed by the institution and how they were expected to feel about themselves in notices posted by the institution's management on the walls of the establishment.

> *"You are categorized as being orphaned, poor, neglected, disadvantaged. "Reflect on this!"*

In Prajapati in North Sulawesi, children had to sing the same song composed by the Buddhist monk that heads the institution before eating everyday, clearly aiming to remind them of their 'status' as parentless children even though many of these children still had parents. Despite the routine nature of the process, the song clearly evoked strong emotions among the children,

> *"Try to hear and try to remember,*
> *the crying from the institution,*
> *children suffering who were born,*
> *without knowing their fathers or mothers.*
>
> *.... what we long for,*
> *the love of a father and mother,*
> *amid the joking and laughing there is suffering,*
> *and smiles can quickly turn to tears*
>
> *I've no father and no mother,*
> *Only tears,*
> *Come to me mother,*
> *I miss your love…"*

Notwithstanding all of the above, it was found that some childcare institutions did try to ensure that the dignity of the children was promoted. Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi for example strived hard to uphold the dignity of children in its care – children with both mental and physical disability- by attending to them as individuals with different personalities and capacities. Al Ummah in Aceh also refrained from erecting a name-board at the entrance to the institution declaring it to be a childcare institution as it was believed such a board would only demean the children. The institution also allowed the children to mix with children from the surrounding community, subject to certain restrictions such as not being allowed to play video games, gamble, etc. This approach seemed to have been conditioned by the fact that people in Central Aceh (where Al Ummah is located) have traditionally been embarrassed to place their children in residential care as this would signify a lack of means on the part of their families.

Strengthening children's self-confidence was also stated to be an objective by a number of childcare institutions as part of the effort to uphold the children's dignity. In order to bring this about, the children at Lohoraung in North Sulawesi were invited in turns to special events by the head of the institution. At Dr. J. Lukas, foster families were encouraged to differentiate as little as possible between their own children and the children they were fostering.

At some childcare institutions, the children felt positive about being in residential care. The children at Patmos, for example, said that "Ibu" (the Manager) had always encouraged them to build up their self-confidence and forge friendships with other children. The children felt comfortable living in the institution. At SOS Desa Taruna, the children said they were happy as they had the opportunity to attend school, all their needs (such as food, clothing, school requisites) were taken care of, and they learned how to look after themselves. They said they were not ashamed to be living in the SOS Desa Taruna.

Nevertheless, in some institutions, such as Darurrokhmah, the children admitted that they sometimes felt inferior to be living in a childcare

institution. In a number of institutions children referred to rules, activities, punishments and even statements/utterances that they felt were demeaning to them. In one institution in West Kalimantan, for example, the children said that they were upset by some of the comments of staff members. In particular, they were upset by demeaning comments about their families and the poverty in which they lived, such as: *"Here you have everything. Just remember how you had to eat rubber seeds before."* According to the girl in question, *"No matter how poor we were, we never had to eat rubber seeds ... it is really hurtful when you hear that kind of things."* One of the children's parents was also insulted when she brought her child some rambutan: *"Just like a rich person ... buying rambutan ... If you're so rich, why don't you stay in a hotel ... I was so upset I cried ... Mum was only able to stay two days here."* If the Manager was angry, *"his shouts would be so loud that we'd all hear him ... it's not nice to hear shouting like that ... he'd do this if someone didn't do his picket duties, or something like that."* The children felt uncomfortable when he was around, and his presence tended to erode the motivation and hopes of the children. For example, he would frequently refer to the children as "anak kampung" (village yokels).

Abusive language was also frequently used in another childcare institution in West Kalimantan, where the children were frequently referred to as being "idiots", "poor", "uneducated", "fools", "useless", and "lazy". According to the children here, one of the staff members had once pronounced, *"I'd rather be looking after goats than you lot."* On another occasion, *"You're all no better than goats. You've got no ethics and you've got no manners."*

Another manager said, *"If someone does something wrong, I ask (him) you want to become head of village or something else?! You've got to be smart. If someone is smart, I'll tell him he's smart. If someone's an idiot, I'll call him an idiot, won't I?"* It was against this background that one of the children complained: *"It's like being in prison. There's no difference between us and prisoners. The only difference is that prisoners can't go out, while we go to school."*

This sort of demeaning behaviour was not the monopoly of childcare institutions in West Kalimantan. In one state childcare institution in Central Java, the children also subjected to demeaning comments, such as the comment "*ugly creature*", uttered by a staff member upon seeing a girl shortening her skirt. This staff member also frequently said that the children were thieves, and made the following statement: "*You don't pay! I had to pay. You're given everything and you still want more. Why should I have to worry about children whose origins are dubious?"* Demeaning treatment was also directed at the children particularly when they were punished either through physical punishment or through humiliating punishment. In a childcare institution in Maluku when children were required to attend a "hearing" in connection with an alleged infraction, one of the staff told the child,

> "*You've been given food and a nice bed here. And yet you still don't want to obey the rules. What do you really want? If you don't like the rules, just get out!"*

In another institution, if a child had done something wrong, he or she would be given a dressing down before the entire assembly, as if the child had done something unforgivable. A child in another childcare institution in Maluku described one of the punishments imposed by staff, *"If you're ordered to roll along the ground, the other kids are lined up to watch ... it's really embarrassing."* According to another child: "*I was slapped and scolded by the ustad. Everyone was watching and listening. I was really embarrassed and wanted to hit the ustad. But I was able to control myself.*"

Demeaning words and language were also directed at the children in a childcare institution in NTB. One child recalled how he had been insulted by a member of staff in the following terms: "*You've been given food and drink. No wonder you're spoilt. It would be better looking after chickens than you useless lot."* One child as a result remarked, *"They're not really fit to be in charge of us."*

The children said that after being scolded in this way, many of them were reduced to tears, and would miss their parents. It appeared

there was virtually no limits on the amount of scolding that could be engaged by some staff. One child in an institution in Maluku recalled: "*Before when Ibu (staff) would get angry, she would say that we were only here as beggars. I used to be really embarrassed and would feel uncomfortable with her. But that was before. Maybe she was also having problems.*" Another child recounted: "*If Ibu's angry, she normally screams at the top of her voice. The children are called up so that everyone knows, everyone can hear.*" Another child had this to say, "*I tell my friends not to be afraid. If we all went home, this foundation would have to close down and then the teachers would also have problems.*"

There were also statements made by staffs, which were apparently aimed to encourage spirit in the children, but actually demeaned them as "anak panti" (children of institutions). In one institution in Maluku, one of the staff stated,

> "*Children in residential care should have a sense of shame. They shouldn't be proud or ill-behaved. We are showing sympathy for them here. The children are taught to be polite. Because they live in an institution thanks to the concern shown by others, they need to know that they must meet the expectations of those who are concerned for them ... repay their kindness. In order to have confidence in themselves, the children need to continually perform their religious duties, be polite to others, go regularly to the mosque. Such behaviour needs to be seen by others so that the children are worth something.*"

The various actions and statements described above not only demean the dignity of the children, but in some cases could also be categorized as amounting to degrading and humiliating treatment. The children were made to feel ashamed about who they were and where they came from, and as a result they lost hope, their motivation to succeed was eroded, and they ended up feeling burdened by the stigma attached to their social status, as if they were never going to be allowed to emerge from it. In the childcare institutions that engaged in verbal violence, the religious and humanitarian teachings and the lofty concern for the children that they espoused appeared to be little more than slogans. The romantisation of the concept of 'orphans' and of destitute children seemed in many cases to serve primarily the interest of the institutions in portraying themselves as establishments that worked to assist the most vulnerable rather than serving the best interest of the children in their care, and enabling them to grow as confident and secure individuals. On the other hand, in the institutions that encouraged positive feelings among children about themselves and where staff showed actual respect and care for the children as individuals, children were clearly feeling more positive about being in residential care and about their prospect for the future more generally.

Social Relations

The area of social relations covers those with whom children living in childcare institutions have relationships, and the extent to which those relationships were allowed to develop or were supported. Relationships for children in residential care extended in particular to the institution's staff/managers, their parents, their peers, teachers and school friends, and people living in the vicinity of the childcare institution.

Relations between the children and staff/ managers

The relations between the children and the staff and managers were found to be generally not very close or relaxed. This was reflected both in the statements of the children and the observations of the assessors. The pattern of discipline and punishment applied in the majority of childcare institutions, as well as the kind of bureaucratic arrangements applied in the government institutions, resulted in relations between the children and staff/ managers being excessively formal, inflexible, and distant. In addition, the children were often left nervous and withdrawn in front of adults. It was clear that the principal aim of childcare institutions in replacing parental care and providing the close relationships and

attachment needed by children were not being provided in most instances. As we saw from the professional practice section, the focus on actual care giving and responding to the needs of children for emotional and social bonds were not seen as crucial by staff in the great majority of institutions. Instead staff saw discipline, obedience, compliance with rules and requirements as key in their relationships with children.

Tense relations were often apparent when the children came into contact with staff and managers. In most cases, their relations were quite distant, and the children feel uncomfortable relating confidences to them or in front of them. One child in an institution in NTB stated,

"We never joke or kid around with the staff. We're afraid. If we want to kid around, we do it with our friends."

Similar comments were made by other children, namely, that they did not feel comfortable speaking about personal matters, or even joking or kidding, with members of staff, *"It's no problem if we just meet with (the head) but I wouldn't have the nerve to tell him anything confidential. The most I'd do would ask him questions in the mushola (prayer room)."* Another child said: *"I never chat with the staff. They're only ever here for a short while. It's (the head) who comes here the most. I'm not afraid of him or the staff, provided I've done nothing wrong."*

One child from an institution in West Kalimantan recalled how the staff paid little attention to the children, even when they were sick: *"We would like to tell ... can't be bothered, not brave enough, they never ask, they don't give us any attention, they just leave us be."* Another child added *"Where's the care that they are supposed to show to us?"*

Children in an institution in Maluku had a similar experience, as related by two children,

"The managers now are not very close to the children. They never pay any attention to the children. It was different with the managers who used to be here. They were much more concerned about what we needed. Now, the managers make no attempt to get close to the children. There's a lack of communication with both the managers and the staff. It's as if they don't know how to talk to us."

The children were unwilling to talk to staff members as they often got angry. Another child said: *"Almost all of the children, especially the teenagers, don't like the way things are now. There's no freedom. They managers never ask directly if we have any problems, for example, things we need for school. It's as if they don't want to know how we're doing. All they're concerned about is that we follow the rules."*

In one institution in West Kalimantan, the research team found that during the four days of the assessment no staff had ever entered the children's quarters except one to bring the food for the breaking of the fast. The children there confirmed that staffs only came to their rooms to check up on them or to carry out "razzias". If a staff wanted to talk to a child, he or she would normally send another child to order the child to go to the staff's room, but the staff never came to the children's rooms in person.

Lack of time on the part of staff/managers in itself also proved to be an obstacle to building closer and less formal relations with the children in their care. In most of the

childcare institutions that were surveyed, the staff/managers also had other jobs or roles so that when they met with the children, the conversation would normally be confined to matters affecting the institution or the children's duties in the institution, rather than the children as individuals. This resulted in the staff/managers frequently having little knowledge about the condition of their charges, as was stated by one child from an institution in Maluku,

> *"The staff don't know anything about what makes me happy or sad, or my interests or pastimes."*

The situation was better the institutions which focused on family replacement. In Sayap Kasih for example, the staff demonstrated a real interest in and closeness to the disabled children in their care. Also, in both SOS Desa Taruna and Dr. J. Lukas there was evident closeness between children and adults living with foster families. In Lohoraung, children also felt they were loved by "Ibu", the woman who ran the institution on her own, looking after a total of 18 children. A closer relationship between staff and children was also found in a few instances in childcare institutions caring for bigger groups of children such as Al Ummah in Aceh, an institution where, despite caring for over 40 children the manager seemed to have managed to create a more familial and caring environment. The children referred to him and his wife as "dad" and "mum" and were treated in the same way than their own children who also lived in the institution. In a few other instances, individual children were found to have developed particular relationships with some of the staff members in their institutions that were closer to them such as the cook or the security guard as these tended to be the main staff interacting with them on a daily basis.

The lack of close relations between the children and staff/manager's in the majority of childcare institutions surveyed shows that these institutions are failing to provide children with the crucial emotional and secure attachments essential to their proper development. This is particularly worrying for the children who are under 10 years of age as these children are still of an age where secure attachment and bonding to care givers is critical to their socialisation and development as individuals. This situation combined with the enforced separation from their parents and families as practised by most of the institutions means that children's emotional and social development is simply not recognised or supported at what is a very critical period of their development.

Relations between children

Unlike relations between children and the staff/managers, relations between the children in residential care were found to be very close, although some indications of bullying were also encountered in some institutions. Various statements by the children emphasized their comfort and ease in each other's company. As one child from Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe in Aceh explained,

> *"Us kids together, we're all really close....we're all from the same beliefs, religion, we're really close, Miss. If someone would hit one of us, we would all stand up for each other. We'd get him, waiting for him at the entrance gate. They'd be afraid of us."*

This closeness and sense of togetherness was echoed by children in many of the institutions surveyed and often linked by them to a sense of shared destiny and solidarity as well as feelings of standing for one another as brothers and sisters. In fact children were seen to act as primary carers for one another and it was other children that were invariably identified as the closest persons to them when asked about their relationships. While children rarely felt able to confide to staff and managers, they always mentioned other children as those with whom they could talk and share difficulties and joys. The lack of adult carers, the emphasis on children 'taking care of themselves' and in many cases the disciplinarian regime run by adults meant that children relied primarily on each other to solve problems, respond to difficulties and to cope on a daily basis. Older children particularly were seen to take on a care role for younger children, not only as

envisaged by the institutions in terms of ensuring they followed the rules and were able to handle the daily chores in the institution but also in terms of coping with the emotional impact of being far away and missing their parents and families. This was true not only between children of the same sex but also between boys and girls in mixed institutions. As explained by children in Darul Aitam in NTB,

> *"No, none of the kids here fight. We're all friends. We're all like brothers and sisters."*
> *"Basically, we've all been together for a long time. Nobody fights with anyone else. We don't tease each other, either. We're all the same. If we don't have something, we just borrow it from one of the others."*

Similarly in Muhammadiyah Meulaboh in Aceh children said, "we are close". In particular this was explained to mean that they never reported or told on each other to the staff or the head of the institution. This closeness was also seen between children of senior school level with children who were younger at Junior school level. The more senior children referred to themselves as 'big brothers' to the younger ones. During the FGD, the boys identified the other children in the institution as those that were the closest to them and who had the biggest influence on them, more than their friends at school whose relationships were identified as more distant.

The closeness between children and the importance of the bonds between them was also highlighted by children in Eben Heazer in West Kalimantan. There were a number of reasons given why children identified their friends (in the institution) as the people they were the closest to. First of all, the first person who could be asked for help was their friend, that friend was the place to confide in, the person they could play with, the person they could joke with and even the person they could argue with. The relationships between the children were seen to be very close and based on helping one another. The older children guided the younger ones in doing their chores like washing their clothes, sweeping the floors or washing the dishes. *"We are one family and we must help each other".*

On the other hand, in Huke Ina in Maluku where children were living within family cottage with staff and their families but were rotated across cottages every six months, it was found that the children were not able develop such close relationships among themselves while they were also unable to develop close relationship with their adult carers.

In a few cases, children also saw their role as helping to make sure that their lives in the institution would run effectively. In Lohoraung, the fact that the sole manager and caregiver did everything in the institution also gave rise to feelings of sympathy and a willingness to do things together.

> *"Living here means that we are already brothers and sisters so we must care for each other, so that if there is a problem it can be solved together. Mama (the Manager) is on her own, while there are 18 of us. We all feel sorry for mama. Things would be chaotic if every kid did what he or she pleased."*

While the children were close to each other as they all felt they shared the same fate, the institutions placed limits on the extent of the relationships that could be developed in particular romantic relationships were totally

prohibited as we saw earlier. There were clear prohibitions on courting and dating in all of the childcare institutions. If a relationship developed between a boy and a girl, this would have to be conducted in secret through sending greetings through friends, letters, sms or meetings at school. If the children were found out, they would be punished severely, usually expelled from the institution. In Aceh, they would also run the risk of being arrested by the local religious police.

Despite the closeness between children, there were also indications of bullying in some institutions, where bigger children would force smaller children to do things for them usually carrying out their chores. The children at Patmos in NTB had experience of this: *"The big kids normally like to act like they're the bosses ... they like ordering the little kids around."* In Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan, violence (pinching, shouting) was also directed by the older children at the younger children in order to force them to do something or obey the institution's rules (prayer time, picket duty). High school children from this institution said that by doing so, they were only imitating what they had seen the staff/managers do. *"Don't blame us if we're like that with the younger kids ... we were also brought up roughly."* In Hidayatullah in Maluku, it was also found that the bigger children would hit the smaller children on the head for making mistakes during Koranic study or not doing what they were told. At Nurul Iklhas in Maluku, the children identified one child whom they said was the meanest and roughest with the other children, and who would frequently resist if told to do something.

It was clear that the children's relationships and peer support played a very important part in the lives of these children and represented not only a crucial protective and support network but also a coping strategy for children who were separated from other key attachment figures. At the same time, the potential for abuse of power and violence between children is real, particularly where the staffs are aloof or distant. The punitive system, which reinforced the imposition of power by the adults vis-à-vis the children and the use staff and managers often made of older children to control and discipline younger children also could be seen to influence the manner in which the older children treated their younger peers. In that context, the closeness and violence between the children did not seem to be only the result of the intense bonding and intimacy or the shared sense of fate but also the result of the sheer lack of care and attention shown by the adults towards them in many cases leading them to feel that they could only rely on themselves..

Relations between the children and their parents

Relations between the children and their parents were found to be very restricted in almost all of the institutions, with the children on average only meeting their parents once per year. Normally this occurred during Lebaran, or other school vacations. The children were also allowed to return home if a family member was sick or passed away but not always. Some of the children were found not have gone home for very prolonged periods of time, in some cases more than 5 years. In those cases, it was usually that the institution did not provide funds for the child to go home on the school break and that the child could not afford to do so or that the institution actively discouraged even such short contact.

Outside of that annual break or holiday, children were strictly prohibited from returning home. In general, children went home for the holidays on their own or with other children from the same area, and were not accompanied by a member of staff. If they were accompanied, it would only be as far as the bus station. The amount of time they spent in their parents' home averaged about a week. Even in institutions allowing for children to go home for lebaran for example, the number of days which they were allowed to stay there was very limited, sometimes only 3 days. This created some real difficulties for children whose homes were a long distance away from the institution as for example in West Kalimantan where children sometimes had to travel over a day to get back home. In UPRS

for example, 60% of the children were found to have come from outside of the district where the institution was located including some in very remote locations. One staff who had once visited a child's home for recruitment purposes needed 3 days and 3 nights to reach that particular place. Many children came from areas that would require at least 6 to 9 hours of hardous travel.

The main problems children experienced upon returning home were difficulties with paying for the bus fare or the distance involved – half of the 2,248 children living in the 36 childcare institutions surveyed came from outside the district or municipalities where the institutions were located.

Besides the difficulties with transportation, as described above, another major reason why the children only met their parents infrequently were because many of the childcare institutions deliberately tried to restrict the relations between the children and their parents. A variety of grounds were adduced to justify this policy. As seen above, SOS Desa Taruna places children in one of its institutions outside of the province where the child come from in order to encourage the building of relations in the new care family but also to discourage continuing relations with the biological family. As a result only 11 out of 82 children had gone home for the annual holiday. In Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan, on the other hand, staffs were worried that the children would neglect their religious obligations if they returned home for holidays. However, according to the children, what the institution was afraid of was that they would revert back to the religions or practices of their family which often was non Muslim. Even at Lebaran, they were not allowed to return home, but instead were sent to work as domestics in the homes of their sponsors. In fact, some children living in Nur Ilahi had not been home in 9 years. In Patmos, the head of the institution commented as follows: *"If they go home frequently, they'll be destroyed again. They'll become spoilt. Also, it's very expensive for us to send them home. We're not able to cover the cost."* This childcare institution housed 25 children from other islands particularly Eastern Nusa Tenggara (NTT) and some from outside the city of Mataram.

CHILDREN PROHIBITED FROM GOING HOME DURING THE SCHOOL HOLIDAYS

Grounds:

1. *You are not living in a boarding house, but are rather wards of the State.*
2. *This is a government establishment that must be guarded, cleaned, and maintained.*
   "This institution does not belong to (the Manager)"... "The chores" are not for staff to do.
3. *You are provided with food, you are not neglected, and you are taught morals, and to be civilized and polite.*
4. *You are categorized as being orphaned, poor, neglected, disadvantaged. "Reflect on this!"*
5. *You must follow the rules and traditions of the home in accordance with the statements signed by you parents/guardians.*
   If you wish to go home, you will be given transportation money. Do not return to the UPRS. Arrange all of your school documentation yourself. There are many other children eager to enter the UPRS.

Ambawang, 29 May 2006
UPRS Head

At UPRS the government institution in West Kalimantan, the children were not permitted to return home even during the holidays apart from Lebaran. The reasons given for this were clearly stipulated in a public notice pinned to the walls of the institution that read as follows:

In Darul Aitam in NTB, the length of time children were permitted to stay at home depended on the performance at school. *"The length of time you can stay at home can be extended if you do well (at school) You're your ranking at school is good, you'll get 4 days. If it's not so good, you'll only get 2 days." (FGD with group of girls)*

In order for a child to return home outside of the school vacation or Lebaran, permission from the childcare institution needed to be obtained which was found generally not to be easy. In one institution in West Kalimantan, one of the managers said,

> *"Here, if there's no real urgency, then permission won't be granted. The rule is once a year at Lebaran. As I've explained, Miss, this isn't a boarding house, it's a dormitory. So the children can't just go home whenever they feel like it."*

Even the rules for returning home in circumstances where a relative was ill or other emergency were strict, with a documentary evidence being required. As one of the staff said: *"Permission will be granted if a family member is ill. In order to make sure the child isn't lying, a letter signed by the parent and acknowledged by the village head is required."* Such a legalistic approach positions the children as being untrustworthy, which clearly shows the children are not receiving the care they deserve. The suspicion harboured by the staff regarding the trustworthiness of their charges is a reflection of the poor relationships that were seen to prevail between staff and children. It also is a reflection of the fact that in almost all of the institutions surveyed, relationships with families were seen to be more of a nuisance than an actual right or need for the child. Even in institutions which allowed children to go home for holidays, such visits were seen as interfering with children's studies or the education they were receiving. Many staff saw them as being distracting or as threatening to spoil the child or renew children's angst at being separated from their families thus making their stay in the institution more difficult upon their return.

While the prohibitions on returning home were not always as strict as the one described above, reluctance to see children going home was evidenced across almost all of the institutions. As the manager of one childcare institution in Aceh explained, said:

> *"I reality, I prefer if the children don't go home, particularly at Idul Fitri. There's so much food here, and it will only go to waste if there's no one to eat it. But in Aceh, if it's Lebaran ... the family has to assemble. So, it's impossible to forbid the children from returning home. It's not that I hate to see the children going home. It's actually for their own good, so that they do well at school, don't become spoiled by their parents. I'm happier to see the parents phoning up instead. There's no need for them to come here. The parents or siblings can call the office, tell me whom they want to speak to, and I'll call the child."*

Besides transportation problems and restrictions on going home, another problem that arose in a few cases was that the parents of a child may be divorced or separated so that the child did not know which parent to visit, or even where his parents were. One child in Al Amin had this to say: *"My mum and dad divorced when I was 7, and I don't know where they are now. I'm really upset with them. Now, I live with my uncle. My uncle says my parents are in Pontianak, but I'm not interested in looking for them. Bang J(The head of the institution) knows about that, and he always tells us to pray for our parents. But, they're bad. They never want to see me. I am so disappointed ...".*

In one case, a child's parents were divorced and his mother worked in Malaysia and his father in another city. The child and his younger sibling were never visited by their parents, and it appeared that they would be staying in the institution for good.

While there were a few children who were frequently visited by their parents, most children rarely received visits. The staff at Woro Wiloso in Central Java for example, estimated that 80 percent of the children in that childcare institution never received visits from their parents. The main reason for this was the long distances parents generally had to travel and the cost of the journey.

In order to contact their children, parents would normally telephone the childcare institution, or call one of the staff/managers on their cell phones, or in the rare cases where children had their own cell phone they would call them directly. Children who were returning home would also carry messages and other things from children from the same area to their parents, and vice versa. Waiting for telephone calls from home always caused butterflies in the stomach for some of the children at Patmos, as recounted by one child,

> *"Oh, we really miss our parents. Normally on Sunday, one of my siblings calls. On Sunday, we're all waiting for calls. If the telephone rings, we all run to it. Who knows, it might be our parents? The problem is, I haven't received a call for two weeks from Kupang, I really miss them ...".*

Waiting for telephone calls that come rarely can be a disappointing experience for children. A child in an institution in West Kalimantan recalled the negative reaction from one of the staff when he received a call from his friend: *"U (a friend) called me from my village... he asked me when I was coming home ... The Manager said 'this is very rude, who is this?"* In one institution in Central Java, the children would rarely be informed if a call was received. *"The office is locked all the time! We receive calls but we're never told. The head of the institution says the phone rings too much."* In another institution in Maluku, children's phone calls would be frequently listened in on by the staff. *"If there is a staff that listens in, better not to talk on the telephone"* remarked one child.

Restrictions placed on contact between parents and children in a number of institutions often arose out of concern that this would lead to changes in the children's behaviour. This was based on the belief that the children who had regular contacts with their families would not behave as well in the institution. While from the perspective of food and access to education, life in a childcare institution may sometimes be better than what the children would receive in their impoverished households, the assumption that children would be adversely affected by meeting with their parents and families needs to be seriously questioned. Instead these restrictions highlight the fact that these institutions are not really about childcare but rather are more akin to boarding schools, where the children only return home for the holidays or Lebaran. Unlike boarding schools though, children are not allowed to go home for all of the holidays. If the childcare function was really the objective of the placement, relationships between children and parents, children and their families and friends as well as relations between children and the staff would become the priority and would be seen as key to the success of the child's placement and the work of the institution.

The restrictions placed in most of the institutions on children's contact with their families had also longer term impact. In some cases, the infrequency with which children were allowed to return home resulted in them becoming strangers in their own villages, and even to their own parents as was recounted by two children,

> *"When we went home the first time, mama didn't know us. We were both big, both of us were wearing 'jilbab' (Muslim head scarfs), which is Yasmin, which is Zahar?"*

The two children also became estranged from their siblings, whom they had rarely met or talked to by telephone since they had left home. The length of time some children had been away from home also made them unwilling to return. As one child said: *"I can't be bothered going home ... there's no electricity, there's nothing ..."* In some cases, children were reluctant to go home as life in their home villages was not as comfortable as in the childcare institution. In the institution, they had access to various modern conveniences, while

everything was lacking at home. This separation and alienation from their families and communities is also likely to mean that reintegration into normal life once they have finished high school is going to prove a very difficult process for many of these children.

Relations between the children and the community

The relations and interaction between the children and people in the surrounding communities were limited. Children spent most of their time either in the childcare institutions or at school. Their busy schedules in the institutions meant that they had no time to play outside of them. The following statement made by a child at Patmos in NTB is quite representative of what the children in the other institutions had to say: *"We rarely get out of the home.. So, we're not very close to our neighbours. Normally, we come straight home here after school ..."*. Meanwhile, a child living in Suci Hati in Aceh commented as follows: *"The neighbours here ... very distant ... never meet us ... just stare at us ... because we don't get out much."*

In some childcare institutions, the children came into contact with the local community when worshiping in the neighbourhood mosque or church. In some other institutions, the children would participate in the community festivities to mark Independence Day. Lohoraung was unique in that the female manager who ran it would bring the children in turns to events to which she had been invited. This formed part of her efforts to introduce the children to the community and increase their self-respect. Other opportunities for mixing with the local community arose during visits by sponsors. In a number of childcare institutions, the children regularly met with their sponsors. Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan would hold a formal event with the children being assembled in the front room to thank their sponsors, whose hands they would kiss. During Ramadan, a time when a great deal of assistance was received by Nur Ilahi, the following was observed, *"If a visitor arrives, the children are seated some distance away. They then line up to greet the visitor when told to do so. It is normal practice here for the children to line up in neat ranks to greet sponsors when they visit."*

The presence of children who are orphans or deemed neglected is an important aspect of many religious events and ceremonies. During Ramadan, children from the institutions are often invited to breaking-the-fast gatherings, some even in luxury hotels. As for the Christian institutions, these are visited by many people at Christmas to distribute gifts. In NTB, children are also frequently invited to special religious events as the prayers of orphans are believed to be particularly persuasive. Some people even visit the childcare institutions to have prayers said on their behalf by the "orphans" so that they will be awarded promotions, for example, or that their lives will be happier. In Al Amin, a young girl of six was placed in the institution a few months before as her mother was a widow and making ends meet working as a washer woman. The institution occasionally "lent" the girl out for between 3 days to a week to one of the neighbouring woman who had taken a liking to her. The girl was deemed particularly cute and the woman's daughter liked to play with her. The head of Al Amin explained that this was designed to help relieve the load on the institution as well as to fulfil the child's needs for social intercourse bearing in mind that she almost never went home.

Apart from the various forms and objectives of interaction between children in residential care and the surrounding communities, it is clear that social relations between the children and their neighbours helps the children to get to know new people outside of the institution and school. This assists the children to become familiar with the local culture and customs. Nevertheless, in some cases it seemed that children's interactions with the outside world were limited to activities that would benefit the institution and its status rather than the children themselves.

Relations at School

Although the children generally said they were happy at school and seemed to fit well, a number of children felt embarrassed due to

perceptions among their teachers and school friends that they did not have parents and were from poverty-stricken families. In Suci Hati in Aceh, one of the children said,

> *"For example, the teachers often slag off the institution. For example, they talk about children not having parents ...We felt he was talking about us ... but in reality we do have parents, its just that our parents don't have any money. On TV, you see kids who don't know who their fathers are ... don't know where they are ... abandoned ... but with us, it's clear... we have parents ... or maybe they've died ... or don't have any money."*

The children were sensitive to the terms "orphan" or "fatherless child" or "indigent" as they felt that these terms had a direct bearing on themselves. These feelings became particularly pronounced when they were late paying their school fees as this would frequently lead to them being humiliated by being questioned openly in front of their classmates. A child from Muhammadiyah Cilacap in Central Java related the following account,

> *"I was really upset and embarrassed in front of my classmates and teachers. But I wasn't able to explain to them why I was late paying. I had to stand up in front with my head bent down. Then out of nowhere one of my classmates said I was from the institution."*

The behaviour of other children at school sometimes caused problems for the children in care. This was stated by the children from Lohoraung: *"Sometimes you feel upset if the other kids tease us about being poor. Normally this happens if we get into a fight."* The children from Wahyu Yoga Dharma also had trouble with some children at school who called them such names as *"kuper"* (nerd), *"ndeso"* (country yokels), and *"poko'e si kemproh"* (you're just a jerk), or would shout at them *"cah panti koq ngono"* or "*biasane cah panti ya koyo ngono*" ('panti children' shouldn't be like this or 'panti children' are just like this...).

Childcare institutions also normally provide advice to the children so as to help them fit in and do well at school. An example of the sort of advice proffered is that given to the children at Al Ikhlas, as recalled by one child: *"I was told by Pak V (the founder), that children from the institution should set an example at school. If we don't do well, it won't only affect us, but will also affect the good name of the institution."*

Identity

A child's identity in this context does not only refer to a child's name or other particulars, but also his or her religious, social, cultural and language identity.

With regard to the documentation of children's identities, all of the childcare institutions had basic records, but the comprehensiveness of these differed widely from one institution to another. In general, the childcare institutions could only provide the basic particulars of the child, such as his or her name, date of birth, age, educational level, and parental. Many of the institutions did not record the names by which children were familiarly called, and the majority failed to record the names of both their parents. Not all of the institutions had photographs of the children in their care, and only in a few institutions was data on the children maintained in individual files. In some cases, the data consisted of nothing more than a couple of sheets of paper for all of the children. The records were also

rarely updated so that discrepancies were frequently found between the number of children recorded as living in a particular institution and the real number. Only in a couple of institutions recorded the case histories of the children in their care.

In this regard, the government childcare institutions were somewhat better on average. The majority of them maintained individual files for each child using standard forms. Each child's record would also contain, for example, information on his/her family, photocopies of school reports, the agreement by which the child's parents surrendered him or her to the institution, and other basic information. The majority of the children were found not to possess birth certificates except in SOS Desa Taruna where all of the children were found to have one. If the identity of the child was not clear, that institution would organise for a birth certificate to be issued linked to the care family in SOS. A few other institutions also made efforts to obtain birth certificates for the children such as in Dr. J. Lukas in North Sulawesi and Huke Ina in Maluku where the institution would seek to get birth certificates for the children that did not have any upon entering the institution. UPRS in West Kalimantan obtained birth certificates for children participating in sports and art week, according to staff, to prevent children lying about their ages.

Most of the childcare institutions surveyed were found to maintain some records of the children's parents and their addresses, although some of these records were found to be poorly maintained and did not seem to be updated. The fact that most institutions put strict restrictions on contact with families meant that there was little attempt to keep accurate records of the families whereabouts or about the families development including whether their social-economic situation had improved or not. Children's connection and sense of belonging to their communities and their families were generally not encouraged in that context and in some cases it was even actively discouraged.

The faith based childcare institutions — whether Muslim, Christian, Buddhist or Hindu – were all deeply imbued with religion. This is reflected in their values, religious practice and worship, education, clothes and social relations within the institutions. As we saw earlier, in the majority of institutions, children were recruited from communities which shared the same faith than that practiced by the institution and therefore were expected to follow the religious practices and rules as set out by the institution. In Islamic-based institutions, the girls were required to wear veils/headscarves and cover up their entire bodies. In fact, some of the institutions such as Darul Ulum Munawarrah in Aceh only allowed girls to wear baju kurung (traditional all-encompassing costume), and prohibited them from wearing trousers, even though they covered up the legs. Jeans were particularly prohibited. For the boys, standard dress consisted of sarongs, kopeah (traditional hat) and "koko" (collarless, long-sleeved shirt) to be worn particularly around praying time although outside of these times they could wear casual clothes. These requirements were intended to remind the children of their religion, and, in those institutions that strove to groom cadres, to encourage the children to become propagators of Islam after they leave the institution.

In the case of institutions caring for children of different religion such as Prajapati in North Sulawesi, SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java or Patmos in NTB, children were permitted to continue to practice their religion, but often also took part in the religious activities and lifestyle of the majority. In Prajapati, for example, the children were free to practice their own religions, but also followed the Buddhist practices within the institution, such as the procedures for dining, the focus on simplicity and vegetarianism. The situation was different, however, in one of the institutions in West Kalimantan which focused on new converts to Islam and where non-Muslim children converted to Islam upon entering the institution. This process of conversion also entailed Dayak children being raised as 'Malay' children, with 'Malay' being regarded as synonymous with Islam and which

entailed children being 'weaned' away from their socio-cultural backgrounds.

The emphasis on religious practice and principles in many of the institutions meant that the religious aspects were given much greater priority than local socio-cultural characteristics. In Hidayatullah, the head of the institution explained,

> *"In reality, we don't pay too much attention to this as all of the children here are taught not on the basis of their cultural backgrounds, but rather the values of Islam. The fact that some of them have changed their names is not designed to erase their identities, but rather to increase their self-respect as their original names were considered inappropriate."*

This practice of changing children's names to what were deemed more suitable names under the particular religion was found in a number of institutions and was done without prior consultation with the child. In another institution in West Kalimantan, children's names were not changed but expanded to include the name of their father as in Dayak culture only first names are used and this was felt confusing in terms of differentiating between children.

The priority given to religious identity also meant that in some cases institutions saw this as the only aspect of children's identity that would be relevant to their future lives, particularly if these children were to be groomed to become 'Cadres' for the organisation as highlighted by the head of Darul Aitam,

> *"Normally, the branches send children here to become cadres. So, we train them up, and, God willing, when they leave here, they're ready to be used. By 'cadre' we mean that the child will become an imam, a preacher, yes, a cadre of the organization."*

Another aspect of children's social and cultural identity which was not prioritised in many of the childcare institutions was the use of their own local language. In these institutions children were prohibited from using their own local language and would be punished if they did. Indonesian and in some cases Arabic and English were the only languages that could be spoken.

- In Darul Hikmah in NTB, since September 2006, the children have been required to use Arabic and English on alternate days to communicate with the staff/managers and other children. The use of the local Sasak language is not encouraged even though the children are more comfortable using it.
- In Darul Ulum in Aceh, the children are allowed to use their local languages for the first six months after entering the institution. After that, however, they are only allowed to speak Indonesian, English and Arabic. The professed objective is that the children will gain fluency in these languages.
- In Ibnu Tamiyah in West Kalimantan, local languages are also prohibited. However, newly arrived children are normally not accustomed to speaking Indonesian so that they continue to frequently use their own languages. However, violations of the prohibition on the use of local languages carries a fine of Rp 500, payable to OPPIT ("Students Organization"). The names of those caught speaking their own languages are recorded on a piece of paper and the child is made to stand in the sun with a sign that says, *"Don't be like him"*.
- In Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe in Aceh, one of the managers gave this explanation, *"During the conflict earlier, people had to speak Acehnese. But here, the children weren't required to speak Acehnese. In fact, we advised them to speak Indonesian."*

While the use of Indonesian, Arabic and English may enable children to improve their fluency in these languages, it is ironic that this has to be accompanied by bans on the use of their own languages. While the children may gain a greater understanding of the outside world, they are also likely to gradually forget about their own cultures if they are not allowed to speak their languages. A language is much more than just words. It also entails socio-cultural aspects. If a person does not know his or her own language, he or she will be in danger of losing their identity and find it particularly

LIFE STORY:

Yasmin And Zahra And Other Children From West Kalimantan

Yasmin is a Dayak girl of 16, and was formerly known as X. She left her hometown 9 years ago as she wanted to improve the quality of her life. The desire to obtain a free education so as to improve their lives were the reasons why Yasmin, and her elder sister, Zahra, decided to go with their uncle to an Islamic childcare institution in Pontianak. Their younger sibling was also sent to a pesantren (Islamic boarding school) in Singkawang by Yasmin's parents for the same reason. Although Yasmin and Zahra did not know that this childcare institution was an Islamic institution, the main motivation for them going there was to seek a better life.

> *"... before I had a problem with my two siblings ... I couldn't stand living with grandma ... so my uncle suggested I go to Pontianak and enter a childcare institution ... I was really interested ... I used to often play truant from school ... he suggested I go to a childcare institution in Pontianak ... but uncle didn't say anything about it being a Muslim childcare institution ..."*

Yasmin started her new life in the childcare institution in 1998, just as she was due to enter grade 1 of elementary school. Treated as converts to Islam, Yasmin and Zahra repeated the Muslim profession of faith after entering the childcare institution. Explaining how it happened that they became Muslim converts, Yasmin says that they did not know what they were doing. According to her, her uncle was the major factor behind the girls' conversion.

> *"Before, I didn't know ... our family are all Christian ... not all, but mum and dad are. Our uncles are Muslim ... I don't know why uncle brought us to the childcare institution ... I had no wish to become a Muslim ... but I was only a child when I entered the institution."*

Not all of the children became converts without being informed what was happening beforehand. Siblings Tina and Nur, for example, had known that this particular childcare institution was a Muslim institution, but, like Yasmin and Zahra, they wanted to get a good education so as to improve their quality of life. Accordingly, they pressured their mother to allow them to change religion. Three other siblings voluntarily converted to Islam the night before the entered the childcare institution, together with their mother and father.

Regarding conditions in the institution, Yasmin said that she had gradually got used to it.

> *"But I slowly came to accept Islam. I compared Islam and Christianity, Islam is good ... let's see ... different from ... for example, if you want to go to a service in church, you have to get dressed up first ... but here, what's important is inner cleanliness."*

The process of becoming a Muslim was not easy, admitted Yasmin, especially given that she knew nothing about Islam beforehand.

> *"After entering the childcare institution ... reading the profession of faith ... I didn't know anything about this ... before it was strict here ... there was a different person in charge ... we had to learn how to pray ... pray five times a day, if we didn't, he'd get angry ... you could be hit ... if you missed prayer time ... but it was for a purpose ... now I know how to pray."*

As part of their education as good Muslims, Yasmin and Zahra were slowly weaned away from their Dayak culture. As the person in charge of the institution did not understand the Dayak language, they were required to use the Malay language and forbidden from speaking Dayak. Regarding the way in which the childcare institution was run, Yasmin said

that under the previous head, the regime had been harsh, and included the use of physical violence.

> *" ... hit by Mr. X as his child had fallen ... we had all been invited to go to an event ... the child was playing on the stairs, no one was watching him ... in the end, all of the children were slapped one by one ... he asked everyone ... where were you ... we were in the bathroom, Sir ... "*... Everyone was slapped.

Violence was also resorted to as part of the religious conversion process.

> *"Before you had to really read the prayers ... they don't pay so much attention now ... you can make a few mistakes ... but before ... there were 28 children ... all of us had to gather together to study the Koran ... the older children taught the younger children ... before there were about 98 converts ... only about 3 or 4 Muslims ... if you couldn't read it, they'd get angry ... shout at you ... order you to learn it off by heart, really learn it ... but shouting isn't too bad."*

> *"You'd be slapped until it left a mark on your behind ... with a hose ... it would leave red marks ... when I couldn't read the prayers, I was hit till my behind hurt ... if you couldn't do it, they'd make you do 20 "squat jumps" ... normally because you couldn't read the prayers fluently."*

The children were not only subjected to physical violence. Following the change in the leadership of the childcare institution, the new head also subjected the children to emotional violence.

> *'I cry a lot here, Miss ... the same with all the children ... before, they used to call our parents names. (One of the care staff) called my parents pigs. What she said was really upsetting ... I don't know what to say ...'* (interview had to be suspended as the child was crying).

Besides the violence they experienced, Yasmin and Zahar, like children in other institutions, rarely met with their parents. Over a period of 9 years, they only received four visits, two telephone calls and a letter. They also only received permission to go home 3 times. The first time that they visited home was after five years, and this was only permitted because one of their parents was sick. When Yasmin and Zahar visited home the last time, during the school holidays in July, to see their sick father, their mother almost didn't know them, and was almost unable to tell them apart as both were already big and were wearing Muslim headscarves. Their visit home had also been delayed by one day as they had to get their school reports first. This had greatly upset their mother as she was afraid they would not in fact be coming home. She had cried so hard that she eventually collapsed. The fact that they so rarely returned home also meant that they no longer knew their elder brothers and younger sibling, who lived in Singkawang. This younger sibling had only once been in contact with them by telephone since they had gone to the childcare institution. The same applied to their two elder brothers who had remained at home: they also hardly knew the two girls after so many years.

The problem of children not coming home for long periods is a common one, particularly among those who have been converted to Islam and come from Sintang. The childcare institution's own policy regarding home visits is unclear. While the head of the institution says that children are free to go home at any time, the manager and his wife say that children are forbidden to return home, save in pressing circumstances, such as an illness in the family.

Besides the case of Yasmin and Zahar, the lack of opportunities for home visits is also apparent from the case of siblings Tina and Nur, who have not been home at all during the course of the 9 years they have been in the childcare institution. Similarly in the case of three other siblings who have only been home once during the five years they have been in the institution. The main reason for their not returning home is the refusal by the Manager to grant permission for fear that they will influenced by non-Muslims as was also the case for Yasmin and Zahar. In fact, the siblings were only informed that their mother had died a month after the event had happened. In that

case, the distance from Pontianak to Upid (the Sintang interior, where the siblings come from) also prevents them from going home, as well as the fact that they now have a different religion to their parents. The cost of a one-way journey for each of them amounts to some Rp 300,000 (USD 30), and the journey takes a full day and night. However, the childcare institution only gives the children a week for home visits. Another child, R. has been in the childcare institution for 9 years, and has only returned home to visit her parents twice. She didn't even return home when her father passed away due to the distance involved.

Besides the various reasons outlined above, another issue that discourages children from returning home is the vast difference in living standards between what they are used to in the childcare institution and what they experience in their parents' houses. In Yasmin's case, for example, the modern conditions she was used to in the Pontianak childcare institution were far removed from the basic conditions in which her parents lived in her home village. Thus, it is only to be expected that she was unpleasantly surprised when she went home.

> *"It was ... really different ... in the village, you sleep on ... here, you sleep on mattresses, but there you have to sleep on tilam (thin carpets) ... together with mum."*

A similar account was related by N (also a convert to Islam), who said that she was loath to go home as her home lacks electricity, lights, and comfortable beds.

What was particularly surprising was that parents also often advised their children not to return home on a regular basis. In Yasmin and Zahar's case, their father had actually asked the two girls not to come home as he was afraid they would change religion again. Yasmin said that their father had previously been a Muslim, but had changed his religion in order to marry her mother. As a result of his regrets over his change of religion, their father had resolved that the two girls would become Muslims, which explained why they had been sent to the childcare institution in the first place. According to Yasmin, her father and uncle were well aware that the two girls would be converted to Islam at the childcare institution in Pontianak.

hard to reconnect to their own communities and families once they leave the institution. It was clear from the research that the lack of importance attached to children's relations with their families and communities on the part of the childcare institutions also impacted on the way these institutions viewed children's need to maintain and develop a personal and social identity. This is despite that fact that being rooted within a particular socio-cultural context will play a major role in the life of that child once they grow up and move out of the institutions to live their adult lives in the community.

Supervision and Sanctions

As we saw earlier, punishment was found to be something that was inextricably linked to the way the institutions operated and to the staffs' understanding of their roles. All of the institutions applied various rules governing discipline, "picket" duty, and the range of other obligations that children were expected to comply with. The children were required to live by these rules, and to expect to be punished if they did not. As a result being monitored and controlled was an inherent part of children's daily lives in the institutions.

While the rules and regulations differed from one childcare institution to another, in general, all of them, whether written or not, consisted of the following elements:

- Rules on picket duty (daily chores), governing the work that the children were required to do, such as preparing food,

cleaning the rooms, cleaning the dormitories, tidying up the yard, and so forth. Every child was given his or her own picket schedule and was required to perform the duties roistered in accordance. If the boy or girl failed to do so, he or she would be punished. Other obligations could include babysitting or cleaning the house of the foster/sponsor parents as in Huke Ina or the head of the institution or pesantren as in Ibnu Taimyiah for example.

- The obligation to perform religious duties, including the prayers for Muslims, participating in Koranic studies, fasting, going to the mosque, etc. The children would be punished if they failed to do any of these things, or even if they were late. This was particularly the case in the Islam-based religious institutions whose objectives it was to groom cadres for their parent organizations. If children found it difficult to rise for the Tahajud prayers at 3 a.m., for example, they would be doused with dirty water.
- Total prohibition on dating, stealing, smoking, going out at night, lying, truancy, fighting, and going out without permission. Violations of these rules normally resulted in the most severe sanctions, including expulsion.
- The children in a number of institutions were also subject to punishment for coming home from school late, leaving without permission, getting up late, or even being late for meals. In one childcare institution in Maluku, the children were required to turn up for cooking duties, and would be scolded if they failed to do so, even though they were also required to be at school at the same time.
- In Huke Ina in Maluku, the children were also required to come in the top 10 in their class. A child who failed to do so would be warned that he or she could be expelled from the institution. According to the children, this threat was employed to maintain the position of the institution as a model childcare institution.

The rules had generally been made by the staff/managers and had been in place for many years. Children were almost never involved in the development of the rules or the sanctions. While in some institutions the rules and regulations were written up, in others they were passed on orally or simply understood. In Lohoraung in North Sulawesi for example, there were no written rules setting out punishment. Everything was in the hands of the Manager of the institution. However, if a child did commit a violation, all of the children would be punished by not being given food. In Patmos, the children were informed orally beforehand about the rules, for example, the requirement to rise at 05:30, to attend morning worship, and regarding bed time.

If the children broke the rules, they would be subjected to sanctions, ranging from what were deemed mild sanctions to more severe ones, depending on the nature of the infringement. From the interviews with the children, it was found that among the punishments that had been imposed on them were the following:

- Oral sanctions – being summoned by a member of staff/manager for the purpose of receiving a reprimand and warning not to repeat the offence. Such sessions usually involved giving advice to the child often in the form of religious or spiritual guidance but sometimes it also involved threats, calling names, menacing looks, shouting and scolding in an effort to frighten the child.
- Physical punishment, such as pinching, tweaking of ears, hitting, caning, or even shaving of the head, as happened to a child at the Darul Aitam home who persistently failed to go up to the "Mushola". In a number of childcare institutions children were not only slapped with the hand, but also using rattan rods. Children in Ibnu Tamiyah explained, *"the worst thing you can do is smoke ... if they find out, you'll get caned ... smoking is strictly forbidden here ... so are drugs and things like that ... if they find out, you'll get caned hard ... some of the kids smoke and aren't able to stop it ... they end up getting*

expelled by the head ... because that's the rules ... caning all depends on Ustad X... kids normally get caned on the hands or legs with a rattan rod." Other physical punishments included the assigning of additional work or increasing the number of activities that the child was required to do. For example, saying Muslim ritual prayers 10 times, or 100 times in the yard, as a child in an institution in NTB was ordered to do. In Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe, one child had been slapped twice, on the right and left cheeks, as he left Koranic study without permission. Another child had been ordered to say 10 "rokaat" (ritual prayers) in the volleyball court for forgetting to say the Sunat Rawatib prayers. According to the children, a child had once been ordered to say 100 "rokaat" for turning up late for prayers.

- Other sanctions included being denied breakfast, being denied food, and being ordered to stand out in the midday sun. In Darul Ulum for example, a child had been ordered to stand out in the sun for 15 minutes at 11 a.m. for speaking Acehnese. The children were only allowed to speak English or Arabic. Other children had also been ordered to do the same or had been slapped with rattan rods.
- If a child was found to be engaged in a relationship with the opposite sex, he or she would be ordered to severe the relationship, or might even be sent home to his or her parents. In Nurul Ikhlas, one child recounted, *"H also went home when they found out she was dating a village boy. The boyfriend turned up here and that's how Ibu (the manager) found out."*
- In the case of repeat offences or offences that were deemed serious, the child would be expelled.

The sanctions were imposed on both boys and girls and were the official way of controlling children in the institutions rather than the result of individual responses or initiatives by some staff to what they felt were children out of control. In one of the Government institutions, a manager summarised the approach as follows: *"We're here to punish you. If you don't want to be punished, don't break the rules."*

While generally girls and boys received similar punishments, in some institutions staff saw the need for a different approach to girls violating rules. The head of a childcare institution in Central Java explained that,

> *"Looking after girls is different as they use their feelings. If you're too harsh with them, they'll think of you as their enemy. But if you're too soft, you'll spoil them and they'll lose respect for you. So you've still got to be "tough", and sometimes treat them as you would your own kids. You don't have to love kids. All kids are different – some need to be tweaked and shouted at. It all depends on the child. Stubborn kids also need to be scolded as this is in their best interests."*

Similarly in Darul Hikmah, a staff explained the approach *"For the boys, we can punish them by making then do push ups, or drenching them in water. For the girls, we just give them a talking to."*

Upholding of discipline was viewed by the staff/managers as part of the educational process, and essential to achieving the goals of the institution and ensuring the success of the children. Among the different types of disciplinary practices used were the following:

- Night time assembly: This was ordered for example in Pamardi Utomo at 9 p.m. everyday as the children were preparing to go to bed. They were lined in front of the institution and counted one by one. This institution actually worked with the local military command so as to build up character and inculcate discipline, neatness and responsibility in the children. This was even reflected in the way the children were required to arrange their bathing requisites, sandals, blankets, clothes, and so forth. A number of government institutions adopted this rather militaristic approach to discipline.
- Requiring the children to be back in the institution by a certain time usually straight after school and in the few institutions were they were allowed out again, there were rules about having to be back before

a certain time, on average, at 9 p.m. The restrictions on the children being out were imposed to control when the children had to be back in the institution, when they finished studying, and when they were required to go to bed.

- In one institution, children were placed in isolation as a disciplinary measure. According to one child, offenders could be placed in isolation for up to 7 months until they graduated. The child commented, *"How could you stand being in isolation for 7 months. I would be better in prison. I'd just run away."*[4]
- Case conferencing: At first sight, this would appear to imply a discussion on a case involving a child. In reality, however, this tended to be a disciplinary practice involving the administration of punishment or admonition. In one childcare institution in West Kalimantan for example, a child recounted, *"All of the staff were assembled, all of them talk and shout, tell you what to do. It's really embarrassing. Then some of the staffs summon you again on your own."*
- The admission process and "orientation" upon entering the childcare institution. This process as we have seen in the Professional Practice Section was focused almost entirely on 'laying down the law' with the child and sometimes his or her parents, with the children being informed of the rules, prohibitions, obligations of the children and procedures governing life in the institution.
- The staged disciplinary process. Sanctions were normally imposed immediately however, in some cases, advice and admonitions were used first before punishment was imposed. If the offence was repeated, the offender would be subject to a more severe penalty, like expulsion or the shaving of the head. One child in Darul Aitam explained the process, *"If someone breaks the rules, he or she will be punished in accordance with Islam."* The girl then continued: *"She'll be summoned and talked to first. This will happen a total of 3 times. If she still does something wrong, she'll be expelled."*

The various sanctions and punishments applied were invariably justified in terms of making sure the children would become "good" and "obedient" children. Violation of the rules 'could not be tolerated'. The reasons why children continued to violate the rules despite the heavy sanctions almost never seemed to become an issue for staff. The natural tendency of children to break rules fulfils an important function in the process of socialisation of children including by enabling them to express their creativity, bravery, and independence, while at the same time making them aware of mistakes – teaching what is acceptable and what is not acceptable. The emphasis by the institutions on children being controlled and obedient meant that there was very little space left for children to try things, explore and make mistakes. The upholding of discipline in the childcare institutions was also heavily reliant on the use of violence in the form of physical violence and emotional violence. While the threat of punishment may result, in the short term, in a child's compliance, it also teaches that boy or girl some worrying lessons about the use of power and violence. It is also likely to affect his or her sense of security and confidence, thus diminishing the willingness to explore as a result of being continually afraid of doing something wrong and being punished for it.

One advance that was reported by the children was that physical punishment was no longer used in a government childcare institution in Aceh. According to the children, *"Now they don't hit us anymore ... everywhere, not just in the institution ... the government said it has to be this way."*

In fact, some of the staff including the manager of this childcare institution had participated in a seminar on the new child protection law and had become aware that physical punishment was not allowed. The children said that previously, physical punishment had been dished out in almost military fashion. Change was also apparent in another government institution in NTB, where the new head had refused to condone the slapping and hitting of the children.

Children seemed to have come to accept punishment as part of their daily lives. They were well aware what the punishments were, usually as a result of seeing other children receiving similar punishments. Some of the children said that they deserved the punishments they received for violating the rules. "*If you do something wrong, you'll get punished,"* said a child who said he could not stop going out with girls. One child in Aceh stated: *"If you're in the wrong, then no problem, you'll get slapped or hit."* A child in Maluku said: *"The children in the institution have to obey the rules of the institution. If they don't, then they should just get out. For example, kids going home without permission. All of the rules here are for the good of the children."*

In that regard, punishment had clearly been explained to children in terms of what was 'good for them' and some of the children had come to believe that and even to expect it. One child in Muhammadiyah Lhoksemawe stated, *"If we do wrong, it doesn't matter if we get slapped or hit"*. Similarly a child in Darul Aitam explained, *"I don't want to break the rules. The rules are also for my own good. If I break them, I am ready to be punished."*

Children in Al Hidayah in Maluku also perceived punishment as something which was reasonable, *"The punishment meted out by the carers before was reasonable as the children would always have done something wrong. Children would be punished for not telling the truth, for coming home late, not seeking permission from the carers, not going to prayers, getting up late."*. A child in Nur Ilahi even referred to the physical punishment imposed by a previous staff who was removed from his post as a result of it, as having had some positive impact, *"The way P5 educated us, we became smarter…plenty of us did well at school. Now with the new staff, the grades are not so good."*

Nevertheless, when faced with physical punishment, constant scolding or what they felt were unfair or arbitrary sanctions, children felt afraid, often angry and also felt sympathy for the children who had been subjected to such punishments. This was particular the case for those who faced the most severe punishments, in particular expulsion as it entailed an end to their education. In those cases, children often found themselves confused and left with very few options when confronted with some of the most severe punishments. For example, one child in West Kalimantan who was found to have a boyfriend was forced to choose one of three punishments: (1) staying in the childcare institution but being placed in isolation; (2) being sent back to her parents and being forced to leave school; or (3) get married. The child was confused and distressed by these options, and there was no one she could speak to. When she spoke to the staff, they just told her it would be better if she went home.

Generally though, children felt that there was nothing they could do other than accept the punishments. They felt unable to protest. Their sadness and anger could only be expressed to a friend, or to the assessor during the course of this survey.

> *"Don't ask, Miss. They're a hard breed. The people here have no feelings. They don't understand what we want. The more you curtail and restrict the children here, the harder they'll struggle. Just look around,"* said one child.

Some children, however, just shrugged off the threat of punishment. One child quoted the institution's manager as saying: *"If you can't*

obey the rules here, just get your things and go home. The door's wide open" he then added. *"It upsets us but it only goes in one ear and out of the other."*

The children in a number of institutions said that they wanted to be treated properly – if they did something wrong, they should be spoken to in a familial manner. According to a child in one institution in Central Java,

> *"For the children living in an institution, it should be like a family ... you should be able to speak, should be able to say what is wrong. But they say nothing. They never apologize to the children. If they would explain things and apologize, the children would be ready to do the same. In reality, the kids love the Ibu (the manager), but she's so ... If she's wrong and explains things to us, we would understand. The environment in the institution should be like a family, we should be able to discuss everything."*

Children showed different reactions to the sanctions imposed on them, some appearing willing to accept the punishment as something inevitable or even something which they were responsible for, others saying they would like to see a more respectful way of resolving breaches of the rules. One thing that was common to virtually all institutions, however, was that children's views and feelings about the rules imposed on them and the punishment they face for breaching those rules, were never discussed with them and the managers of these institutions never reviewed the rules and the sanctions they imposed on children to consider their impact, their effectiveness or their suitability.

Children's Voices

The voices of the children in the form of views, opinions and advice were rarely heard in almost all of the childcare institutions surveyed. The often distant relations between the children and the staff tended to limit the opportunities for children to be asked their views or to be able to express their opinions. There were also frequent statements and actions on the part of the staff and managers which indicated that they considered the possibility of listening to the children's views as impractical or even absurd. Children were generally considered incapable of voicing opinions or if they were asked it was sometimes assumed that they would ask for unreasonable things.

It was also clear that children generally did not expect to be consulted or provided an opportunity to express their views. When poor services were received,, they tended to accept this, or take the view that receiving an education was too important to jeopardize. One of the girls in Darul Hikmah commented,

> *"We wouldn't dare criticize, Miss. We accept whatever we get ... what's important is that we can go to school."*

The fact that children often bottled up their feelings became apparent during this research, when the children availed of the visits of the assessors to finally voice their feelings. Leaving the institutions was often difficult for both the assessors and, particularly, the children as for once in their lives, even if only for 3 or 4 days, they had adults that actually listened to them and to whom they could talk to openly.

Only a few of the childcare institutions allowed the children to express their opinions. The children at Al Amin said they were able to express themselves during forums with the managers. Among the matters that could be discussed were food and school issues. Similar forums were held at Muhammadiyah Cilacap, while the managers at Prajapati would hold discussions with the children although these tended to revert principally to issues relating to school, the rules of the institutions or religious teachings. Children also would generally only be expected to respond to questions by adults rather actually be given an opportunity to speak outright. In Pamardi Utomo, while it was said that children were free to give their opinions to the manager, it seemed in practice that children were mainly only able to make suggestions about food.

In many instances it seemed that communication between staff and children

were limited to problems, what children had done wrong or more general discussions about the importance of religious practice and teaching and of children behaving well, loving one another and studying hard. As one assessor highlighted in the context of the discussions between the staff and children in Dharma Laksana,

"Even though the children are asked to discuss things, it's not to criticize the services they receive. Rather it's more about a dialog and to explain things. Usually this is about behaviour or comments or language that is unacceptable in the institution. Like the cases of children who want to go home or who don't want to do picket duty. The results of these discussions are not recorded."

There was little opportunity it seemed, for children to actually talk about the things that mattered to them.

In Ibnu Taimiyah in West Kalimantan which operates both a childcare institution and a pesantren, a council of the pesantren students (OPPPIT), headed by the more senior children and young people, was used to support children participating in the running of the institution and even providing them with opportunities to make their voices heard. The institution saw OPPPIT's role as enabling children to express their views and complaints. In practice however, the children felt that this was merely a vehicle to help in the implementation of the adult's decisions. According to them, OPPPIT was only involved in carrying out activities which were set out by the institution and really only helped the 'work of the institution' including by organising children for the domestic chores or for the religious practice, and even by carrying out the punishments in some cases. Children outside of OPPPIT also felt that there was little room for children to actually influence the way it operated. As one child explained, *"... you're not allowed to make up your own mind. Everything is decided by the OPPPIT. We just have to go along."*

The situation was markedly different though in a few of the institutions. In Dr. J. Lukas and SOS Desa Taruna, the children were allowed to express opinions about food, health issues, free-time activities, punishment, and the care they were receiving. In SOS however, children were not able to express their views about contact and visits to their families as this was already decided by the institution.

A more intensive and confidential process was encouraged by the founder and head of Nur Ilahi in West Kalimantan. According to the children, the head of the institution would from time to time conduct evaluations by summoning the children one by one and questioning them about conditions in the institution, whether there was anything amiss, the conduct of the staff, and whether there was anything the children needed,

"Through these procedures, the children can voice complaints about, for example, a broken toilet lock, or a broken closet in the room. According to the children, the institution head would then immediately take action based on the children's complaints, such as repairing the broken lock or arranging a reconciliation between two quarrelling children."

The head of the institution's assistant would also record what the children had to say during the discussions. This made the children feel closer to the head of the institution, even though he only visited once every month or two months. The previous manager had also been dismissed by the founder after complaints of physical violence from children indicating that the founder was serious about taking into consideration the children's views. At the same time, it was clear during the research that the children still felt unable to report to the founder the inappropriate behaviour being carried out by some of the staff at this time.

Other than the above instances, there were no procedures or forums by which the children could voice their opinions in the childcare institutions surveyed. Neither were there any procedures for recording the views expressed by the children. Apart from Nur Ilahi, none of the childcare institutions had any procedure or process through which the children could express their opinions in confidence. Quiet or withdrawn children were also not encouraged to express their views.

The following comment by a child from Suci Hati in Aceh was quite representative: *"The children here aren't brave enough to say what they want."* The fact that the children were not encouraged to express their opinions to adults was clearly felt in some of the institutions. Children in these institutions tended to be withdrawn, shy and in some cases even introverted. They seemed not accustomed to being asked their views or to express them even on an informal basis. The unwillingness of the children to express their views could have also been influenced by other factors such as fear of punishment or retaliation for speaking out, particularly in institutions with strict disciplinarian systems. One of the rules which children were required to follow in the majority of the institutions was to *'maintain the good name of the institution'* which seemed often interpreted to mean not criticising or speaking of problems in the institution. This was clearly illustrated by the case of Ana in West Kalimantan narrated earlier in this report. (See Section II, Life Story No 1.)

In one case, children did express their discontent with the situation in the institution however. Children wrote 21 letters to express their disappointment and concerns over the situation in their institution in relation to the payment of their school fees and what they felt was humiliating treatment by the new head of their institution. The letters were sent to the Head of the Office of Social Affairs at the Provincial level. One of the positive aspects of this case was that the Office of Social Affairs showed concern and responded by sending a team to the institution to meet with the children and the head of the institution. As a result, the Office of Social Affairs gave the head of the institution 3 months to rectify the matter. Shortly afterwards payment of school fees resumed but the relations between the Head and the children did not really improve. In fact, the head of the institution immediately afterwards tried to ascertain which children had written the letters. One child explained that she was called up by her and asked, *"Who wrote this letter? I think you know, are you trying to take revenge on me?"*

It seems that since the incident she has kept asking about it and reminding children about it, As one child pointed out, *"Even though it was a long time ago, it keeps getting brought up or mentioned to the children."*

Children seemed also aware that no matter what they said, all decisions remained in the hands of the staff/managers. One child in an institution in Aceh said,

> *"The children don't run the show here. There's no way you can challenge the veto of the staff members. There's no way you can protest. It's accepted as long as it's good for us. The children here no longer dare to object. Before, one kid sent an anonymous letter, but he was expelled."*
> One staff explained it like this, *"The children who were here before sent in an anonymous letter, and it was put under the door of the office. It talked about the food, the staff and problems of the children. We (the managers and staff) discussed it among ourselves. If possible, we try to accede to their wishes. If it's not possible, then it doesn't happen."*

However, the latest intake of children did not dare to protest.

Under-5s and Small Children

In the 36 childcare institutions surveyed, 18 children (7 boys and 11 girls) were under the age of 5. Three of these children were in SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java, two in Sayap Kasih, three in Dorkas, three in Prajapati, three in Al Muthadien in North Sulawesi, one in Nurul Iklhas and three in Ina Theresia in Maluku. The youngest child, 2 months of age, was in SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java. The presence of under-5s in the institutions was due to the fact that, as we saw earlier, a few of the institutions actually selected children in as young as possible as this made them easier to manage as they had not been exposed to 'outside influences'. In the case of Al Muthadien however, the two children under-5s living there had been handed over by their parents as they were unable to look after them as a result of financial constraints. Both children were being cared for

by one staff. The other child is the son of the head of the institution who is registered as a child in the care of the institution.

The presence of under-5s in a residential institution means that the institution in question needs to be equipped to provide special care for them and attend to the physical and emotional needs of children who are at critical stages of development. In SOS Desa Taruna, which applies the "cottage" model, with a "foster mother" in each of the 14 houses, the under-5s received individual care as besides the foster mother in each house, there were also four "Aunts" (trainee foster mothers) who took turns in helping to look after the children. The foster families charged with looking after the under-5s were prioritized for additional help from the "Aunts". The three under-5s in SOS Desa Taruna received regular medical examinations, were regularly weighed and received supplemental food. These activities were conducted on a monthly basis by SOS Desa Taruna and were also aimed at the children living in the vicinity of the institution. Milk was also provided for the under-5s, and they all received their scheduled immunizations.

In other childcare institutions, such as Prajapati (which housed three under-5s), no special care was provided for the under-5s. The older children were charged with looking after the under-5s, including bathing and feeding them. If a child fell sick, he would be brought to the doctor in the main town Tomohon, some two kilometres away. According to the Doctor there, *"If the children from the institution are sick, they are brought here by a member of staff ... as regards their illnesses, they normally suffer from upper respiratory tract infections ... we keep patient cards for them, and treat them free of charge, including medication, even though the institution is willing to pay."* The institution also had various types of play equipment and toys for the children, such as swings, seesaws and climbing frames, which were donated by members of the community.

At Ina Theresia, the three under-5s living there were looked after by the head of the institution, helped by high school-age girls from the institution. They cared for the infants, bathed them and changed their nappies, played with them, fed them, put them to bed and carried them around. The infant's clothes were washed by other children who were on "picket" duty. No special training was provided for this, with the girls relying solely on instinct and experience. The food given to the children of 3 and 4 years of age was the same as that given to the other children, while the 5 months old baby was fed soft rice and other soft food. All three under-5s were also given milk every day – more frequently than the other children – and used the toilet of the nun who is the head of the institution. The institution also ensured that the under-5s were provided with all of their immunization.

Besides the under-5s, there were also 186 small children aged between 5 and 9 (111 boys and 75 girls) distributed among 24 childcare institutions. On average they were in grade 1-4 of elementary school. Children of this age were still categorized as being not entirely able to look after themselves, and generally were given the task of assisting the older children in slicing vegetables, tidying the bedrooms, taking out the garbage and sweeping up in and around the institution. The small children's clothes were generally washed and ironed by the older children until such time as the younger children were able to do so themselves. The older children were also responsible for looking after the younger children, teaching them to read, helping them with their homework, etc.

In Nur Ilahi, staff gave special attention to the elementary school-age children as regards to food. They made sure that the younger children (in grade 1 to 3 of elementary school) received sufficient milk in accordance with their needs and age. They were also given mung beans once a week. The staff would also take it upon themselves to help young children with eating problems by providing them with "jamu" (herbal tonics) and encouraging them to eat.

As we saw earlier, the "elder-younger sibling" ("Kakak-Adik") system was applied in all of the childcare institutions surveyed. The younger children addressed the older children as "Kakak" (elder sibling), while the older

children addressed the younger ones as "adik" (younger sibling). Despite the fact that instances of bullying were identified in some institutions, relations between the younger and older children were generally close. The older children, depending on their age and capacity, were given responsibility to look after, guide, supervise and discipline the younger children so as to ensure they followed the daily activities and obeyed the institution's rules. Rooms accommodating 3 to 4 children would normally be assigned to a combination of children of elementary school, junior high school and high school age so as to facilitate the care and supervision of the younger children by their elder peers. The role played by the older children in this regard greatly facilitated the running of the institution and the work of the staff whose number were generally not enough and usually held a number of roles and positions in the institution or community.

It was particularly concerning to find such young children in an institutional care environment where conditions were, in most cases, clearly not appropriate for children at these crucial stages of development. The lack of appropriate adults to provide not only the care but also to form the secure attachments that are well evidenced to be essential for a child's full physical, psychological and social development during that critical period, highlight either a serious lack of understanding of children's needs or that these needs did not constitute the basis on which care decisions were made.

In that context it is worth pointing that none of the institutions assessed which cared for infants and young children seemed to have considered the possibility of placing these very young children up for adoption, if they had no parents or their families were not willing to care for them, or fostering them with kins or in an alternative family. In SOS Desa Taruna, these infants were deemed to have already been 'adopted' by the SOS family and the head of the institution clearly felt that adoption or fostering by a family in the community was not an option. The fact that no system is in place in Indonesia to ensure that babies and young children are provided appropriate alternative care in a family environment also underlines the urgent need for the regulation of the alternative care system.

Footnotes:

1 Islamic religious event organized by an individual or family, which involves praying, reading verses from the Koran, and a ceremonial feast.

2 Interview with childcare institution head.

3 'Muhrim' is a restriction under Islamic law whereby contact between males and females which are not blood relations is not allowed. For example, a male and a female who are not blood related or married cannot be in the same room, shake hand or touch in anyway. This also applies to children who have reached puberty.

4 At that time, A4 was in grade 3 of Vocational High School No. 6. He had seven more months left until graduation, and had been in the childcare institution for 2.5 years.

XI. Staffing

Recruitment and Selection

THE PATTERN OF RECRUITMENT and selection of managers, staffs, caregivers and volunteers differed between government and private childcare institutions. In the government institutions, specific recruitment and selection processes were not gone through. Rather, staff members were assigned by the provincial or district/municipality social affairs office, as confirmed by a letter of appointment. The childcare institutions themselves were not provided with the opportunity of selecting their own staff, and were unable to object to appointments, even if the appointees lacked the skills necessary for employment in a childcare institution. Appointment to a childcare institution was found not to be a popular career move among civil servants, as admitted by the head of one institution, *"Being sent here is like being dumped. Not much regard is had to (qualifications), anyone will do. Maybe they prefer to send them here than to clutter up the place ... just give them to here!"*

The assignment of additional temporary staff that might be needed by a childcare institution appeared to be carried out primarily on an "informal" basis. Such temporary staff members would be paid transportation expenses and a small allowance. The number of temporary staff deployed would depend on the needs and financial circumstances of each institution. In one institution, a husband and wife team had been recruited, with their wages being combined so as to bring them up to the level of the local minimum wage. Another childcare institution had recruited two siblings to work together.

The majority of private childcare institutions did not have any form of systematic recruitment process. If a member of staff was to be recruited, normal recruitment processes, such as submission of application letter, curriculum vitae, and references, and the sitting of an interview and tests, would rarely be followed. Religious background, family considerations, the ready availability of volunteers and lack of funds to employ properly qualified people resulted in the private childcare institutions eschewing formal recruitment processes. Among the recruitment methods employed by the private childcare institutions surveyed were the following:

- Reliance on persons with religious or humanitarian vocations, whether from the parent organization or the community;
- Conducting recruitment based on family ties or acquaintance with childcare institution managers or staff. For example, the recruitment of a staff member wife as a caregiver or as a cook, or, in the case of Dr. J. Lukas, the recruitment of financially comfortable married couples to serve as foster parents as part of the cottage model of childcare.
- Closed recruitment, such as contacting persons who known to them and who are known to want to serve in the institution.
- Appointing community leaders, or, in the case of NTB, teachers to serve as heads or managers of the institutions.
- Requiring high school graduates from the institution to work for a year after graduation, or recruiting former wards who are willing to work in the institution. This pattern of recruitment is based on the belief that these children are familiar with the institution and its administrative processes so that it will be easier for them to manage the children.
- Appointment of managers for prolongued periods of time, such as an initial 3 or 5 years and then reappointing automatically after the expiry of their 3 or 5 year terms.
- The executives of the parent foundation simultaneously serve as managers of the childcare institution, with caregivers and cooks being recruited from outside.
- Direct appointment of a childcare institution manager by the head of the foundation. The manager may perform his duties on his own, or be helped by his wife.
- Recruitment based on the rules of the parent organization. For example, the staff in childcare institution run by Hidayatullah are determined by the Hidayatullah central office. Staff members may be appointed to any Hidayatullah childcare institution in Indonesia.

The criteria for the recruitment of staff, particularly in private childcare institutions, were primarily focused on such considerations as religion, vocation, willingness to serve the community and to volunteer etc. Little attention was paid to such criteria as knowledge in the fields of child development, child care and child protection, social work skills or knowledge. In SOS Desa Taruna, the criteria for selection as a foster mother were as follows: between 25 and 40 years of age, minimum of junior high school education, unmarried, divorced or widowed, and no dependent children. The fact that only women without children or husband were selected was apparently to ensure that they would focus all of their energies on looking after their foster children and avoiding preferential treatment of their own children. Some other childcare institutions stressed historical aspects, such involvement in the background/struggle of the institution (Al Ikhlas), specific religious

knowledge (Ibnu Tamiyah), or a willingness to serve and to be moved to childcare institutions in different locations.

Minimum educational attainments were generally not required. The educational levels of the 378 staff members interviewed in 36 childcare institutions are shown in the following table:

Table 8. Educational Attainments

Province	Educational Level					
	PS	JHS	SHS	D1–D3	D4/S1	S2
NAD	3	10	40	5	22	1
Central Java	3	8	36	8	18	0
NTB	1	1	27	14	15	1
West Kalimantan	4	8	17	7	9	0
North Sulawesi	2	4	29	4	14	0
Maluku	6	3	21	12	25	0
Total	19	34	170	50	103	2
%	5	8.99	44.97	13	27.25	0.5

Key: PS: Primary school, JHS: Junior high school, SHS: Senior high school, D1-D3: Diploma 1 - Diploma 3, D4-S1: Diploma 4/Bachelor's Decree, S2: Master's Degree

Almost half of all respondents (45%) were senior high school graduates. If we add this figure to those for elementary school and junior high school, then 59% or 3 out of 5 were educated up to senior high school level or under. From the data, it would appear that higher educational attainments were not considered necessary for employment in a childcare institution. Nevertheless, a total of 27% of respondents were educated to Diploma/ Degree or Master's levels (D4/S1 or S2). If we add the percentage of respondents educated to these levels, we can see that 40% of the staff had tertiary level education.

Not all of the childcare institutions employed respondents educated to tertiary education level. The childcare institution with the highest number of staff members educated to this level was Darul Ulum Munawarrah in Aceh, where 13 staff members had tertiary level qualifications. Other institutions with a high percentage of university graduates were SOS Desa Taruna and Muhammadiyah in Central Java (5 each), Pamardi Utomo (government institution, 4 university graduates), Harapan (government institution), Dharma Laksana and Darul Aitam in NTB (both with 4), Dr. J. Lukas in North Sulawesi (5), Al Muthadien (5), and Dorkas (3). The two respondents with master's degrees were employed by Dharma Laksana in NTB and Muhammadiyah Meulaboh.

In Maluku, more respondents had tertiary level qualifications than those with senior high school qualifications. All of the childcare institutions in Maluku had staff educated to D4/S1 level, with the biggest number being employed by Nurul Ikhlas (9 out of 25 staff members, with 5 being graduates of teacher-training college). Next came Huke Ina (government institution with 8 out of 12 staff members, with 5 trained as social workers), Al Hidayah (4 out of 9 staff members), and Caleb House (2 out of 7 staff members). Conversely, the province with the least number of D4/S1 graduates was West Kalimantan, with only 9 tertiary level staff employed by childcare institutions there, 3 of whom worked for a government institution (UPRS).

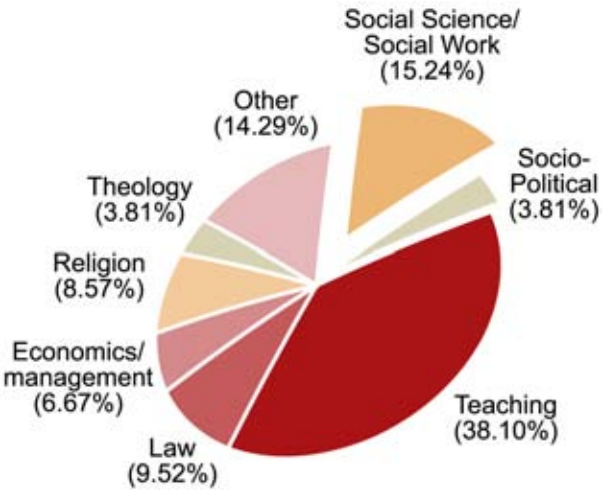
From the above data, it will be seen that government institutions tended to employ more staff members with university level qualifications, while among the private childcare institutions, only those run by major organizations, such as Muhammadiyah, SOS Desa Taruna or those that had educational establishment attached to the institution, such

as Darul Ulum Munawarrah in Aceh and Darul Aitam in NTB, employed staff educated to this level.

One of the educational criteria for staff stated in the Government guidelines for childcare institutions is a background in social work. The guidelines require a ratio of 1 social worker for 5 children. Based on the data on the respondents with D4/S1 and S2 qualifications, it will be seen that they had a wide variety of educational backgrounds, as shown by the following chart:

The above chart shows that only 16 respondents out of 105 with D4/S1 and S2 qualifications possessed backgrounds in social work/social welfare. Of this figure, 10 were employed by government childcare institutions, namely, Huke Ina Maluku (5), Harapan NTB (2),

Graph 17 Educational Backgrounds



and UPRS in West Kalimantan (3). The remainder were employed by a total of 4 private childcare institutions. Instead the majority of respondents possessed backgrounds in teaching (40%). Besides this being explained by the fact that many of the childcare institutions were combined with schools and pesantren (12 out of the 36 childcare institutions surveyed), these figures also once again highlight the fact that the overall objective of the institution was understood to be the provision of education.

The importance of religious education as a criterion for recruitment can also be seen from the number of staff with tertiary level education levels who had majored in religion (9 in the case of Islam and 4 in the case of theology). While jointly these only account for 12% of the total number of respondents, this figure nevertheless illustrates the importance religion education background to the childcare institution. Other educational backgrounds of the respondents generally lacked direct relevance to the childcare sector, particularly in the "Other" category, which consisted of respondents with backgrounds in agriculture, industrial engineering, civil engineering, tourism, forestry, healthcare and administration. While the last two categories (healthcare and administration) may have some relevance to childcare, they only accounted for 3 respondents. Psychology, which would be highly relevant to childcare, was not represented at all. These findings show that while the number of respondents with university level qualifications accounted for almost one-third of all the respondents, their educational background was frequently not relevant to their work in the childcare institutions.

The lack of appropriately trained and skilled personnel was felt by a number of government childcare institutions, even though they generally had a much better staff profile than the private institutions. The head of one childcare institution commented: *"... we've no staffs who are trained in social work. None of the staff here are appropriately qualified."* The head of the Administration Section in another institution said that the staff it received was low quality "rejects", with high quality staff being siphoned off by the provincial social affairs office. *"We tell them what are staffing needs are, but it doesn't work out that way. They send all the lazy ones here. The smart ones all go there."* The head of the institution added: *"We need social workers here. We don't have any. It's difficult to find social workers. While there are plenty of social worker graduates from STKS (School of social work), none of them want to come here. The Provincial Social Affairs Office has plenty of them. It's this that finishes us. How are we supposed to give proper child care, one caregiver has to look after how many children? The childcare system leaves a lot to be desired. The staff need to be*

closer to the children. And the situation regarding part-time staff leaves a lot to be desired."

The recruitment process was generally not accompanied by orientation or induction training for newly recruited staff members, and time was not set aside to familiarize them with the institution or their duties. Rather, they learnt what they were supposed to do on the job. Various aspects of management, particularly the financial aspects, were frequently kept under close wraps by the directors and were not shared with other staff.

The children had no role to play in deciding who should be appointed as caregivers. This applied equally to the question of reviewing the position or replacing staff who were behaving inappropriately or were not suitable for the position. One child in an institution in Central Java commented as follows: *"Oh, it's so boring, totally boring. The head has been changed and everything else has changed as a result. The staff who used to be close to the children have also changed in line with the changes introduced by the new leadership."* The recruitment and replacement of staff/managers was left entirely up to the management of institution, and the children had no say in such matters.

As will be seen from the above description, standard recruitment and selection processes were not normally applied in both in government and in private childcare institutions. In fact, proper selection was almost non-existent in the institutions that were surveyed. None of them had personnel or human resources sections to take charge of the recruitment and selection staff. This may partly have been explained by the fact that these childcare institutions were generally run by voluntary organizations, and staffed by volunteers. With regard to the government institutions, it was also apparent that there was a real lack of concern on the part of local government as regards the appointment of suitably qualified personnel.

Specific criteria for the appointment of staff were generally not applied in practice. Important aspects such as qualifications, educational background, track record, and employment experience were usually not even taken into consideration. As a result, inadequate services were provided to children. It is obviously unrealistic to expect optimal services from someone who lacks the necessary qualifications, particularly when he/she is poorly paid or even receives no remuneration whatsoever.

Accordingly, it is not possible to conclude that the staff working in childcare institutions fully understood the important role they were meant to play or what their duties were. With the primary focus being on religion, family ties and volunteerism, many of them were principally motivated by a desire to serve the community, which was translated into their day to day duties in accordance with their positions. They focused on their jobs as cooks, caregivers, managers and educators without looking at or being aware of the overall context of childcare, which should have provided, in reality, the foundation for what they did. They performed their day-to-day duties on a routine basis without having any kind of individual work plans. Even the caregivers were generally unaware of the need for work plans or of keeping daily records as what they did was part of a routine, up until such time as the children graduated from high school.

Supervision and Support

The level of management support for staffs differed as between the government and private childcare institutions. In the government institutions, salaries were determined based on grade and rank according to government regulations. For example, the head of a government institution in Aceh received Rp. 1,925,000 (around USD 200) per month. The same salary was paid to two other managers (both civil servants). The other head of a government institution received a salary of Rp 17,120,000 per annum (about USD 2000). In one government institution in West Kalimantan, where salaries were set by the Local Personnel Agency (Badan Kepegawaian Daerah), the head of a childcare institution received around Rp 2,000,000 (USD 200) per month, while a section head earned some Rp 1,700,000 (USD 170) per month, a staff member who has

graduated from senior high school Rp 1,200,000 (USD 120) per month, and part-time staff/caregivers Rp 530,000 (USD 55) per month.

The salaries received by staff/managers in government institutions were considerably more than those received by staff/managers in private institutions. As the principal motive in the private institution sector was religion and volunteerism, the salaries paid were small. This was also resulting from the financial limitations faced by many of the childcare institutions and foundations. In some cases, salaries were paid irregularly. However, as a result of "ikhlas" (devotion) in the Muslim-based institutions and "cinta kasih" (love and charity) in the non-Muslim institutions, the question of remuneration was rarely an issue.

In NTB for example, neither the managers nor the staff at Dharma Laksana and Al Ikhlas received salaries. In Darul Aitam, staffs were paid only Rp 25,000 (USD 3) per month. In Patmos, the head of the institution received Rp 200,000 (USD 20) per month, the treasurer/secretary Rp 100,000 (USD 10) and the cooks Rp 60,000 (USD 6) per month. In Darul Hikmah, allowances ranged from Rp 50,000 (USD 5) per month for an ustad up to Rp 250,000 – 300,000 (USD 25-30) for the head of institution. Similar salaries/allowances were paid to staff/managers in private institutions in West Kalimantan, although no salaries/allowances were paid in Al Amin. In Ibnu Tamiyah, staff/managers received Rp 300,000 (USD 30) (depending on financial circumstance) every 6 months. In Eben Haezer, staff received Rp 215,000 (USD 215) per month, support staff Rp 85,000 (USD 8.5), and volunteers an allowance of Rp 80,000 (USD 8) per month. In Pepabri, the staff was paid Rp 250,000 (USD 25) per month, and a bonus for religious holidays, while in Nur Ilahi, the manager, staff, support staff and volunteers were all paid an allowance of Rp 200,000 (USD 20) per month.

Some of the private childcare institutions paid relatively high salaries/allowances. For example, in SOS Desa Taruna the caregivers received between Rp 400,000 (USD 40) and Rp 700,000 (USD 70) per month, depending on their length of service and other factors. The manager and support staff appeared to receive more, although this was not specifically stated. In Dorkas, the manager received Rp 600,000 (USD 60) per month, managers Rp 300,000 (USD 30), caregivers Rp 225,000 (USD 25), support staff Rp 150,000 (USD 15) and part-time staff Rp 100,000 (USD 10). Meanwhile, in Caleb House, the manager received Rp 1,000,000 (USD 100) per month, managers and staff Rp 700,000 (USD 70) and cooks Rp 450,000 (USD 45).

In the government childcare institutions, as staffs were civil servants they were not only entitled to their basic salaries but also to pensions when they reached retirement age. They also received help if they fell ill, either directly or through the government-run health insurance scheme (Askes). However, almost

none of the private childcare institutions provided such facilities, although help with medical costs or a bonus for a religious festival might be forthcoming if the financial circumstances of the institution permitted. In Wahyu Yoga Dharma, the institution provided free education up to third level for the children of the staff. The children were also allowed to live within the complex.

Depending on whether the childcare institution was government or privately run, supervision would be exercised both internally and externally by the provincial, district or municipal social affairs office (in the case of government institutions) or by the organization that ran the institution (in the case of private institutions). Supervision was effected through meetings, discussions, evaluations of services (Parmadi Utomo), and through regular discussion-based appraisals of the work performed by staff (SOS Desa Taruna). The regularity of supervision varied, for example, once a month in the case of Dorkas, and once a year in the case of SOS Desa Taruna.

There were also a number of childcare institutions which were not subject to any kind of formal supervision, not even of the performance of the managers (such as in the case of the Darurrokhmah institution). In a system where all administrative roles were vested in the manager, supervision was often artificial as everything was in fact, entirely up to him/her. In such cases, supervision would normally be conducted entirely on an informal basis as required when problems arose, with all reports being forwarded to the head of the organization, and all actions to be taken or decided by him/her, with little or no input from the other staffs (in the case of a relatively big institution). For childcare institutions that came under the control of an organization such as Al Muthadien or Hidayatullah, supervision took the form of cadre training and national meetings.

Professional supervision was found to be non-existent.[1] It was only in the government institution that supervision, mainly of an incidental nature, was conducted, particularly with regard to administrative matters and specific cases involving children. Otherwise, it was found that it was primarily left to the staff/managers to find the most suitable forms of care and service. It was only if some major difficulty was experienced that the staff would consult with the managers. The institutions appeared to be little more than "big houses", with many of the staff principally relying on what they had learned from having and raising children of their own. None of the childcare institutions employed professional staff for the purpose of conducting supervision or oversight. Even those staff/managers who had backgrounds in social work did not perform this function. As a result, incidences of unprofessional conduct were rarely picked up and if they were, they were generally not addressed.

The lack of professional supervision was also reflected in the widespread failure to maintain records of whatever supervisory actions had been conducted. Supervision was primarily conducted orally, with little attention being paid to the keeping or reviewing of records. Staff/managers also lacked individual written work plans, and merely carried out their duties on a routine basis.

Deployment and Roles

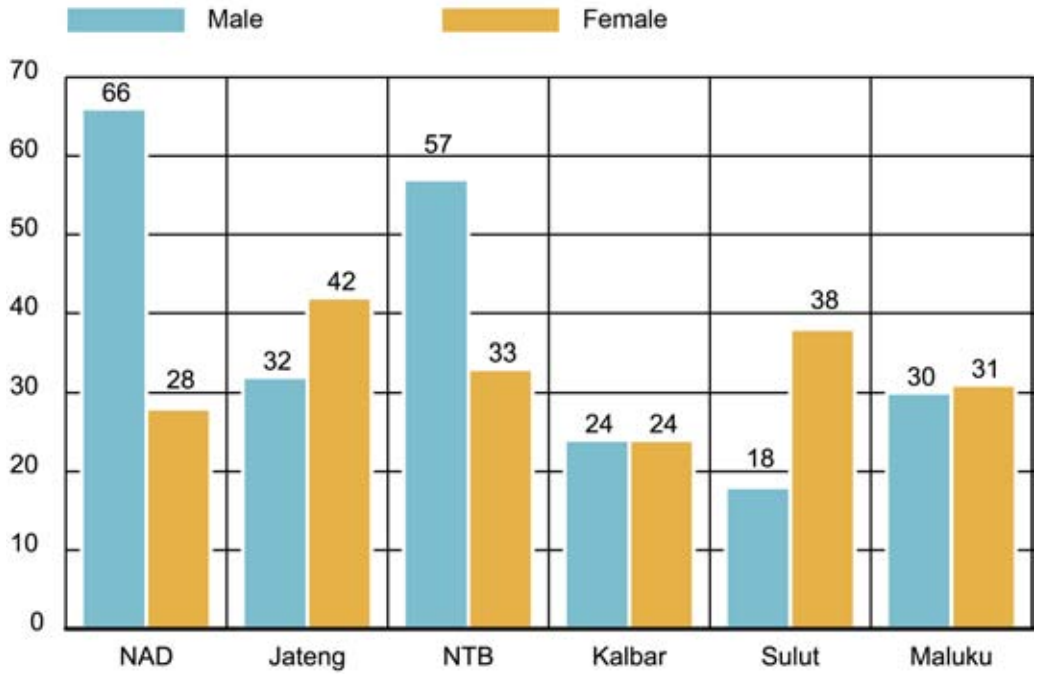
Staff numbers and ratio

A total of 423 staff worked in the 36 childcare institutions that were surveyed, consisting of 227 males (53.66 percent) and 196 females (46.34 percent). Thus, the number of men employed was greater than the number of women, even though the difference was not so great. The terms "staff" refers to all those working in a childcare institution, including founders, directors/heads, assistant directors/heads, managers, social workers, caregivers, educators, instructors, nurses, and support staff, such as cooks, security staff, gardeners and electricians.

The following graph shows the staff gender profile in each province:

The above graph shows that the biggest number of employees of the six childcare

Graph 18 Number of Staff



institutions selected in each province was in Aceh (22.65 percent), followed by NTB (20.59 percent), which the smallest number per six childcare institutions was in West Kalimantan (10.98 percent). This was explained by the fact that 5 of the institutions in Aceh employed more than 10 staff. In fact, Darul Ulum Munawarrah in Lhoksemawe employed 32 persons. Meanwhile, Muhammadiyah Meulaboh home had only 4 staff.

One of the reasons why the number of employees per institution was greatest in Aceh and NTB was because these institutions were combined with pesantren or other forms of educational establishment. Muhammadiyah (22 staffs) and Darul Ulum Munawarrah (32 staffs), both of which are located in Lhoksemawe, Aceh, were combined with pesantren/ educational establishments. Similarly, Darul Aitam (16 staffs) and Darul Hikmah (23 staffs) were also combined with pesantren/ educational establishments. The staffs in these institutions concurrently served as managers and caregivers in the institutions and as teachers in the attached educational establishment.

Childcare institutions with very low numbers of staff – less than 10, sometimes even less than 5 – were found in all provinces, even though the number of children cared for was in the dozens. Exactly half (18) of all the institutions studied had fewer than 10 staffs, and 9 of these had fewer than 5 staffs. The institutions in question and the number of staffs and children are as follows:

- Aceh: Muhammadiyah Meulaboh (4 staff : 42 children)
- Central Java: Wahyu Yoga Dharma (4 : 45), Darurrokhmah (8 : 30), Muhammadiyah Cilacap (8 : 37)
- NTB: Patmos (4 : 100), Dharma Laksana (7 : 16)
- West Kalimantan: Al Amin (2 : 38), Ibnu Tamiyah (6 : 42), Eben Haezer (9 : 55), Nur Ilahi (6 : 35), Pepabri (2 : 18)
- North Sulawesi: Lahoraung (5 : 18), Prajapati (3 : 80), Dorkas (7 : 82), Al Muthadien (7 : 49)
- Maluku: Al Hidayah (5 : 9), Caleb House (7 : 63) and Ina Theresia (2 : 43)

The above data shows that many of the childcare institutions were poorly staffed. Of the total of 36 institutions surveyed, 9 had fewer than 5 staffs, and these were responsible for managing all aspects of the children's lives.

The situation is brought even more clearly into focus when we look at the ratio of staff to children, with Patmos (1 : 25) being most noticeable in this regard. Patmos is also noteworthy as the head of the institution is 71 years of age, and one of the staff is 61. Meanwhile, Patmos houses 81 children between the ages of 15 and 17, an age group that requires particular attention.

With a staff to child ratio of around 1: 10 in the 18 childcare institutions referred to above, it is clear that the standard set by the Ministry of Social Affairs in that regard are far from being attained.[2] The ratio given here is also based on all of the employees, not only caregivers who work directly with the children. In all of the 36 childcare institutions surveyed, the majority of the staffs worked in a number of positions at the same time (see the description on employment in the childcare institutions). In addition, not all of the staffs recorded as being employed actually worked on a regular basis in the childcare institutions – some of them also worked primarily as teachers but also occasionally doubled up as staff or worked as volunteers (rather than as full-time employees). Given these realities, and the very small number of staff employed by the institutions who had a social work background, it is clear that the 1: 5 ratio of social worker per child required under the Government guidelines is almost never going to be met nor is the desired ratio of care worker per child.

In the majority of childcare institutions surveyed (31 out of 36), the staffs consisted of both men and women, with the exception of Wahyu Yoga Dharma in Central Java, Patmos in NTB, Pepabri in West Kalimantan and Ina Theresia in Maluku, where all of the staffs were female. The above graph illustrates an interesting phenomenon: in the predominantly Muslim areas (Aceh and NTB), there were approximately twice as many male as there were female staff/managers, while the exact opposite was the case in predominantly Christian North Sulawesi. The gender imbalance was particularly noticeable in Aceh, where Muhammadiyah Lhokksemawe which cares only for boys had 20 male and 2 female employees, and Darul Ulum Munawarrah, where the comparison was 24 : 8. In NTB, Darul Aitam had a comparison of 13 : 3, Darul Hikmah 16 : 7 and Al Ikhlas 14 : 1. Meanwhile in North Sulawesi, Sayap Kasih had 18 female employees compared to only three males. This was explained by the fact that Sayap Kasih provided care to children who had both mental and physical disability and who were considered to require female carers who were deemed more patient and caring. The large preponderance of male staffs in Muslim-based institutions in Aceh and NTB on the other hand, also seem to reflect local perception of gender roles and the need for male guidance for children, particularly male ones.

The number of staff employed depended upon the financial circumstances of the institution and its ability to pay them. Those institutions that were run by the government tended to employ more staffs compared with the other institutions. For example, Nirmala and Suci Hati, both in Aceh, employed 15 and 11 staff respectively, while Woro Wiloso employed 12, Pamardi Utomo in Central Java 18, Harapan in NTB 25, UPRS in West Kalimantan 23, and Huke Ina 24. An exception to this was Lohoraung in North Sulawesi. Although this was owned by the District of Sangihe Islands, it was provided with inadequate funding. In addition, the manager was not categorized as a civil servant. The head of that institution had previously been the wife of the head of district, but had stopped taking an interest after her husband's term came to an end. On a day-to-day basis, this institution, which housed 18 children, was practically run by its manager on her own.

It was found that a number of the private childcare institutions were quite well-off financially, such as SOS Desa Taruna in Semarang, Central Java, which is part of an international organization. This institution employed a total of 24 staffs to care for 141 children. Similarly, Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi was able to employ 21 staffs thanks to strong support from the community.

Age Profile

Of the 378 respondents interviewed as part of this study (49 percent male and 51 percent female), employee ages ranged from one employee of 18 in Wahyu Yoga Dharma to one of 85 in Darurrokhmah. The age profile of staffs, by intervals of 10 years, is shown in the following table:

Table 9. Age profile of staff

Province	Age Brackets						
	≤ 20	21- 30	31 – 40	41- 50	51 - 60	> 60	No Response
NAD	4	32	16	15	5	1	7
Jateng	2	2	24	18	16	6	5
NTB	1	8	14	19	8	6	3
Kalbar	0	10	13	7	10	1	5
Sulut	1	13	23	8	6	0	2
Maluku	1	26	23	9	4	2	2
Total	9	92	113	77	51	16	20
%	2.38	24.34	29.89	20.37	13.49	4.23	5.29

The above table shows that more than half of the total numbers of respondents were under 40 years of age with percentages for the 21-30, 31-40 and 41-50 age brackets being relatively similar. This data demonstrates that childcare institution staffs were generally young and of employment age. However, the data also revealed that 4.23 percent of the respondents were older than 60 years of age. Some of these staff were the founders or managers of the childcare institutions, and had been in their current positions for many years. The oldest member of staff was found in Darurrokhmah, and she was the founder who was 85 years of age. Two other staffs in this institution were aged 65 and 78 respectively. Three staffs at Darul Aitam in NTB were of advanced age (66, 69 and 70), as were three staffs at SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java (61, 63 and 64). In Patmos in NTB, two respondents including the head of the institution were aged 71 and 61 respectively. This study did not investigate in detail the consequences of such a wide age gap between the caregivers and their charges. From a positive perspective, people who are older can serve as sources of wisdom and may be regarded as creating a situation where three generations (children, parents and grandparents) are represented in the institution. On the other hand respondents who were not much older than their charges could serve as bridges between the children and the older staffs.

Particular circumstances prevailed in some childcare institutions, such as SOS Desa Taruna, where none of the respondents were younger than 30. Similar conditions were found in six institutions in North Sulawesi: Prajapati, Dorkas, Lohoraung, and Dr. J. Lukas. In Nur Ilahi, the age of all of the respondents was over 40. A total of 5.29 percent of respondents also refused to divulge their ages as they viewed this as a private matter.

Length of Service

As shown in the table below, the majority of respondents (76 percent) had worked for less than 10 years with 51.3% having worked from between 3 to 10 years.

On the other hand, 22 percent were found to have worked in a childcare institution for more than 10 years, and a small number (20 respondents) had worked for more than 20 years. In addition, 4 respondents were said to have worked with their institution for over 30 years. For these respondents, working in a childcare institution was clearly a longer term commitment and an expression of their desire

Table 10 Length of Service

Province	Period of Service							
	< 1	1-2	3-5	6-10	11-20	21-30	>30	No Response
NAD	4	18	20	29	9	1	0	0
Jateng	1	9	12	15	25	11	0	0
NTB	2	9	14	18	7	7	2	0
Kalbar	0	1	23	8	11	1	0	1
Sulut	6	13	20	3	3	0	2	6
Maluku	4	26	16	15	5	0	0	1
Total	17	76	105	88	60	20	4	8
%	4.5	20.1	28	23.3	15.87	5.29	1.06	2.12

to serve their community. It also meant that they possessed a great deal of experience in working with children living in residential institutions.

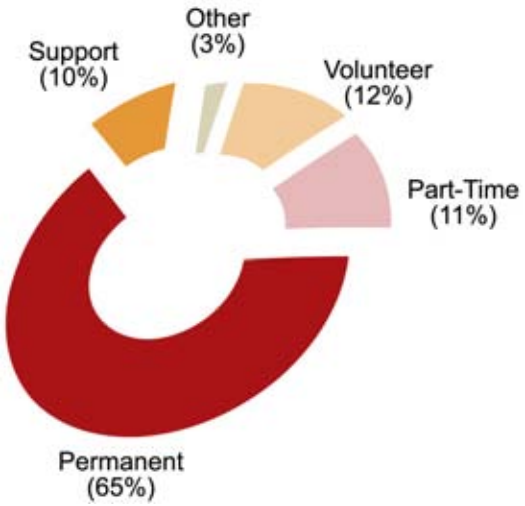
Four of those who had worked for more than 30 years were employed respectively by Patmos in NTB (32 years), Darul Aitam in NTB (43 years), and 2 by Dr. J. Lukas in North Sulawesi (32 years). The Patmos institution was itself 35 years old, Darul Aitam 46 years old and Dr. J. Lukas 32 years old. This meant that the respondents had been working in these institutions almost since they were founded. The respondent from Patmos was 71 years of age, the one from Darul Aitam 66, and the two from Dr. J. Lukas 57 and 53 years of age respectively.

Conversely, relatively new employees (less than 5 years) were found among the respondents at Sayap Kasih and Al Muthadien in North Sulawesi, as well as Caleb House, which opened in 2004 after the conflict in Maluku subsided. Sayap Kasih opened in 2001, so that it was exactly five years old when the survey was conducted in North Sulawesi. Al Hidayah was only 2 years old at the time of the survey and under new management.

Status of Staff

Staffs were categorized as being employed on a permanent, support, voluntary, part-time, assignment, contract, on-call, or other basis. The graph below shows that the majority of staffs were employed on a permanent basis (64 percent, or 2 out of 3). In this context, "permanent" meant regular work on a daily basis and close ties to the childcare institution. "Close ties" were understood as ownership of the childcare institution, serving as manager (although some respondents did not do so on an active basis) or an appointment, as in the case of the staffs in government childcare institutions. This differed from the usual meaning of "permanent", whereby staffs are appointed to a position on a permanent basis without need for new contracts at regular intervals, and where dismissal gives rise to a right to severance pay. As explained earlier, a number of the childcare institutions surveyed did not pay their staffs as serving in the institution was a calling, humanitarian vocation or a manifestation of service to the community, even where such staffs worked on a "permanent" basis.

Graph 19 Employee Status



The above graph shows that "volunteer", "support", and "part-time" staff constituted a significant portion (36%) of the staffing in the institutions although a majority (64%) were deemed permanent staff. Staffs in the "part-time" category consisted of those who have not yet been made permanent, or had not been appointed as civil servants in the case of the government childcare institutions. Most of the part-time employees were found in a number of government childcare institutions, including Nirmala (3) and Suci Hati (4) in Aceh, Woro Wiloso (2), and Pamardi Utomo (3) in Central Java, the UPRS in West Kalimantan (8), and Huke Ina in Maluku (2). In the civil service staffing system, a part-time employee may be appointed as a civil servant if a vacancy in the quota arises.

Support staff tended to be seen as having a lower status than the part-time employees as they were recruited to assist with work of a complementary nature, rather than the principal work conducted in the childcare institutions. This included such work as cooking, providing security, cleaning, and gardening. The biggest proportion of staff from this category was also found in the government childcare institutions (20 out of 36 respondents).

The category of "volunteer" referred to those people from outside the childcare institution who voluntarily donated their time and labour to the institution. A total of 45 respondents were classified as volunteers, with most of these working in private childcare institutions. These volunteers donated their expertise in the educational, cultural and vocational training fields. Interestingly, Al Amin and Ibnu Tamiyah in West Kalimantan, and Lohoraung in North Sulawesi stated that all of their staff were volunteers, and recognized no other employee status. The respondents felt that work in a childcare institution was primarily voluntary in nature and was divorced from permanent employment relations.

By contrast, the respondents from Al Ummah in Aceh, SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java, Patmos, Harapan and Nur Ilahi in NTB, and Caleb House and Al Hidayah in Maluku were all permanent employees.

As regards the "other" category, one respondent in Harapan in NTB had just been transferred there and had not yet been given clear assignments, while one contract and two on-call workers were employed by Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi (these were to work there for a specified period of time).

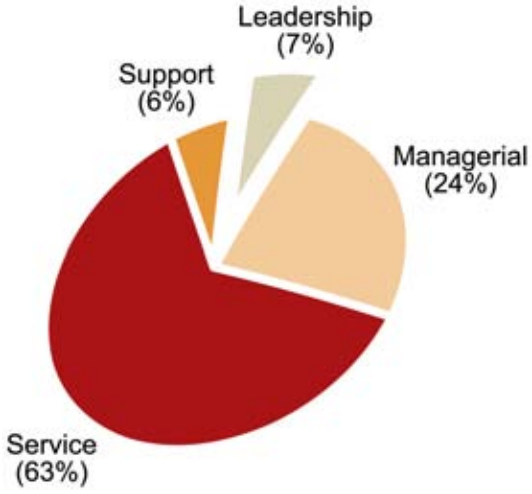
Positions

The positions in childcare institutions varied but could be differentiated into the following categories:

- ✔ Leadership: founders, heads/manager and assistant heads/directors
- ✔ Managerial: responsible for management and administrative functions, including secretaries, treasurers, heads of units/ sections, staff, and administrative personnel
- ✔ Service providers: social workers, caregivers, dormitory heads, educators, vocational training instructors, physiotherapists, and nurses.
- ✔ Support staff: security personnel, cooks, gardeners, and electricians.

The profile of respondents according to their position is as shown in the following chart:

Graph 20 Position of Staffs



The data includes respondents concurrently holding more than one position which was a common feature of private

childcare institutions that often suffered from limited numbers of staff. In order to overcome staff shortages, people tended to take on more than one job so as to get the work done, even though this increased the burden on staffs, and meant that children often had to carry out work to make up for the lack of staff.

Aside from the question of concurrent positions, the graph shows that proportion of respondents involved in service provision was by far the biggest at 63 percent (3 out of 5 respondents).

The service category was dominated by caregivers (185), educators/teachers (80), dormitory heads (38), and staff positioned as social workers (28) although this did not necessarily mean that they were trained social workers. The remaining respondents consisted of vocational skills trainers (8), all of whom were working in Nirmala, Muhammadiyah Meulaboh, Darul Ulum Munawarrah and Al Ummah in Aceh, Harapan and Darul Hikmah in NTB, Dorkas in North Sulawesi and Ina Theresia in Maluku; one physiotherapist in Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi (in line with this institution's mission of caring for children with physical and mental disability); and two nurses working respectively in the Harapan institution in NTB and Caleb House in Maluku. The physiotherapist in Sayap Kasih and the nurses and two instructors in Dorkas and Darul Ulum Munawarrah did not concurrently hold other positions, while the other 6 instructors also worked in other capacities.

The assessment also found that that there were more teachers than social workers employed by the childcare institutions, which reflected the finding that more respondents had backgrounds in education rather than social work and that this was seen as the primary focus of the services provided. A total of 12 out of the 28 social worker respondents were employed in government childcare institutions, while the remainder were employed in private institutions. Overall 18 of the social worker respondents also served in other capacities. Most of the caregivers, dormitory heads and educators also served concurrently in other capacities. A total of 88 respondents who worked as caregivers and 33 who worked as dormitory heads also served in other positions, while 47 of the 80 teacher respondents did likewise, further illustrating the dominance of teachers in providing care to children in residential institutions. The fact that so many caregivers also held other positions reflected the view that an employee of a childcare institution would automatically be expected to serve as a caregiver. As a result, the number of caregivers accounted for almost half of the 378 respondents. Caregivers who did not occupy other positions were only found at Pamardi Utomo and SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java, Darul Aitam in NTB, and Eben Haezer in West Kalimantan. Similarly, it was only in Ibnu Tamiyah that the dormitory heads did not also hold other positions. Gender differentiation in relation to the care staff roles was only applied in those childcare institutions that were associated with pesantren, such as Ibnu Tamiyah, where the girls were looked after by women (ustadzah) and the boys by men (ustad).

In the managerial category, there were a total of 12 treasurers, 28 unit/section heads, 84 managers/staff and 84 administrative staff. These four positions were, however, not found in every institution, with all of the administrative work often being carried out by one or two of the positions. For example, the positions of secretary/treasurer were only found in Muhammadiyah Lhokksemawe in Aceh (2), Muhammadiyah Cilacap (2), SOS Desa Taruna (2), Dharma Laksana (1) and Darul Aitam in NTB (1), Al Amin (1) and Eben Haezer (1), and Lohoraung (1) and Al Hidayah (1) in North Sulawesi. Administrative positions were found in Wahyu Yoga Dharma (2), Darurrokhmah (1) and Pamardi Utomo (1) in Central Java, Harapan in NTB (4), UPRS in West Kalimantan (1) and Dr. J. Lukas (1) in North Sulawesi. Of the 10 respondents occupying administrative positions, 6 were employed by Government institutions.

With regard to leadership positions, 4 respondents were founders, 32 managers, and 2 assistant managers. Two of the founders were from Darrurokhmah in Central Java, and one each from Nur Ilahi and Hidayatullah. The 32 managers were in found 32 institutions, but

not in Harapan in NTB, Lohoraung in North Sulawesi and Huke Ina, as they did not have any staff serving as either managers or assistant managers. In the particular case of Huke Ina, the institution was run by an acting head while awaiting the appointment of a permanent director. The remaining assistant managers were employed by Dharma Laksana in NTB and Muhammadiyah in Central Java, both of which also had respondents serving as manager.

The combining of leadership positions with other posts occurred in Al Ummah in Aceh, where the manager of the institution also served as a teacher and in Dharma Laksana in NTB, where the manager also served as a caregiver. In Darul Aitam in NTB, the assistant manager also served as a care staff, and a similar situation prevailed in Darul Hikmah. In the UPRS in West Kalimantan, the manager also held the position of section head. In Dorkas, the manager also served as a section head, staff and caregiver, while in Al Muthadien, the manager also worked as a caregiver and educator. The fact that 7 of the respondent in the leadership category also undertook other functions clearly shows that the management of a childcare institution requires the performance of a wide range of duties.

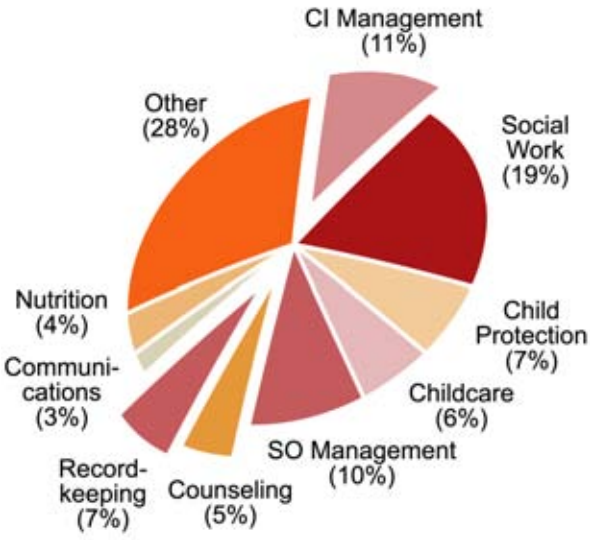
In the support category, a number of childcare institutions had security, gardener and electrician positions. Generally, security staffs were mainly employed by the government institutions, with 2 working at Nirmala in Aceh, one each at Woro Wiloso, Pamardi Utomo and UPRS. In addition, one was employed by Darurrokhmah, a private childcare institution in Central Java. The gardener and electrician category accounted for three respondents (1 of whom also worked in another capacity), and all of these were employed by UPRS. As a big government institution that also operated various other programs within a large compound, UPRS clearly had need of these staff. While only 22 of the respondents were positioned as cooks, in other institutions were no cook was hired other staff would also work as cooking and kitchen staff while children would also do the cooking. In a number of the larger institutions, more than one cook was employed, with 3 working at Suci Hati in Aceh, two each at UPRS and Ibnu Tamiyah in West Kalimantan, two at Sayap Kasih in North Sulawesi and two at Nurul Ikhlas in Maluku.

Training and Professional Development

Training constitutes an essential element of human resources development so as to equip people with the knowledge and skills they need to better perform their duties. During the course of the survey, managers and caregivers were questioned as to what types of training events or courses they had participated in.

Of the total of respondents (378) only 125 had ever participated in a training or a course (33%). Those who did, however, were found to have participated in a wide range of such courses. Of the different types of training shown in the graph below, two broad categories could be found: management training (institution management, social organization management, and record-keeping), and training that is specifically connected with children (child protection, childcare, counselling, nutrition, and communicating with children).

Graph 21. Training Events Participated in



If we look however at the number of staff who actually followed each of the training, it is clear, however, that only a very small number

of staff had participated in each of the types of training. The majority of those had received social work training (30 respondents) with 15 respondents who had done so from the Government institutions and 15 from the private institutions. Social organization management training was also provided by the Government, as childcare institutions are classified by the Ministry of Social Affairs as a social organization. Only 3 percent of the respondents, however, had received training in areas that were directly connected with children, with only 9 respondents who had received childcare training, and all of these were employed by SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java. This meant that the staffs of the remaining childcare institutions (a total of 369 respondents) had never received any form of training on the care of children in residential institutions.

The only forms of training that were found in all provinces were institution management, social organization management and social work, and all of these training events had been organized by the Ministry of Social Affairs or social affairs office in province level. One form of training that was becoming more common was child protection, with such training events having been delivered in all of the provinces. These training courses were organized by the Ministry of Social Affairs or social affairs office in province level, with the support of Unicef in Aceh, and the Child Protection Agency (LPA) in NTB.

The survey showed that none of the childcare institutions provided training themselves for managers and caregivers, with the exception of Sayap Kasih, which directly provided nursing and therapist training on its premises. In addition, foster mothers in SOS Desa Taruna in Central Java were required to attend two-week training courses with caregivers from the other SOS childcare institutions every year. The training sessions were organized by SOS' headquarter in Indonesia, rather than by the individual institutions.

It is interesting to note that staffs from government institutions dominated participation in the training categories shown in the above graph. With the exception of childcare and nutrition training, respondents from government institutions had participated in all of the other forms of training. In fact, record-keeping training events were only participated in by staff from the government institutions, with four staff from Pamardi Utomo in Central Java and four from Harapan in NTB having done so. The government institutions clearly enjoyed much greater opportunities and facilities in this regard.

Conversely, the respondents from a number of institutions had never participated in any form of training event (Al Ummah in Aceh, Lohoraung and Prajapati in North Sulawesi, and Ina Theresia and Huke Ina in Maluku). In addition, respondents from a number of other institutions had participated in training but the training in question had no connection with childcare institutions (Muhammadiyah Meulaboh in Aceh – radio management; Al Ikhlas in NTB – street children, screen printing and Red Cross training).

The data revealed that not only very few staffs had appropriate educational backgrounds for working in childcare institutions, but most of them had also never received any sort of training that was connected with their work. The training courses provided by the Ministry of Social Affairs or provincial social affairs offices tended to be general in nature, such as childcare institution and social organization management, and social work. Another problem was that the courses delivered by the Ministry of Social Affairs, whether in Jakarta or the regions, were normally aimed at staffs from social affairs offices (provincial, district or municipality). In addition, the results of training were rarely shared with the managers of the childcare institutions in the given provinces. Similarly, standards and technical guidelines, regulations relating to children's rights and protection and other support materials were rarely forwarded to childcare institutions.

The "Other" category of training covered such areas as strategic planning, economic empowerment, disaster response, volunteerism, sponsorship schemes, leadership, social outreach work, and advocacy, halfway

house/street children programs, trafficking, HIV/AIDS, group dynamics, screen printing, Red Cross programs, teacher standardization, the competencies-based curriculum, brain exercises, ESQ, childhood haemophilia, human resources development, heroic values, monitoring and evaluation, PRA, social mapping, radio management and human rights. The data reveals the following interesting aspects:

- The positioning of childcare institutions as social organizations was evidenced by the participation of respondents in training on strategic management, economic empowerment, disaster response, volunteerism, sponsorship schemes, leadership, social outreach, heroic values, and advocacy. This also included social organization management and social work.
- Some of the respondents received training that related particularly to education, such as teacher standardization and competence based curriculum courses. This is not surprising given that 40 of the respondents were trained as teachers.
- Specific technical training was only provided to staff from Sayap Kasih (brain exercise and haemophilia training).
- Useful training for childcare institutions, such as monitoring and evaluation, PRA, social mapping and human rights, had also been provided in some instances.

The diversity of the training participated in by the respondents shows that the work of childcare institutions is not regarded as being confined solely to childcare, but also encompasses various other issues connected with children's problems, education and social organizations. While these forms of training may be useful, they are nevertheless not directly supporting the core business of childcare institutions. This situation is compounded by the fact that very little training is provided that is relevant to the work of childcare institutions. Furthermore, it is likely that most of the training provided has been of a general or introductory nature as none of the respondents received further training in the same area, despite the fact that many of the topics addressed by the training were very broad and could not conceivably be fully covered by a one-off training course.

Footnotes:

1 In social work, supervision covers the educative function (the supervisor transfers knowledge and skills), administrative functions (reviewing the discharge of duties), and supportive functions (providing support to staff experiencing stress or personal difficulties).

2 The Department of Social Affairs requires a ratio of 1: 5 pekerja social (See book Depsos RI (2002) *General Guidelines for the Operation of Childcare Institutions as Part of the Provision of Services to Neglected/Abandoned Children*, Jakarta: Directorate General of Social and Rehabilitation Services, Directorate of Children's Social Services Development.)

XII. Resources

Location and Design

Most of the childcare institutions surveyed were located along the roadside in district or provincial capitals. They were generally in the middle of the community, and easily accessible by road. In addition, they were often highly visible. Some of the childcare institutions were strategically located in town centres, close to basic services such as schools and other educational institutions, Puskesmas (community health centres), hospital and markets. Those that were not located in town centres, such as SOS Desa Taruna which was located on the outskirts of Semarang, were nevertheless well known to the surrounding community. Similarly, Darul Ulum in Aceh, which was sited on a hill about 500 meters from the main road, was nevertheless widely known to the community, even though it was only accessible by "ojek" (motorcycle taxi). The central locations of the childcare institutions surveyed clearly facilitated donor access.

The government childcare institutions, and those run by well-funded organizations, such as the SOS Desa Taruna institution, tended to be larger and more modern, with sturdier buildings and better maintenance compared to the majority of private institutions. The fact that these institutions were more modern meant that management was better able to organize the use of space, and provide separate dining rooms, sleeping accommodation, study facilities, auditoriums, kitchens, stores, bathrooms/toilets, etc.

A number of childcare institutions were specially designed with an eye on the security of their charges. In Darurrokhmah, for example, the institution could only be accessed from the front so that the arrival of visitors would become immediately known. In Nur Ilahi, the children lived on the second floor, separate from the offices and activities rooms downstairs. In Pepabri, on the other hand, where child protection issues had once arisen, the layout was less than conducive to good security. The caregiver's room was at the front of the building, and the children's rooms at the back, with the door between the two being closed at night. While the girl's rooms downstairs could be closed, there was no door on the boys' dormitory upstairs. Questions of security and safety can also arose in the cases of institutions were bathroom/toilet facilities were not located on site or near to the children's rooms. While this survey uncovered no cases involving threats to the security and safety of children, the existence of toilets/bathrooms removed from the main building or the dormitories was a cause for concern, particularly at night. The fact that in some cases, as with Eben Haezer, children had to bathe in isolated areas, with no or little lighting and near roads also evidenced a lack of concern about children's security as well privacy.

Accommodation

The fact that the same rooms were employed for various functions in most of the childcare institutions showed that the space available was inadequate. In the private institutions whose financial resources were limited, the same room would often be used for diverse purposes, such as dining, studying, as a guest room, or watching TV. While some of the private childcare institutions had separate offices for the managers and staffs, in many of them these rooms were combined. In fact, some of the institutions had no offices at all.

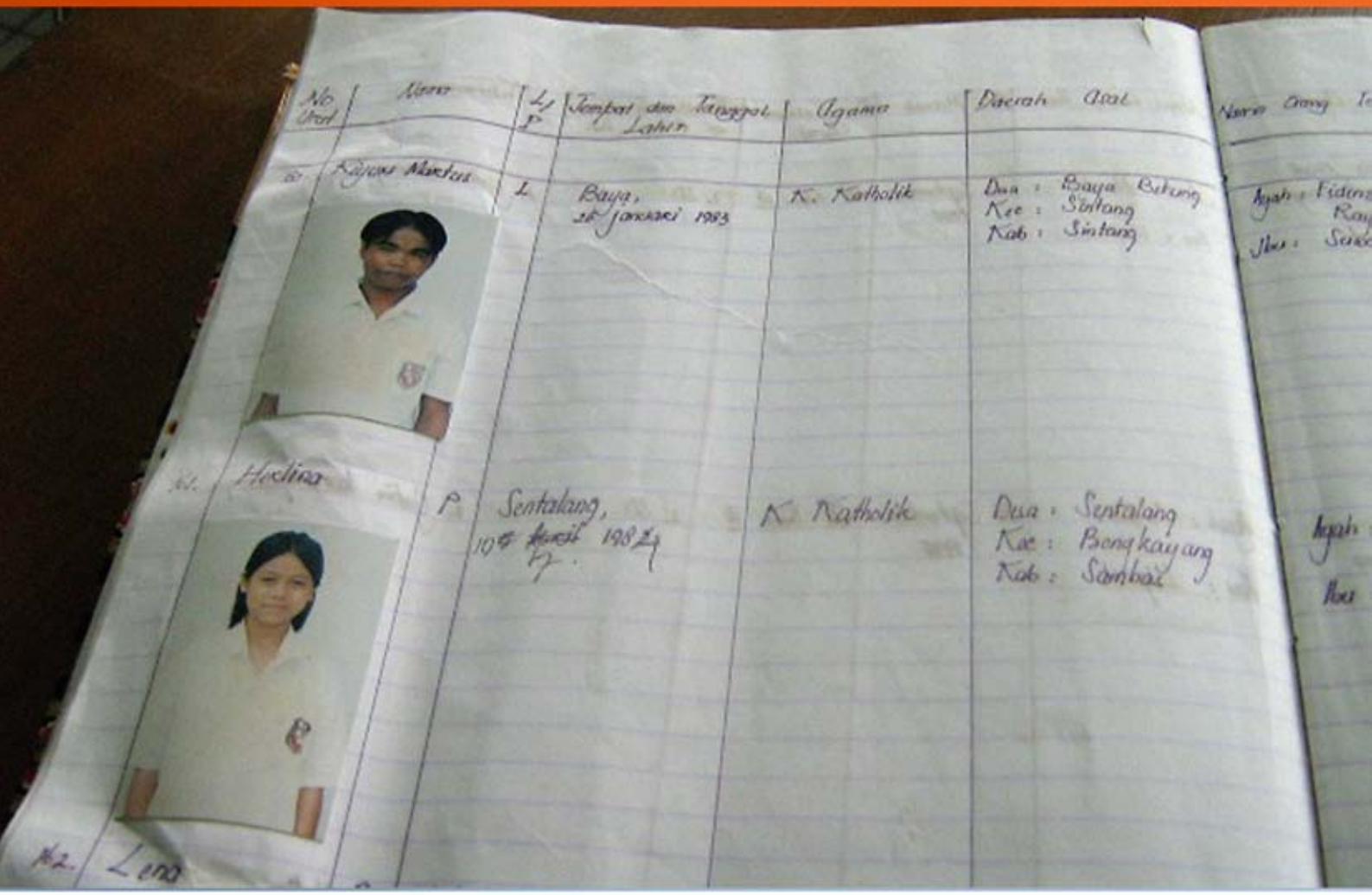
As described earlier, bathroom/toilet facilities were found to generally be unsatisfactory from the perspectives of quantity, illumination, distance from main building and hygiene/sanitation. Sleeping accommodation was also found to be unsatisfactory, with many bedrooms/dormitories suffering from overcrowding. Some of the childcare institutions only provided mats for the children to sleep on, rather than mattresses, while in others there was a shortage of mattresses, so that some of the children had to do without. From the perspective of ventilation, some bedrooms were found to lack sufficient light and to suffer from poor air circulation. This combined with cramped sleeping arrangements, untidy arrangement of mattresses, sheets and pillows, and the willy-nilly discarding of clothes due to a lack of closets, meant that many of the bedrooms were found to be stifling and disorderly.

Generally speaking, the conditions in each childcare institution depended primarily on the policies pursued by the management. Those

institutions that had sufficient funds for maintenance and cleaning, and a willingness on the part of management to keep things in order, were found to be mostly in good condition. By contrast, those that lacked funding and staff for such purposes and where a willingness on the part of management to prioritize maintenance and sanitation was not evidenced, were frequently found to be crowded, dirty and in poor condition. Many of the older buildings appeared not to be maintained. In addition, the backyards, where foul water and garbage were disposed off, and the toilets located, were often not looked after or kept clean.

The lack of cleanliness in a number of the childcare institutions that were surveyed showed a real lack of concern for proper hygiene and sanitation as such children's well being. This obviously has serious implications as regards hygiene training, as was observed in many instances by the assessors. A lack of money was frequently raised as a justification for hygiene deficiencies, despite the fact that keeping the environment clean does not require a great deal of money, especially if the children are provided with sufficient toileteries and properly supported to respect cleanliness.

Despite all of these shortcomings, children rarely complained. For some of them, the conditions in the institution were better than those at home and they focused on the opportunity given to them to go to school. They were also aware that any requests for improved conditions would be considered unacceptable as they were expected to be grateful for what they were given and, in any case, would not be fulfilled. In fact, such requests could very well leave them open to a scolding or punishment.



XIII. Administration

Record-Keeping

A FAILURE TO KEEP proper records was observed in all of the childcare institutions surveyed. Not all of the institutions, including government ones, maintained individual files on each child, his progress and the services provided to him/her. Records were rarely kept on a day-to-day basis. In general, staffs relied primarily on their memories as regards the condition of the children and incidents that had occurred. Of course, human memory being what it is, many things that should be remembered were forgotten – not surprising given the large number of children being cared for and the fact that some of the managers/staffs were of advanced age.

Only a small number of the childcare institutions maintained relatively comprehensive records. In Pamardi Utomo, for example, a file was kept for each child, including the documentation recording the child's entry to the institution and reports on the child's development. In Sayap

Kasih, comprehensive records were kept, including reports from carers. At PSAA Dr. J. Lukas, records were kept in order in the main office. However, foster families were not required to record incidents. At SOS Desa Taruna, the children's records were maintained in duplicate, with one set being kept by the foster mother and the other in the main office. In Harapan, reviews of the educational progress achieved by the children were also kept.

A very different situation prevailed, however, in a number of the childcare institutions. In Dorkas, individual files were not maintained in an orderly fashion. In Prajapati, administrative and children's records were not maintained on a comprehensive basis, with only

the barest minimum of data being recorded. A similar situation prevailed at Lohoraung. At Al Muthadien and Wahyu Yoga Dharma, the records only consisted of the bio data of the children and a brief family assessment. At Woro Wiloso and Darurrokhmah, only the children's data at the time of entry were recorded. The situation was even worse at Muhammadiyah Cilacap, where staff had difficulty in retrieving children's files and their health records. In Pepabri, there were no records at all, even as regards the number of children being cared for. At UPRS, the only records maintained were those from the time the children entered the institution, and various documents contained the signatures of their parents. This was despite the fact that UPRS in a government childcare institution, whose managers have social work backgrounds. The childcare institutions in NTB also contained records from the time of entry, but all in different formats. These generally contained the particulars of the children and their parents.

The situation as regards financial records was somewhat better, which was explained by the fact that administrators were required to account for the use of government funds to inspectors. Should these accounts be found to be unsatisfactory, sanctions could ensue or funding could be cut off.

Confidentiality

No special efforts were made to maintain the confidentiality of information on the children. This was primarily due to the fact that few records were kept, so that there was little that could be kept confidential in the first place. During the course of the research, the staff/managers displayed little hesitation in revealing information on their charges, and most were unaware that such information should be kept confidential. In no cases were the children asked for permission before the divulging of confidential information. It appeared that there was a form of unwritten agreement that upon entering a childcare institution, everything concerning the child became part of the public domain.

In a number of institutions, the children's files were kept in a disorderly manner, with no special place being provided for their storage. In general, these files were mixed up with other administrative records so that it was often difficult to distinguish the children's files from other files. Even where there was a special cabinet for the children's records, it appeared that anyone could gain access. It was found that there were no special rules or procedures in existence governing access to files and for maintaining their confidentiality.

In only a small number of institutions were records properly kept and confidentiality maintained. In Prajapati, all records were kept by the manager or another staff as these

records were considered important. At Dr. J. Lukas, while the records cabinet was not locked, it was nevertheless situated in a relatively secure location so that it was not accessible to unauthorized persons. Similarly at Sayap Kasih, the confidentiality of children's records were professionally maintained. Pamardi Utomo and SOS Desa Taruna also maintained children's development plans, records of educational progress, health information, information on the children's backgrounds and guardians. All of these were kept confidential. In Wahyu Yoga Dharma and Darurrokhmah, while there were no written rules, the institution managers would keep confidential any information that could subsequently lead to stigmatization or embarrassment.

Roles of Managers and Owners

The level to which the institution managers and/or head of the parent foundation became involved in the management of the institution depended on the institution's organizational structure. Where a foundation executive was also the manager of the institution, then he would take charge of all aspects of the institution's management. In such cases, there was no strict separation between the foundation and childcare institution as, in reality, the institution was the only operation run by the foundation. In such circumstances, all decisions concerning policy, programs, services, administration, and finance would, in general, be taken by institution/foundation head. Where there was a separation between the childcare institution and the parent foundation, two patterns were observed. First, the foundation executives played an active role in, and had significant influence over, the running of the institution. Generally, such a situation occurred where the childcare institution was combined with a pesantren or other educational facility. In such circumstances, the childcare institution was in reality an integral part of the pesantren/educational facility, with all decisions originating from the foundation. Conversely, there were also a number of childcare institutions where the foundation executives did not play an active role in management, and left all decisions up to the manager of the childcare institution. In such cases, the foundation executives would consist of a number of well-known local figures, but due to their other commitments they would only be able to assist with work in the childcare institution from time to time.

In the government childcare institutions, full responsibility for management is vested in the head of the local social affairs office at the provincial, district or municipality level, as the case may be. As a line unit, decisions regarding appointments, transfers, promotions, finance and programs are all the responsibility of the local social affairs office. On a day-to-day basis, the institution is managed by a manager, who is accountable to the head of the local social affairs office.

In the case of government childcare institutions, the role played by the local social affairs office is dominant as this is organization that is ultimately responsible for the management of the institution. Its duties in this regard also extend to monitoring and evaluation. This differs from the situation the case of the private institutions, where monitoring and evaluation visits by officials of the local social affairs office are rare. In most cases, the local social affairs office only receives sufficient funding to visit a number of childcare institutions once per year, with the result that not all institutions receive visits. Outside of monitoring and evaluation, incidental visits may also take place should some form of special event be taking place in a childcare institution. Furthermore, visits may be conducted by officials of the local social affairs office should an audit or monitoring process be conducted by the provincial government or Ministry of Social Affairs. At the time the BBM subsidy program was being rolled out, opportunities arose for field visits by officials of l provincial social affairs office as part of the program's socialization process. To date, no external evaluation of the surveyed institutions is conducted by third parties, except in the case of those institutions that receive funding other than from the national or local budgets.

XIV. PATI: the DEPSOS Model

THE RESEARCH ALSO carried out an in-depth assessment of the quality of care provided in one of two childcare institutions run by the Ministry of Social Affairs, PSAA Tunas Bangsa in Pati, Central Java. This assessment was carried out separately from those of the 36 childcare institutions selected for this research as this institution is run by the Ministry as a model for other childcare institutions and is directly under its supervision. The aim of the assessment was to identify whether the services provided by this institution differed in approach or in quality to those provided by the childcare institutions selected under this research.[1]

PSAA Tunas Bangsa was first established in 1979 as a part of the 'children and family' welfare programme of the Provincial office of the Ministry of Social Affairs in Central Java. It started operating in 1981 with the aim of providing assistance to the orphans, the fatherless or motherless and neglected children.[2] At the time, the institution cared for 20 children and also ran a vocational

training unit for children who had dropped out of school. By 1986 the institution cared for 50 children, by 1994 it cared for 60 children and in 2007 it cared for 95 children under its residential care programme. Tunas Bangsa (from now on 'Pati') is based on a multi service approach whereby the institution actually delivers a range of services to different groups of vulnerable people. It provides not only residential care for children but also day care services for pre-school children in the surrounding community and services for the elderly. In addition, Pati also provides direct assistance to 23 children living with their families in the community.

Its vision and mission is to deliver professional services based on social solidarity which can be a model in social welfare assistance, with a particular focus on children and the elderly. While it continues to prioritise orphans, as one of the senior staff pointed out, 'it is hard to find orphans'. Instead Pati provides services primarily to 'neglected children', children from families that are poor. As was explained by the head of the institution,

> *"Generally they come from families that do not have the means, their parents are only agricultural workers and as a result they cannot afford the education of their children. I think they are safe because we can fulfil their needs for food, clothes and put them through school."*

As a result, the great majority of the 48 boys and 47 girls children being cared for in Pati still had parents with over 90% having one or both parents alive and only 6% being orphans. Both parents were alive in the case of 56% children, 20% were fatherless and 15% were motherless. In addition, the whereabouts of the fathers of 3 children was unknown.

In many ways, Pati is a model of a childcare institution and there is no doubt that the services it provides are better than in any of the 36 other institutions assessed under this research, including the other government run ones. Its facilities are comprehensive, in a modern compound which has a stated capacity of 120 children, but the head of the institution has recognised that the funds to care appropriately for such a number of children were not sufficient. Unlike other institutions, the management in Pati has not tried to make the money stretch to take in as many children as possible or as many as could be physically housed in the facility. Instead, the head of the institution has used the extra space creatively by renting the facilities and as a result getting not only extra funds for the services provided in the institution but also being able to develop its outreach in the community and provide assistance to more children and families directly.

Pati is a well resourced childcare institution. It has an annual budget which is twice that of UPRS, the childcare institution, also government run, which was found to have the highest budget of all the institutions assessed. In 2005, Pati was allocated by the Ministry of Social Affairs over USD 370,000 (the same amount was allocated in 2006 with a slight increase). A breakdown of its 2005 spending shows that about USD 64,000 went into services for children, USD 57,000 went into wages for its staff, USD 204,000 was used for the maintenance and renovations of buildings as well as new buildings, and about USD 11,000 went into administrative and office costs. Pati employs 34 staff, all of which are civil servants. Out of these, 10 people are functional social workers. While this may seem a lot, in actual fact it constitutes a ratio of 9/10 children per social workers, double the ratio suggested by the Ministry of Social Affairs in its guidelines on childcare institutions. In addition to the social workers there is: 1 head of the institution, 3 heads of sections, 5 managers, 7 care staffs, 2 instructors, one head of dormitory and 14 support staff. While it may seem that a great part of its budget goes into salaries, Pati in terms of staffing, actually only comes close to the actual requirement for running a residential care facility for that number of children. In terms of salaries, wages are low as for all civil servants with the highest paid official receiving USD 250 per month.

In terms of services for children, food was by far the biggest expenditure under the 2005 budget, at USD 36,700 or about 60% of the allocated budget for services to children.

Education costs amounted to about USD 7,000 or 11% of that budget, trainings (USD 7,400 or 12%), transport and support costs for home visits (USD 4,700 or 7.7%), health (USD 3,400 or 5.5%) and recreation (USD 1,200 or 2%).

The facilities are in almost all respects much better than those found in other childcare institutions including government ones. Children are housed in cottages of about 16 children divided into bedrooms occupied by 3-4 children on average. No adults live in the cottage but the house of the care staff is located in the compound and nearby the cottage for which they have responsibility. In that regard, this institution has a similar lay out than UPRS with carers not living with the children but unlike UPRS the care staff actually live on site and are interacting closely with the children in their care. All children have their own beds and bedding and each cottage has 3 separate bathrooms and toilets meaning that each bathroom and toilet is shared by 5 children. As with other institutions, children from different school levels are placed together to ensure that the older ones can take care of the younger ones and particularly make sure that they are able to clean their rooms and take care of themselves.

The fact that Pati it is deemed a model is not merely due to the fact that it has an impressive budget and some good facilities and human resource. There is no doubt that thanks to the creativity of its head, and the care and attention she and other staffs have put into their work, services provided to children are much more professional and there is a real attempt at considering not only the physical but also the psycho-social needs of children.

In terms of professional practice, Pati implements most of the DEPSOS Guidelines for the Provision of Child Care in Institutions and its approach mirrors that set out in the Manual for the standardization of the Social assistance institutions which we saw earlier in Section IV.

Its process for the admission of children begins with outreach activities to the communities. Teams go down to communities which are deemed particularly 'suitable' to 'socialise' the activities of the childcare institutions and to select potential candidates. Referrals are received from schools and community leaders. Children and their families are assessed for their suitability in terms of the criteria set by the institution including an assessment of the economic and social condition of the family of the potential candidate. The criteria used by the institution for selection include parental status with a priority given to orphans and single parent children as well as 'neglected children' and children from 'broken up' families. Another priority in the criteria for selection is age with children of primary school age being focused on in particular because, as explained by the head of the institution,

> *"Primary school children are still small and are easier to shape, provide direction to and guide. With children who are already at junior or even senior high school level, they already have mixed with a wide range of people and their behaviour has already*

shaped by outside influence before they come to the institution. This makes providing guidance to them a lot harder."

Other criteria used for the selection of candidates include the extent to which family take responsibility for the child, the school performance and the child's own enthusiasm at entering the institution. Children who fulfil other criteria including being from a family that is economically challenged, have been rejected in the past if they did not also perform well at school. This was explained as follows,

"I always take in consideration the 'input' and 'output'. If the 'input' is rotten, it's like cassava…you can try to do whatever you want with it, at the end it still smells bad; even though you may try to sell it, you won't be able to do so or if you are able to, the price will certainly have to be low. So we really need to be selective, if the criteria are not fulfilled we simply reject (the candidate)."

If the particular child fulfils the criteria, he or she will be registered. Pati has a long waiting list of children waiting to enter the institution including 22 children (13 girls and 9 boys) who were registered. All of these children are of primary school age and 17 of them still have both parents.

In addition to the above criteria, the child should not have a disability which could be 'an obstacle' to physical activities. Finally, the appropriate documentation should be available including the declaration of financial incapacity by the head of the village, a letter of recommendations from the local branch of the social affairs office and even, a letter from the head of the village certifying that the child is not yet married. A process called 'case conferencing' will be used to determine whether a child is suitable to be admitted and once the child is selected, to determine who his/her carer will be, which social worker will be his/her case worker and which cottage the child will live in. The child will be then be 'called up' and can be brought by his or her parent or by a teacher, local leader or a staff from the local branch of the social affairs office. In terms of home location, approximately half of the children in Pati are from the same district with the half coming from another district. One child summarised the process as,

"…the care staffs go looking in the villages… the head of the village looks for the parents…the care staff speaks with the head of the village, the head of the village speaks to the parents… the care staff speaks to the parents…"

While staffs in the institution spoke of the importance of family based care and that it was generally better for children to be cared by their families, it was also clear that where the family was deemed 'too poor' to care properly for their children, in particular pay for their education and provide a standard of living that was deemed suitable, the institution would see the child's best interest as being taken into the institution. As one staff explained,

"If the parents do not want to place their child in the institution, we clearly are not going to make them because in reality the best thing is for care to be provided within the family. But we explain to those parents that should they feel not be able any longer to pay for their child's education or provide reasonable standards of life to their child, we are ready to help."

In this context, what is understood as help is not providing assistance to the family so they can care for their child appropriately but instead for the child to be able to access better standards of life through placement in the institution.

Once a child is admitted, that boy and girl will enter a 7 day orientation period. During that time, the child is introduced to the institution and to the carers as well as other children. This period is used also to see whether the child will be able to adapt to the institution. This is the period where the institution assesses whether the child gets used to the place and stops crying or continues to be distraught and ask for his/her parent.

This is also the period during which the child is introduced to the institution's rules and what rights and obligations he or she has within that placement. This is explained in front of

the person who brought the child, whether a parent or another adult that took charge of bringing the child. The child's rights include receiving assistance from the institution until he or she graduates from senior high school. The child's obligation is to follow all of the rules, to study hard, and not to have a boyfriend or girlfriend. In addition, the child is required to enter technical/vocational school at the senior high school level (SMK) and not the general Senior High School (SMA). This is required in light of the economic situation of the child's family as a child who has graduated from SMK is thought to be more likely to find work.

A formal contract is signed between the childcare institution and the parents. It confirms that the parents willingly handed over their child to the institution, that they will continue to fulfil their parental responsibility according to the law and that the institution is obligated to provide assistance to the child as the replacement of the parents/guardian including food, a place to stay, education, and care in accordance with the financial capacity of the institution. The agreement also confirms the fact that should the child violate the rules of the institution he or she will be send home.

The substance of that agreement and the process of selection and admission confirm the fact that in Pati as with other childcare institution assessed, the primary aim of the placement is access to education. The placement is clear expected to run until the child graduates from senior high school and a child who cannot adapt and follow the rules will be send home. The care situation of the child is in itself not seen as key. While the majority of services it provided are collective and long term (until graduation), an individual assessment of the child is conducted and particular needs or issues faced by the child are identified and discussed by a social worker assigned to a group of children (1 social worker for 10 children). That assessment is basically to record what is the family situation of the child as well as what are the possible problems and needs of this particular child, strengths and weaknesses, as well as what assistance will be provided and for what purpose. The child's physical condition, character particularly whether she is shy or quiet, and the child's school performance constitutes some of the main factors that are assessed.

The fact that most services are clearly collective also means that this assessment and the 'care plan' it entails tends to be very generic in character.

Examples of what was written in those individual assessments included,

"What is hoped to be achieved (by the placement): to fulfil the needs of the child in a reasonable manner. Results to be reached: the child does well at school and is able to enter the school of his/her choice. What is expected of the child: to follow all the required activities in accordance with the schedule."

Part of the initial assessment which is carried out once the orientation period is over, is an assessment of the child's academic potential. As well as reviewing the records from school, a psychological test is done by the institution to determine whether the child should be categorised as superior, average or inferior. Those that are categorised as 'inferior' are then provided with extra lessons and guided by two staffs who ensure that that study time is particularly supervised and supported.

Regular assessment is carried out periodically, usually twice a week through the social counselling sessions carried out by the assigned social workers. These sessions seem to mainly provide an opportunity for the child to discuss any problems faced to their case worker and ask for support from them. Notes are regularly kept on the children's development although these tended to be quite generic in nature and in many cases a matter of ticking a check list (progress at school, health, appetite etc.)

Generally, it seems that progress at school and good adaptation in the institution is taken as the mark that all is well. In that regard, the work of the social workers and counsellors seemed to be about facilitating the placement and the child's education but did not consider whether the child's placement was appropriate or whether there could be other critical needs

which may need to be addressed. As with other childcare institutions, such needs would primarily arise when they resulted in problems, with the child's behaviour or progress in terms of education.

In addition to the social workers which were each assigned responsibility for 'case managing' ten children, the institution also provided 7 care staffs who lived with their families in houses next to the children's cottages. 1 care staff had responsibility over 15 children with male and female care staff supervising children of the same sex. The primary role of the care staff is to ensure the smooth running of children's daily activities, making sure their physical needs are met that including the provision of toiletries, medicine if the child is sick with a common problem, sorting out the fights between children and generally providing monitoring to make sure that all runs smoothly.

While relations were found to be good and generally relaxed with between the children and the care staff as well as with the social workers, these staff were seen to fill primarily a 'guidance role', motivating the children to study hard, to behave well, to perform their religious practice, do they homework, respect one another, ensure that they take care of their appearance and following the schedules on time. These roles they fulfilled in a positive way and violence or demeaning behaviour was not used or tolerated. The children were found to at ease with the staff and behaved with the confidence of children who know that the staffs are acting in their best interest. This was the case even with the daily "appel" which is meant to provide 'motivation' to the children each day before eating the evening meal and clearly bored the children. At the same time, it was seen as part of the efforts of the staff including the social workers to provide further guidance on the importance of studying or religious practice or more general motivation about life.

When it came to the most private matters though, particularly in relation to personal feelings, it was clear that children shared only these with their friends within the institution. The emphasis on children taking care of each other in the institution and acting like brothers and sisters while adult carers supervised and provided guidance also meant that children would tend to rely on each others for fulfilling emotional needs unless major problems occurred in which case they would go to their social workers. The need that children may have for love, emotional attachment and support was not identified as key. Mostly, children were seen as having reached a stage where they do not 'need' love from their parents or can do without. In that regard, it was striking that the concept of a child needing the love of parents was referred to, both by staffs in the institution and by one school teacher only in relation to children who were so young as to 'still need' their parents. Other

children were deemed grown up enough so they would primarily need guidance and physical as well as psychological support.

The institution saw the older children's responsibility to care for the younger ones, not just in terms of ensuring the child's personal care such as bathing, washing clothes but also as acting as a big 'sister' or 'brother' to the child. In many ways this is where the emotional attachments were expected to come from rather then from carers. In that context, Pati actually operated very much like a boarding school without a school. While adult supervision and even individual care and

attention were provided, this was primarily aimed to ensure that the children would be able to do well in their life in the institution and in particular in terms of their education. It did not look at the child in terms of his or her individual social and emotional development outside of that context.

This was evidenced both in the way the institution handled the care of the youngest children and the children's relationship with their families.

At the time of the research, a 6 year old girl had entered the institution for a period of orientation. The child's parents had separated and her mother had placed her in the institution as a result. The child cried herself to sleep every night and it was the older girls that consoled and cared for her. In that little girl's case, the attention and support provided by the older girls was indeed very visible and touching. Understanding her distress, the girls were observed taking turns to ensure that she was never left out at any time, always cuddled her, involved her in the activities and cheered her up. The institution allowed in this case the grandmother of the child to visit more often than usual to support the child's adaptation to her new environment and so she was allowed approximately once every ten days to visit the child and spend time with her. Whether this child's placement was in her best interest was considered primarily in terms of whether she could adapt or not. The question was, would she stop missing her mum and would she start to settle in, not was this the best approach to supporting that particular child or could alternative care arrangements be provided.

This was found to be the case not just as a result of the fact that the paradigm of residential care as the best option for children was well entrenched in that institution. While Pati, unlike other institutions assessed, had ten functional social workers and 7 carers, in actual fact few had any knowledge or training in child care or child development. Only one social worker had ever received specific training in social work practice and not related to children. Of the ten functional social workers, 7 had a high school diploma. While five staff had actually studied social work or social welfare at university, only one of them was worked as functional social workers, the others worked primarily as administrators. The rest of the staff had an educational background that included education, economy, finance, civil administration, governance and forestry. Out of the 10 functional social workers, only 3 had had previous experience of working in a residential institution before entering Pati and none had worked in a childcare institution. In addition, only three members of staff in the 34 had any experience of working with children before entering the institution.

This situation was clearly frustrating to the head of the institution who, as a result of the way the government social service system operates, had little control over the placement of staffs in her institution nor over the selection of candidates. As one staff explained,

> *"All of the civil servants here were dropped off from headquarters…just recently we received two graduates from STKS (the government School of Social Work), one a psychologist. They are new graduates who just finished their exams. Before we had people that were moved from Irian, Bengkulu, Lampung, Aceh, all of them just get dropped on us from headquarter, they were never requested.*

Even for those who are graduates of the Government of Social Work, there is no guarantee that they will have received even basic training in child development and childcare, let alone had working experience of caring for children. As a result, understanding the children's crucial stages of development, the role that attachment plays in that development or best practices in care were simply not part of the criteria used to select those who would be expected to play a key role and make some significant decisions about the lives of children. Childcare, even within a professional government institution is still considered simple, something for which no particular skills or knowledge are required, but is by product of managing children while they access education.

The fact that 'care' was seen to play such a small role even in the context of the much more professional and well resourced institution that is Pati, highlight a fundamental flaw in the understanding and approach to alternative care. This was highlighted clearly by the institution's approach to children's relationships with their families.

In one regard, Pati represented a significant advance from other childcare institutions. Parents were still clearly 'responsibilized' for their children even after they were placed in residential care. To ensure that this crucial responsibility is not broken by the placement and that parents are aware of their children's progress and involved in the outcome, the head of the institution put in place regular meeting times for children's parents at the institution. Once every three months, parents are invited to come to meet with the staff and discuss progress both in their children's lives and in their own situation. These regular meetings are not only provided they are facilitated by the institution which provides Rp 60,000 (USD 6) for the parent that comes to cover transportation costs and make up for them not being able to work on that day. For many families, without such assistance they would simply not be able to attend. In addition to reviewing children's progress, a number of activities are provided for parents including sessions on babies and children's health, small business skills, social networking and issues including dealing with teenage children. Those meetings represent a very important way for the parents to remain in touch with the institution although they do not always mean that the parents will be able to spend time with their child, as the children tend to be at school and the parents are in the meeting for much of that time. It nonetheless ensures that parents feel they have a stake in the progress of their child and are able to speak with staff and discuss issues that may have arisen.

While this represents a very positive step on the part of the institution to ensure that children and their families remain in contact, on the other hand, it was disappointing to find that regular relations between them outside of these visits were, paradoxically, restricted. While in principle it was stated that parents could visit anytime, it was clear that they were not encouraged to do so as it was feared that it would disrupt the education of the child and may be even initiate jealousies from children whose parents did not visit with such frequency.

As one staff explained, "*Parents are not restricted and they can visit their child anytime, but it is better if they do so at the regular set times because the institution already schedules meeting with parents once every three months and once after lebaran when they come to celebrate with us.*" [3]

Children were also only allowed to go home once a year, for lebaran and were not allowed to do so for school holidays. The institution felt that it was better for them to follow the educational activities that they had arranged for them during those periods. It was also stressed by some staff that the institution was not 'a hostel' whereby children could go home whenever they felt like it. This echoed very much the attitude of other childcare institutions and confirmed a real lack of understanding of the important role family relations play for children. The head of the institution on the other hand pointed to some more practical issues,

> *"In reality, I would have difficulties in explaining the budget from an administrative point of view if the children went home for the holidays. If they go home but the budget still provides for their living costs during that period, who is going to eat the food?"*

Behind this statement lies the reality that allocated government budgets are generally very inflexible and in many cases the head of the institution has had to deal with considerable bureaucracies to justify using funds to carry out activities which were clearly in the best interest of the children and in some cases, even supported by government policies such as assistance to children in their families. But it also underlines the more troubling fact that children's relationships with their families continue to be seen as optional and they are

made possible when they fit with the priorities of the institution rather than vice versa.

One of the cases identified during the research really highlighted what this meant in reality. In that case the boy was placed in the institution after he had heard about the facilities and the opportunities in terms of education provided by the institution. His family is very poor, his father who had worked previously as a tailor could not carry out this work anymore as a result of his seriously deteriorating eye sight. Their house is very simple and the family has to live day by day looking for opportunities to make ends meet. Despite this, the parents of the child did not want to place the child in institutional care. The father in particular was very close to his son and did not want to be separated from him. The boy insisted and eventually the family agreed although not without considerable sadness as explained by the child,

> *"My dad couldn't let me go… he couldn't sleep for days before I went …'be careful' he said, 'your mum and dad are not there with you, only carers'….2 days after I went there, he came to see me… he was crying…I was crying….I asked him, so what do you want me to do?... he said…well just stay there…it's already too late…"*

As the institution did not want the father too visit to often he had to find his own way of making sure his son was alright,

> *" we can rarely go the institution…I was once told off... 'you have to understand the situation in the institution…later there will be other (children) who will be jealous… if you want to come and have a look, you can do so during the set times for visits (once every 3 months)… so I go there and watch him from the road from time to time in the morning and at lunch time (when he goes out or comes back to school)… we meet on the road…that's already enough…the thing is I can see him… I feel relieved".*

While this family's life is indeed precarious, both parents are working hard at ensuring their children's well being including their education. The institution provided some livelihood support to the family in the form of a goat but it had to be sold. Despite the daily struggle, the family's two daughters are still at school in junior and senior high school respectively; a considerable achievement in those circumstances. It is not only the parents who are missing the boy but the sisters their brother. Meanwhile the children in the institution are missing out, not only on the love and emotional bonds their families provide but also on everything that a home environment actually can provide, even when it is a very basic home. As one child said,

> *"We miss our parents… only one comes for the (regular meeting)…other can't come…we miss the atmosphere at home."*

By limiting relationships between children, their families and their communities, the institution seems to be working really at odd with its own stated purpose of encouraging families to take responsibilities and its recognition of how difficult reintegration for the child will be, when he or she inevitably has to go home after graduation from high school. As the head of the institution herself explained about the process called 'resocialisation', which include 3 months of vocational training before the child is sent home after graduation,

> *"We offer this because we recognise the psychological impact that leaving care can have on children. You can imagine, children here get used to eating well, sleeping properly, they have plenty of friends, and then they have to go back to their families, which I am sorry to say, and I apologise for saying so, but as well as being really limited, for many children these are one and the same with the shed for the animals. This is what we pay attention to and we try to prepare the children mentally before we let them go by providing a resocialization process for 3 months."*

By not ensuring that children are not totally disconnected with their own world, not just emotionally but physically and socially, the institution simply postpones an even bigger sense of alienation when the time to go home and make a life in that reality finally comes. For children, this time will mean becoming

strangers everywhere, their own homes and the institutions where they spent considerable parts of their childhoods.

In many respects though, the management in Pati demonstrated a thoughtful approach to its work and real creativity in the way it delivered services for children. The head of the institution and some of its senior staff had clearly understood the residential care dilemma. If residential care is about providing particularly poor children with an institution so they can access an education and more adequate standards of life, there are countless other children out there who need to be taken from their families and placed in care. As the head of the institution pointed out, the placement of one child does not solve the problem for the other children within that family, let alone for the other children within that community and the solution cannot be to put them all in residential care. The fact that government rules do not allow more than one child per family to be placed in the same institution as also meant that assistance to the family had to be provided. As a result, Pati has taken on the challenge of providing services to the families of children who are in residential care as well as some children who remain with their families in the community.

The institution provides small loans to 36 families of some of the children to foster livelihood initiatives. The loans can be repaid over 13 payments and are made without interests. It has also provided direct assistance to 49 children (23 children in 2007). The assistance is usually for one year and is focused on supporting children who are in vocational school and whose families are facing serious economic difficulties. To make sure the children continue with their education, the institution pays for school fees, covers other school costs including books, uniforms, and shoes as well as providing food supplements. These children are often referred to by schools that identified children whose families are struggling to keep up with the costs of the education of their children. The criteria to receive the assistance is, again that the child performing well at school.

While the assistance providing by Pati highlights its understanding of the role it should play as a social welfare agency, a role that goes well beyond providing residential care services, it remains very ad hoc in nature and constitutes a very small part of the services it provides. In 2007, it allocated Rp 28,440,000 (USD 3000) for assistance to children outside of the institution, a very small percentage of its overall budget for services for children and a fraction compared to the USD 60,000 plus, it spent on direct assistance to the children in residential care for that period, let alone the USD 350,000 it spends on running that facility for a year.

Beyond the fact that it only reaches a small number of children and for a short period of time, this assistance, as with the other forms of assistance provided to the families of children who reside in Pati, is not provided in order to support family based care. Its focus is almost entirely on access to education. While there are clear links between the two have we have seen throughout this research, Pati's assistance is not aimed either on preventing a child entering institutional care or on supporting the reintegration of a child who already is in care, by empowering the family to care for the child themselves. These schemes are run quite independently of the care situation of these children and are additional

support for children from families who are facing real economic difficulties. It is not to say that these schemes are not needed, quite to the contrary. But at the same time this raises the fundamental question of whether the emphasis put on providing residential care for 95 children at such an enormous cost would not be best served by providing direct financial and psycho-social support to the thousands of families that are struggling to provide and, in some cases, care, for their children. In that context, there is an urgent need for a proper analysis of the real cost of institutional care in Indonesia compared with the cost of providing direct support to families in the community. While evidence from other countries across the globe point to the fact that institutional care is generally far more costly, particularly in the long term, in the context of Indonesia no such analysis has been carried out. In that regard, Pati does provide a very useful example of what a professional and adequately resourced residential care facility really cost. What is clear is that virtually none of the agencies which established the childcare institutions assessed under this research would have the budget to run such institutions and it is not likely that the central government would be able to run many such facilities itself.

From that perspective, Pati raises some very important questions about the future of social assistance to particularly vulnerable children. While there is no doubt that it provides far more professional services than all of the childcare institutions assessed in this research, its approach is in essence very similar to the others. Its senior managers have recognised a real paradox in the provision of services for so called 'neglected' children but as a social agency it has stopped short from actually asking the right question so that a proper diagnosis can be done and appropriate solutions found. It is within its grasp, though, to reconsider its role and approaches and to become a real model for the provision of alternative care in Indonesia.

Footnotes:

1 The full report of this assessment is also available with this research. See Appendix I.

2 The institution was established as 'Panti Asuhan (PA) Fajar Harapan' and changed its name to Panti Social Asuhan Anak (PSAA) Tunas Bangsa in 1986 when it was taken outside of the 'children and family welfare project' and came under the direct authority of the national Ministry of Social Affairs.

3 Wawancara Ketua Seksi PAS, No. Field Record: PSAA TUNAS BANGSA /PATI/JAWA TENGAH/1/2.7.6.

XV. Key Findings

The lack of 'care' in Care

One of the most striking findings from the research is the small role that care actually plays in childcare institutions. As we have seen, the terminology of care used by staff, and as understood by children, tends to relate mainly to the 'management' of children, or to administering to them as part of a process of providing access to education, whether formal or religious. Respondents (children, staff, managers and others) saw children being 'raised' ('memelihara' a term also used for pets), kept or provided with a place to stay ('menampung'), educated ('mendidik'), taken care of ('merawat'), their costs met ('membiayai'), guided ('membimbing) or assisted ('menyantuni'). Caring for children ('mengasuh) tended to be used in the context of 'taking care of' rather than 'caring for'.

The emphasis on providing access to education as the primary aim for most of the institutions combined with an understanding of children's needs as primarily material (food, a place to stay and the costs of education) or religious/ spiritual (religious teaching and practice) means that little attention is given to children's emotional, developmental or psycho-social needs. This was reflected particularly acutely when the institutions were assessed in relation to their professional practice in the care of children. Children's identification, selection and placement almost always related to their schooling needs. The need for a placement to be reviewed was only understood in terms of a child's performance at school or in terms of religious adherence rather than the child's changing care needs. None of the childcare institutions had really assessed whether a child needed residential care in the first place or whether a more suitable family based alternative was available, whether in the child's own extended family or in another family. Equally, after the child had been placed in the institution, there was no attempt at assessing the changing situation of his/her family, including that family's capacity to care, in order to reassess whether a child needed to continue in the institution or not. This was deemed clearly irrelevant to the placement. Where some form of review of placement did occur, it was invariably as the result of a child breaking what were deemed fundamental rules of the institution, not performing at school, not being able to adapt to life in the institution or the child actually running away.

Placement was invariably based on the schooling period and as such children were admitted from the outset for the entire period of schooling until graduation from senior high school.

This meant generally that the placement would last anything from 1 to 12 years depending on the age at which the child entered the institution. As we have seen a few children actually stayed beyond high school and some even for a life time as was the case for children in institutions run by the Hidayatullah network where the children are trained to become the organisation's 'Cadres', the next generation of staff and religious teachers to other children in either the same institution or another under the network. While there were a few institutions which accepted children who were younger and had not yet reached school age, these tended to be the exceptions but the purpose of the placement remained very clearly on accessing education.

In such a context, ***individual care plans identifying the aims of the placement, agreeing and reviewing the purpose of a child's placement, including through discussions with that particular boy or girl, or planning for the period of placement including for its termination were simply not considered in the vast majority of childcare institutions.***

The situation in relation to the few childcare institutions that emphasized the care role and family environment such as SOS Desa Taruna, Dr Lukas but also Sayap Kasih, an institution that cares for disabled children, was clearly different. While education remained an element of the services provided, at least for the first two, it was the care giving which was prioritised. As a result providing individual care and attention but also, developing secure and loving relationships was seen as a key part of the services provided by these institutions. On the other hand these institutions also saw their roles as 'replacing' the biological family. Children's placement was seen as permanent and the relationship

with biological families which many of these children naturally had were clearly discouraged except in the case of Sayap Kasih. As a result, in those institutions too, the review of a child's actual placement was simply not considered.

The emphasis given in most of the institutions on providing for either material or educational needs (formal or religious) also meant that very few institutions actually saw their role as providing individual services to individual children but instead providing the same access to food, a place to stay and education to all children without other differentiation than, in some instances, age and gender. Individual care concepts that would seek to respond to children's differing needs and situations were generally not available and not considered. As we have seen, it did not mean that institutions did not provide in some instances individual responses to children, but generally these were focused on responding after the fact to what was seen as 'a problem'. A child being ill, a child dropping out of school, breaking the rules, not integrating properly or not progressing were generally responded to at an individual level. ***Children were mostly recognised as individuals only when they were deemed to be problematic. Children's development was considered in terms of their adapting and integrating well within the confines of the institution as well as in terms of their education rather than in terms of a child's personal and individual well being and growth. Contact with families was generally discouraged*** except for the annual religious festivals and occasional short holidays but generally families were seen as potentially 'distracting', 'disturbing', 'imparing' the process of learning and even in some cases negatively influencing the child.

In that sense, the majority of childcare institutions were strikingly similar and could be characterised not so much as childcare institutions but as dormitories or hostels for children. This was found moreover to be the case not only for the private childcare institutions but also for the government ones. The majority of these institutions enable children to access education in the community where they are located and simply provide a place to stay and the means to live and study. Faith-based institutions additionally provide spiritual and moral guidance and supervision, ensuring children develop in terms of their faith and their religious practices and abide by them. In the case of the Islamic boarding schools where the school is usually located within the institution, the children's entire social environment is provided and defined by religion including, in some cases, the determination of their future and their relationships.

Because 'caring' was generally viewed and understood by the institutions as a by-product of children living in the institution rather than as the primary aim of the placement, it is not surprising that the need for professional carers or even having sufficient number of carers was not prioritised. The model used by most of the institution for 'managing' children was often referred to as 'familial' meaning 'informal'. Caring for children was deemed 'simple' and therefore 'the family way' of doing thing usually meant that there would be a head of institutions, his wife or husband, a few support staff and for those institutions that also ran schools, a number of teaching staff that doubled up as 'carers'. The skills and qualifications sought for those staff rarely related to caring for children. Instead, teaching qualifications, particularly in religious education, were prioritised in staff selection rather than professional skills in child development and care. While the situation was somewhat better in the

Government institutions and there were usually at least some professional staff given an explicit 'caring' role, with the notable exception of the DEPSOS Pati institution, staffs were in practice mainly 'administering' to the children in particular in terms of ensuring compliance with rules and applying sanctions for violations.

As a result, almost all of the childcare institutions had very low ratio of staff per child, at best reaching 1 staff for 10 children but for the majority, well below this. In addition, most staff occupied a range of positions at the same time and few were assigned to actually work with the children. ***In most institutions there were considerably fewer adults working full time with the children than their organograms or public profiles indicated. The picture provided by the overwhelming majority of childcare institutions surveyed is that of children caring for themselves with adults caring primarily for the institution.***

It is important to note that this was not necessarily as a result of neglect or lack of concern on the part of the institutions or staff but rather of the fact that most did not recognise the vital role that parental care and secure, meaningful and lasting relationships with significant adults play in a child's development. This was particularly obvious in relation to the majority of institutions' response to children's relationship with their families. The fact that contact between children and families was extremely restricted in almost all of the childcare institutions, and usually seen by managers and staff as potentially 'distracting' or 'undermining' of the objectives of the institutions, really highlighted this significant and worrying lack of understanding. While on the one hand the majority of the institutions operated like 'boarding schools' in providing little more than a place to stay and eat and paying for a child's education, in reality children in boarding schools are able to go back home at the very least for the school holidays. In the childcare institutions however, this was generally not seen as desirable except one a year for a very limited number of days, usually at Lebaran or other major religious celebration such as Christmas. At best, regular contact was not prohibited but it was also usually not facilitated. At worst, it was actually prohibited or actively discouraged. ***The fact that the research team met children who had not seen their families for up to five or even nine years in some cases, is seriously disturbing.***

The research also showed that despite an overt emphasis on supporting orphans, almost 90% of children in the childcare institutions surveyed, still had at least one parent with more than 56% that had both parents. It was clear from the research that the great majority of these children were neither parentless nor were they abandoned by their families. Instead they were placed in the institutions by their families primarily as a result of the economic situation in which they found themselves, probably combined, for some, with their social situation. The situation of children in some of the life stories provided in this report highlighted also remarriage and the social stigma as well as the economic pressure attached to being a single parent as playing a role in the placement of a number of cases. In the majority of cases however, it was clearly the parents' wishes for their children to access better conditions of life and a proper education that seemed to have been the primary reason for their placement in care. Further research is certainly needed to fully understand the likely complex reasons why families place children in institutional care in Indonesia. At the same

time, it was clear that with the exception of cases where children had been abused by their families or rejected usually by a step family, parents and families had not relinquished their role or responsibilities towards their children and were still willing to support them.

The real limitations placed on children in the institutions maintaining proper relationships not only with their parents but with their siblings, extended family and their friends in the community raises the crucial question of the role these childcare institutions see themselves as playing. ***The placement of a child in a childcare institution is not an absolute transfer of custody that erases the obligations and roles parents play towards their children.*** Even if a child is to live for a number of years in a residential institution, it is still his or her parents that are primarily responsible for that boy or girl. The strict ***restrictions on meetings between parents and children, as described above, instead undermine the crucial responsibility of parents and risk fundamentally alienating the child from the family and community to which she or he will ultimately return.*** Yet the institution's emphasis on providing education until the child graduates and the clear agreement that the child is to leave upon finishing senior high school also showed that the majority of institutions were clear that they were not providing permanent replacement for families, except for the two childcare institutions whose mandate was actually to do so. By not encouraging or supporting and even in some cases actively discouraging meaningful contact and relationships between the children and their families, the institutions are at risk of fundamentally undermining the bonds that are crucial not only to the emotional well being and growth of the child but essential to their socialisation and

their successful reintegration into their community after leaving the institution. The research in that regard raises some important questions about the impact that such prolonged separation from key carers and from the 'normalising' environment of families and communities can have on children longer term, particularly when secure figures of attachment and care are not provided or prioritised in these institutions. Further research is very much needed on the impact that such institutionalisation could be having on the children and what outcomes await them after graduation when they leave the institution and are having to reintegrate into families and communities which in many ways have become 'alien' to them.

Another consequence of the institutions viewing their role primarily as providing for children's material needs, in particular access to education, was that ***managing children was usually perceived as a matter of control and discipline. The institutions' staffs generally saw their role as ensuring the smooth operation of the institutions rather than the positive growth and development of the children placed in their care.*** If children were left to take care of one another, they were deemed to

require adult supervision and control to ensure their compliance with the rules and regulations. In that context, 'guidance', 'monitoring', 'discipline', 'someone to watch over them' were clearly understood as 'care' tasks and seen as essential to children's well being. In most cases this was seen to be the primary responsibility of those who were assigned 'care' functions. 'Care' in that context was always understood in terms of responding to problems although usually only in relation to what were seen as 'problems' in terms of the running of the facility rather than actual problems the child may be facing or feeling. These tended to relate mainly to disciplinary issues, the breaking of rules, refusal to integrate or behave according to set standards or not performing at school. The childcare institutions' relationship with the children in their care was strikingly illustrated in that regard by the admission process which entailed primarily a 'laying down the law' process by which the child and sometimes his or her family's agreement to abide by the institutions rules was secured. This emphasis on a contract of good behaviour was usually very one sided on the part of the institution and while there were some institutions which in turn referred to what the child could expect in return, it clearly set the relationship between the child and the institution as one of power. The child gets to access education and basic necessities and in return the child is to abide by the rules at all time, must be grateful, well-behaved, must adapt to the place or he or she will be expelled and their education ended. There was no room for negotiation or for discussing approaches, hopes, fears or expectations nor were opportunities provided for children's voices or choices. The contract was for providing room, board and school and in return the child was expected to fit into the needs and requirements of the institution.

This 'contract' in turn provided the key role for the staff in the institutions, managing the agreement to ensure that all ran smoothly and rules were not broken. For the faith based institutions, the contract also entailed abiding faithfully to all the religious rules and becoming an obedient and proficient follower. Children's total compliance was seen as crucial not only to the good running of the institution but also to the very mission that the institution had set for itself. The fact that 'many children' were waiting in the wings to enter the institution in order to access education meant that children could be expelled if compliance was not reached. While the institution's manager and staff did feel sorry in some instances for the child who was expelled, the issue was not where the child would go or who would take care of the child once expelled. It was clear for all that the child would return to his or her family thus demonstrating further that the issue of the child's care was never at the forefront of the institution's mission.

The emphasis in most institutions on children being compliant and obedient as this was what was 'best for them' meant adult supervision, monitoring and control invariably focused on addressing children's lack of compliance. This was seen as the primary role for staff in the institutions and in particular the head of the institution and care staff. When children broke rules, fought, did not adapt or where issues arose at schools, adult staff would intervene and the child would be called up. This was the one time where otherwise collective service delivery tended to become individualised and in itself this obviously created a problematic dynamic. To ensure children's compliance, most of the institutions ran quite disciplinarian system

either in style or in terms of the sanctions. Government childcare institutions generally tended to have a rather militaristic style of operating with 'appel', 'call-up', 'lining up', 'public hearings' and in terms of sanctions, push ups, roll over, crawling and running or even in one instance collective beatings. Faith based institutions with strong regimes of rules and practices, in particular some of the more traditional Islamic based child care institutions emphasized abiding by religious rules and teachings. Sanctions usually involved further religious teachings and exhortation, caning, hitting, public humiliation by shaving heads or soaking in dirty water. The use of violence in particular physical and psychological punishment was found to be prevalent in the great majority of institutions. Worryingly both staff and children had come to accept this as part of the normal daily life in the institutions and the reasons for children violating the rules was never considered nor why, despite the use of physical punishment, children would continue to break the rules. At the extreme were regimes of control and discipline which left children feeling humiliated, angy and sad. Children would run away to escape or would submit themselves knowing that this was the only avenue for them to secure an education. ***There are serious concerns about the ability of these models to meet children's developmental needs and enable them to grow into mature, responsible, active citizens. The practice of forcing children to engage in violence against each other as part of a sanctioning process is particularly problematic.***

On a more positive note, a few institutions were found to be moving away from the use of physical punishment although in many instances staff's statements in that regard were not corroborated by children who reported the continous use of such sanctions. Still, greater awareness at least in a handful of the institutions about the Child Protection Law seemed to have led to some reconsideration. In others, the rethinking seemed to have been triggered by particularly serious cases where physical punishment was seen to have gone 'overboard' and some staff had objected. The fact that in one institution a manager was replaced as a result of his systematic use of violence and complaints by both children and staff is good news. The fact that he was then appointed to head the school run by the founding organisation is not.

Despite some positive signs in a few instances, it was deeply worrying to find that only one institution out of the 37 assessed under this research had a child protection policy in place or any type of mechanism to identify and respond to violence against children. This situation puts children in institutions in a very difficult and vulnerable situation because they are often cut off from their families and communities and there are no mechanisms in place for them to report violence against them, let alone to prevent it from happening. They are left totally unprotected and violence is left unchecked with accountability seemingly only being triggered in cases that are so socially repugnant as to come to the attention of the surrounding community, as in the case of a girl raped and made pregnant by a male carer in one of the institutions.

Children clearly felt that humiliating and degrading treatment including verbal abuse was just as bad as physical punishment and in some cases even worse. ***The constant 'belittling' of children and pejorative references to their status as 'neglected, abandoned children, orphans or children of destitute families' in some of the institutions not only undermined***

children's self esteem and feelings of dignity, it contrasted starkly with the high ethical and religious values professed by these institutions. Much work needs to be done to eradicate violence in the childcare institutions and instil not only respect for children as individuals but support a shift from a highly disciplinarian system of management to one which is based on positive forms of control and discipline. To achieve this will require not only far better understanding by those working in the childcare institutions of child rights and child development but also the development of different roles and relationships for adult carers so that on going and individual support for children is seen by them as their primary responsibility rather than the enforcement of rules.

It was clearly not incidental that the childcare institutions which focused on providing a familial environment not just in name but in practice did not generally need to resort to such violence and that respect between children and their carers tended to prevail without the use of violence. Children's compliance was not seen to play such a key role in those institutions. There was also generally a much better ratio of carers to child enabling better relationships between them and the development of trust and confidence needed to support positive forms of discipline.

Whose 'best interest'?

The emphasis in almost all of the childcare institutions assessed on providing access to education meant that almost none of them focused on children who may actually have a specific need for alternative care, either as a result of violence in the family or other protection risks. While there were a few cases of children who had entered care as a result of suffering violence at the hands of their family or who had been abandoned, these children were not prioritised in any way and virtually no specific services were provided for them. There were some exceptions to this such as Sayap Kasih which focused on caring for children with severe disability and Caleb House which focused on children affected by the conflict in Maluku. In most instances it was found that the childcare institutions were not ready to care for children who had any particular 'needs'. This was explained by the institutions in terms of the limited number of staff operating in the institution and the lack of capacity to respond to 'such needs' or in some cases as simply not wanting 'to bother'. In that context, the selection criteria for children and the recruitment process put in place by the great majority of institutions really highlighted the fact that the needs of the institutions were given clear priority over the needs of children.

This emphasis seemed to result partly from institutions having made as their primary goal providing access to education whether formal or religious. Most of the childcare institutions were found to be run according to the needs of the institution or organisation. Filling quotas and in particular replacing those children who left care as they had graduated from school were the primary consideration in terms of selection. For the faith based institutions which aimed to develop the next generation of its 'Cadres' or members, an additional consideration was the needs of the organisation and the capacity of its network and institutions to absorb new recruits. In addition to children having to be of school age as the result of the focus on providing education, the most common selection criteria among the childcare institutions surveyed was that children had to be old enough to be able to 'take care of themselves'.

The rationale behind this criteria was invariably explained in terms of the limited number of staff who could actually do the 'caring' and therefore children were expected to be able to clean, wash and contribute to the running of the institution. This could be taken to be a singular acknowledgement on the part of childcare institutions but it also highlighted quite strikingly the basis on which 'care' was understood to be given. ***The research found in fact that children were generally expected not only to take care of themselves but also to do most of the caring for other children. In addition, in almost all of the institutions children were obligated to carry out a range of chores that were not simply about learning 'life skills' as often presented but which were indeed crucial to the actual running of the institutions.*** While there is no doubt that contributing to domestic chores can be an important way for children to learn important skills as well as to learn responsibility and feel that they are contributing to their living environment, it was found that ***in most of the institutions the children were not just providing support to adult staff but they were actually carrying out work instead of staff. In other words, without them the institutions would simply not be able to operate*** as they would not have been the required support staff to clean, cook and wash. For a childcare institution with 111 children to only have one cook, as was found in one of the Government institutions, meant that, in effect children had to replace the extra staff that were needed to run this institution. The fact that 21 of the 36 childcare institution did not have an assigned cook clearly highlighted that children's work was deemed part and parcel of the way these institutions were run. Without this work, the institutions would have had to hire more staff and as such a vicious circle whereby staff were not seen as needed and children were made to work prevailed.

It was particularly interesting to note that the argument advanced by many of the institutions for children's placement was so that they could not only get their education paid for but also so that they could concentrate on their studies properly as in their homes they would have had to contribute to their family's domestic work. The fact that children spent a considerable part of their days in the institutions doing chores or other work puts into questions such arguments. In one such institution where education was meant to be the primary focus, children were even called called back in the middle of their school lessons so that they could finish the cooking or cleaning in the institution. The fact also that in a number of institutions surveyed, children's work was found to extend further to work carried out to contribute to the economy of the institution, raises even more problematic questions about the

extent to which these institutions are being run for children or by children. ***When children become not only the basis on which institutions can raise funds but also the tools to do so, it raises serious questions not only about ethical and professional practice but also about respect for children's rights.***

Children 'taking care of themselves' was also shown by the research to be literally true in the majority of institutions. The lack of focus on providing care or the belief that it was primarily about providing a roof, food and the school fees meant that not only was little attention paid to children's emotional and social needs but also that the adults' focus was firmly fixed on what were seen as the needs of the institution rather than that of the children. For some of the institutions it meant a busy head of institution with a handful of staff carrying out a whole range of tasks from teaching at the local school, fundraising, local advocacy and community relations, religious leaderships, organising rosters, preparing children's fees or snack money, working out the food, admitting new children, sorting out school issues and other similar tasks which monopolised most of their time. Even in the institutions where given 'carers' were identified to manage a particular dormitory or cottage, they were usually also combining that task with other roles such as teaching at the local school or being the cook. ***The lack of staff in almost all of the institutions was found not to be just the result of lack of funding but also of a lack of recognition of the importance of having responsible adults providing individual care and attention to children.*** Even in government institutions where the number of staff was generally higher than in private institutions, staff in charge of caring for individual children were rarely found and usually only on paper rather than in practice. Those staff often saw their roles in terms of 'managing' children and in particular disciplining them rather than developing personal and ongoing individual relationships with them. This is particularly suprising in a context where children's placements are known to be long term. Under the present system, a child who enters the institution is expected to be staying there for the entire period of schooling until high school which can be a considerable number of years. Thus on the face of it, developing longer term relationships between the staff and children could be seen as easier and even more crucial than if children were only placed there temporarily.

As a result of this lack of adult 'care', children were not only required to take care of themselves in most institutions but also of other children. A system of 'siblings' (younger children being cared by older children) was used in almost all of the institutions so that the older children would guide, direct and manage the younger children to ensure that daily activities ran smoothly and clothes got washed, children were ready to go to school, got back on time, and everybody would be ready to eat or sleep at the given time. One of the more positive findings from this research is the extent to which children actually took on that care role far more extensively than envisaged by the adults and not just between children of different ages. Relationships between the children were found to be extremely protective including in mixed institutions that allowed contacts between boys and girls. While this did not rule out instances of bullying between children, the extent to which children were protective of one another and would work together to surmount not just the daily life problems but fundamental emotional needs was clear to see in all of the institutions. ***Peers provided the most important and closest relationships for children and***

were invariably identified by them as the greatest source of support and often the only avenue for confiding personal problems and challenges. When asked to identify who they could talk to, who they confided in and who was the closest to them, children always identified other children in the institutions. Those bonds were also clearly seen when children felt particularly down or faced serious challenges including missing their families, wanting to run away, not be able to stand life in the institution or being punished and sanctioned. Children rarely identified staff on the other hand as being close to them and when they did it was usually in institutions that had either focused on care giving within a foster family or in institutions where a staff member had personally invested in relationships with some of the children.

Primary support though was provided by other children and that entailed not only confiding in one another but also 'managing' the adults, solving problems, and defending one another against the 'outside', whether teasing children at school or violent teachers and care staff. Children were clearly drawing their resilience from these crucial relationships and it was also evident that the fear of being separated from these key relationships were also one of the main challenges for those whose graduation grew near. The emotional impact of losing once more in their lives key figures of attachment once they graduated and of having to leave their friends behind, as well as the prospect of returning to families and communities that had in many ways become strangers to them, raises some important issues about the impact of long term institutionalisation of children in Indonesia which needs to be looked into.

Ironically, ***while children were seen as so key to the running of most of the institutions and entrusted with a range of tasks to encourage the development of 'life skills', children were found not to be involved in any of the decisions affecting their lives in most of the institutions***. The only exception to this related to the choice of school particularly the type of education (technical school or formal) when they were about to graduate from junior high school and about to enrol to senior levels. While there were a few notable exceptions, outside of the choice of senior school, children generally were not provided with any opportunities to either express their views or ideas or to participate in the decisions that governed their daily lives. Children's participation was simply deemed not practical as adults felt that they would be likely to ask for 'impractical' things or request things which the institution could not afford. In some instances it was seen as inappropriate as it would 'spoil' them, or simply was just not an issue as the culture and emphasis in some of the institutions was on adult control and children's obedience. Children were there to be 'educated' and that entailed complying with set rules and regulations and following closely the requirements of their religion and the command of adults who knew better. There was rarely any room for discussion with adults except on adults terms. Children were often brought together for 'discussions' but these were generally opportunities for adults to provide explanations about religious teachings or provide spiritual guidance or to reinforce the importance of complying with the rules particularly governing appropriate behaviour.

It is surprising that in a context where children were clearly deemed to be able to take on a range of roles and responsibilities, they were on the other

hand, not deemed to be able to contribute to any decision about their lives or about matters that affected them. In that sense it was not just children's choices that were limited but children's right to express their views and think through options and solutions to issues that were clearly relevant to their daily lives. This paradox of 'over-responsibilizing' children while at the same time denying them the right and opportunity to develop the crucial skills required to make choices and consider options in a thoughtful manner really highlights the fact that the majority of childcare institutions continue to raise children in a manner that may not be conducive to developing their full potential as active responsible adults and citizens, contributing fully to their communities and society.

Supporting Children's Care and Education

The conflation between what is good for children with whatever the institution can provide means that the 'institution's best interest' comes over time to be understood to be also 'the child's best interest'. This came through particularly strongly when managers and staff were asked about the vision and mission of their institutions and the aims of the services they provided to children. In the great majority of cases, the institutions clearly equated the goal of their institution with children's best interests. Whether it was the creation of new 'cadres' for the religious organisation or creating clever children to benefit their families or their nation, children were seen both as objects and as tools to further a higher goal and it was 'children' collectively rather than the individual children in their care that were to serve that vision.

There is no doubt that access to education is not only a child's fundamental right but is also crucial to their future and the future of their communities and societies. In that sense, it is clear that childcare institutions that enable children to access formal education are working to fulfil an important child right. However the question has to be asked whether the approach taken to fulfilling that right is in the child's best interest, i.e did the child need to be removed from his or her family and alienated from the fundamental emotional and social relationships needed for that girl or boy's full development in order to access education. ***This basic and vital question does not seem to have been asked at all in almost any of the institutions assessed under this research. Should children and families have to choose between two equally fundamental and important rights as the right to family life and the right to education?*** In that regard this research has confirmed David Tolfree's perceptive conclusion that, *"Most institutions resemble a medical prescription which has been made without a preceding diagnosis. Many organisations which provide institutional care seem to assume that the 'answer' to the problems of vulnerable children is residential care, but the 'question' is neither posed nor explored."*[1] This research has seen no evidence that such a choice is either necessary, cost effective or beneficial in Indonesian society.

One reason why questions about the efficiency or desirability of the appalling choice many poor children have to face between family life or education have never been asked in Indonesia may be because of the cyclical nature of the institutions response –need model. For whatever reason institutions come into existence, once they are established they require funding and to access funding they require 'clients'. Institutions can only run if they

can access considerable funding from the government and from the community. They can only do this if they have children in their care. ***Once government, donors and communities provide support to an established institution, they must continue to support it financially if they are not to lose their original investment. In that sense children become commodities in an established cyclical funding mechanism that actively discourages examination of internal effectiveness, efficiency or equity of external alternatives and options***. It was a striking finding of this research that many of the childcare institutions assessed had begun as personal initiatives from well meaning people concerned about the welfare of children in their communities. Usually a handful of children were gathered and cared for in that person's private home. Then it made sense for the person to seek more permanent funding to care for these children and soon an institution was born. As this research has shown, ***very few of the children in the institutions assessed were in fact orphans, parentless or without families but no assessment had ever been carried out as to whether direct support to these children's families in the form of scholarships or financial assistance would secure the child's education, without placement in an institution.*** This is not to say that only financial considerations prevail in the placement of the child in the institution to access education. It could be that there is no good school in the community where the child lives or that religious education is not available. It could be that there is no public transport to the nearest Senior High School which are far fewer in numbers in Indonesia and often only available at the sub-district level which can be a considerable distance from the child's home. It could be that there is a history of family violence and that being in that family is actually not in the child's best interest. But very little practical consideration is given to options to resolve these issues while the child remains at home. Institutions have been established and as far as they or other stakeholders are concerned, it is much easier to take the child in and to be able to apply for funding so that the child can go to school. The fact that families obviously find it hard to access such assistance when institutions are able to do so relatively easily raises some real questions about the effectiveness and appropriateness of the social welfare system.

This focus on the needs of the institutions rather than the needs of the children was found to be all the more unavoidable as a result of the Government's assistance schemes including the BBM subsidy which target financial assistance not to children or to their families but to childcare institutions. The fact that this assistance is provided per child was found in this research to be a real incentive for childcare institutions to recruit sufficient number of children to access the maximum assistance. The reality is that many of these individual initiatives were

developed into full blown institutions not as a result of a proper assessment of children's situations but as a result of the availability of funding. In one clear case, a Hindu organisation which previously provided direct financial support to impoverished families in the community found that the only funding it could access from the government was through opening a childcare institution and so it did and went looking for the children. In many cases, Islamic boarding schools in search of more diverse funding bases identified that by establishing a 'panti', a child care institution in their boarding school they could access more government funding. Such a situation encourages recruitment by childcare institutions to get children and keep them rather than to respond to the needs of particularly vulnerable families and support the crucial role of the family as the unit with the primary responsibility for the care and protection of children. Ensuring sufficient numbers of children in the institution in order to access the required financial assistance underlines the reality that it is generally the institution's own needs rather than the children's needs that are generally the basis for recruitment and for placement. Again this is not to say that childcare institutions are necessarily in the business of making institutions or that these are not genuine attempts at providing assistance to very vulnerable children and families which may not otherwise be available to them. The question remains why is it not available to these children and families directly? And is this the most appropriate and cost effective way of providing support to children?

The general lack of data severely hampers the ability to understand how the care situation of children is changing in Indonesia. In relation to their institutionalisation, this is particularly problematic precisely because it also severely hinders any exploration of the challenges faced by families in caring for their children. It also means that no proper assessment can be made of whether key Government initiatives to support the poorest and most vulnerable families are working or not. In response to the 1990's severe economic crisis that hit Indonesia, a number of important safety net programmes were initiated by the Government to support the most vulnerable families to cope and in particular to ensure access to health and education. These programmes supported by the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank were generally recognised to have had a positive impact at least in terms of limiting the worst impact of that crisis on the capacity of families to afford their children's education by providing scholarship schemes and other financial assistance.[2] Similarly, the government's Operational Aid to Schools *(Bantuan Operasional Sekolah BOS)* initiated in 2005 aims to guarantee the 9 year compulsory schooling policy by subsidising the costs of education for families directly through the schools as well as through a smaller system of direct scholarships.[3] The extent to which these had or are having an impact on the most vulnerable families' capacity to ensure access to education without having to resort to placing their children in institutional care is really in need of further exploration. If the apparent strong links between access to education and placement in institutional care are confirmed, it would be essential to understand why such interventions are failing to ensure that a significant percentage of families are able to secure education for their children. The Government would then be in a much better position to ensure that its social interventions towards the most vulnerable members of the communities are actually appropriately targeted and are in fact working.

A shift of paradigm

The fact that there is in effect no regulatory system for childcare institutions in Indonesia and that anyone can establish a childcare institution is deeply worrying. It means that anyone can seek and get funding to establish such an institution, that no particular professional competence, skills or suitability to work with children are required and that even if a particular institution is found to be clearly violating children's rights or is unable to abide by standards of care there is no legal or policy basis for forcing the organisation to remedy that situation or to shut it down. This situation means that little if any protection is provided to children who live in many cases the greater part of their childhood in institutional care and that the government is unable to fulfil its ultimate role and responsibility for the protection of these children. ***The lack of data available across Indonesia about children placed in care and about the institutions themselves while at the same time sustained funding is being poured into considerable numbers of these institutions, means that the government is not in a position to know in any concrete way whether the assistance it is providing is having the desired impact or even whether it is going to the children that need it the most.*** Evidence from this research pointed in fact to the counter productive impact of the BBM Subsidy in relation to the Government's attempts at promoting family based care. The Subsidy is not only encouraging the growth in the number of childcare institutions across Indonesia, it is promoting the recruitment of children away from their family and their institutionalisation in order to access crucial assistance.

This situation also means that the Government is not in a position to know whether the policies and guidelines it has developed in relation to the provision of services in childcare institutions and outside of childcare institutions are actually being implemented or whether they are relevant and support good care practices. ***This research found a serious gap between the legal and policy framework developed and updated regularly in Jakarta by the central government and the reality of what is happening on the ground.*** This is very likely to be the case not just for the 37 childcare institutions surveyed in this research but also for the thousands of unregulated childcare institutions across the country. The research identified only tenuous links between the legal and policy framework developed by the Government and implementation on the ground. While the situation was better in the handful of government institutions which had at least in some cases heard about the Child Protection Law and less frequently about the DEPSOS Guidelines for childcare institutions, government institutions only constitute a tiny percentage of the vast numbers of childcare institutions operating therefore without guidance or standards in Indonesia.

This gap was found not just at the level of professionalism or capacity to deliver services but also in terms of the core understanding of what childcare institutions should be about and who they should be helping. Most childcare institutions surveyed were not aware that there were actually standards and laws that might be applicable to them and to the provision of services for children in need of protection. With some notable exceptions, childcare institutions did not view their role and responsibility in terms of supporting, replacing momentarily or even permanently the fundamental role of parents but only

providing for basic needs such as food, accommodation and education. In some ways, it could be said that this is actually in line with the policy framework provided by the Ministry of Social Affairs. As we saw earlier, the guidelines provided are based on a fairly narrow understanding of the 'parental role' and focuses on the provision of mainly residential care to fulfil the material needs of a vast group of so called 'neglected children'. Law no 23 on Child Protection (2002) however, provides a very different framework for the provision of child protection services. In particular it recognises clearly that ***the fundamental responsibility of the government and of agencies delivering services to vulnerable children should first and foremost be to provide support to these children's families so that they can fulfil their primary responsibility towards them.*** The Government is now facing the important challenge of translating that law into concrete policies which move away from a model of child protection services focused primarily on the provision of residential care. Instead it needs to provide concrete guidance about what alternative services, and what approaches are appropriate to protect children in their families and communities. In that sense it needs to oversee an important paradigm shift which was initiated by the ratification of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child and the adoption of Law No 23 on Child Protection but has yet to be translated into in policies, practice and resource allocation.

A number of key social functions are heavily dependent on a family's capacity to withstand and recover from a crisis whether personal, social or environmental. By supporting that basic social unit the Government is thus not just ensuring that a group ranging from anything from 2 to sometimes more than 30 people is able to survive but that it is able to play its role fully and not become dependent on others (state or community). The family's primary responsibility for the care and protection of children, a fundamental social function, can be particularly challenged by a range of factors including economic ones. The very nature of the family forces it to make continual choices between the survival and well being of its members and investing in its future, its children. As a result interventions should aim to strengthen the capacity of families to play their role fully, including empowering them to play that dual function fully. Economic stability for a family means to be able not only to eat but also to care for its young ones and its elderly, as well as other potentially vulnerable members. This means being able to afford the children's education, their clothes, their food, a home base, and being able to achieve a meaningful social role for the family members. In a context where interventions to support the most vulnerable families are not accessible directly by that family but only through the placement of their children in a child care institution, the crucial double role of the family as the fundamental social and economic unit can be seriously undermined. Right now government assistance and the

strong focus on delivering assistance through childcare institutions by both faith based and community based organisations is highly likely to be undermining the capacity of families to cope for themselves.

In that regard Indonesia is at a critical crossroad. With the adoption of Law No 23 on Child Protection it has recognised the fundamental responsibility of the State to support families as the social unit with primary responsibility for the care of children. On the other hand, the prevalent paradigm in terms of social welfare and the welfare of children continues to be based on a system that inherently undermines the role of families or at best does not support it. This is the case despite the fact that ***the vast majority of children in Indonesia who are without parental care or whose parents are unable to care for them are being cared for by members of their families including grandparents, aunts and uncles or other relatives. Yet no support services are in place to ensure these families are able to play that crucial role in the care and protection of children.*** The support system for family based alternative care needs to be built and there needs to be a determined shift away from residential care responses. This means direct support services to families that are both financial and psycho-social and this is probably where community organisations including faith based organisations can best play their role as they are able to reach communities at the very grassroot level across Indonesia. But these organisations also need to operate within a legal and policy framework set by the Government including guidance, standards for service delivery and monitoring.

In this context ***it will be crucial that Government programmes aiming to empower families and provide assistance to them and their children work within a common policy framework and develop a concerted approach.*** At the present time, two separate Directorates in the Ministry of Social Affairs, one for the Empowerment of Families and one for Social Services for Children are located under two different Directorates General and are operating completely separately from one another. The need for both to not only work closely together but actually to adopt a complementary vision and strategy is clear if the goal of supporting families to fully perform their crucial social role is to be achieved. Another Directorate General in the Ministry, the Directorate General for Social Assitance and Social Insurance is looking at economic assistance to the most vulnerable households. It has recently initated with the World Bank an ambitious and interesting pilot of conditional cash assistance to vulnerable families, the *Hope for Families Programme (*Program Keluarga Harapan- PKH). This represents a good initiative that has the potential to really link families' capacity to care with their capacity to cope economically but again, the understanding of what that 'care' role means is narrowly defined to nutrition and children being at school. Such support needs to be also targeted to families which face particular challenges in the care of their children, such as single parent households, widows and widowers, households providing kinship care (including those headed by grandparents), and other non kinship forms of foster families. In addition it needs to be linked to the crucial delivery not just of economic support but also of psycho-social support that targets the family's other key social roles and responsibilities for the care and protection of children.

Direct interventions in the community must also be provided to ensure families are able to appropriately and adequately

perform their care role. The assumption sometimes made that if a family is financially empowered this will necessarily means that they will be able to fulfil their role towards their children appropriately is clearly shown to be erroneous by all of the statistics on violence against children. Poor parenting, violence against children, neglect and the exploitation of children sometimes at the hands of their families all require child protection services that are able to prevent and respond to the child's situation appropriately and immediately in a way that is also in his or her best interest and that does not include over-reliance on inappropriate residential care solutions. ***To make residential care really the last resort requires community level services that are accessible by children, their families and other responsible members of the community and that can respond quickly and effectively.*** Without these, the child will not only face the risk of serious harm but the likely response will be to remove that boy or girl and place them in institutional care whether more appropriate solutions are available or not. ***This will entail not just a shift of thinking, of policy and of law, it will also require a change in the way social work is delivered and social services resourced. It will mean the development of a workforce of social workers that are actively interacting with children and their families and handling cases.*** The present social work system in Indonesia is relying heavily on civil servants who are primarily desk based and operating within a bureaucracy rather than practitioners working in communities. Meanwhile the social work carried out on the ground by community and faith based groups remains generally unsupported and unregulated. A shift towards direct services in the community that are not only remedial but also preventative will require a serious investment in human resources and a tremendous capacity building exercise as well as a shift in the way resources and budgets are allocated.

A shift towards direct services for children and families away from institutional care will also require an alternative care system that is supported and regulated. In order to make residential care truly a last resort, alternative family based care should be encouraged, supported and provided with a legal and policy framework within which it can operate truly as the best alternative for the child. Again this entails recognising the enormous role that extended families play in the care of children without parental care in Indonesia. Single parents should be supported through legal, economic and social measures to empower them and enable them to play fully their role in relation to their children. Kinship care should be encouraged and supported including by focusing assistance to vulnerable families that are caring for children who are without parental care. Indonesia has no formal fostering system outside of kinship care and while the priority should continue to be on supporting kinship care, the research also highlighted the fact that a small number of children cannot be cared for by their families. While informal fostering by non relatives is widely seen in Indonesia including by neighbours or other individuals who come forward to take responsibility for a child, there is no regulatory framework for such care arrangements and again no support available for the crucial role played by these families. ***Developing a formal fostering system including by non relatives is essential to the development of a range of family based care options for children without parental care*** and also to ensure that such placements really offer the care and

protection that children are entitled to. In that regard, to ensure that formal fostering does not undermine the crucial role kinship care plays in Indonesia and to avoid it becoming a means of securing livelihood or a business, it will be very important to consider carefully how such a system can be effectively regulated as well as supported.

The fact that none of the childcare institutions that cared for babies and infants had considered supporting the placement of these children in an alternative family environment, whether through fostering or more permanent care options for children who have no family, highlights the fact that the provision of family based alternative care continues to be seen as a last resort rather than a first resort. Despite the fact that the Law on Child Protection provides a strong basis for such alternatives, the research found that institutions caring for the younger children had either not considered or dismissed out of hand such solutions. This seemed to stem not only from a lack of understanding of the importance of a family environment for children who are at critical stages of their development but also in some cases from the reality that the interests of the institutions were being put before the best interest of the children.

Finally, ***the findings from this research highlight in no uncertain term the urgent need for institutional care to be regulated in Indonesia***. This is essential if the Government of Indonesia is to fulfil its responsibility towards children without parental care. The government is responsible to ensure that the rights of Indonesian children are fulfilled and it has a direct responsibility for the hundreds of thousands of children who are in effect in its care as they are no longer under parental care. It must ensure that childcare institutions actually do provide care for children and that the services provided, not only by government run institutions but also by the thousands of privately run institutions, abide by clear quality standards which are in line with national and international standards on child rights and child protection. A regulatory system is also essential, if the Government is to ensure that children only enter institutional care when it is clearly in their best interest and not because it is in the interest of the institutions themselves. The important social role played by community and faith based organisations in Indonesia represents an exceptional opportunity to harness such deeply rooted commitment and sense of social responsibility together with a significant capacity to act, to secure the care and protection of those that most need it including children in need of protection. But it does not relieve the government of its ultimate responsibility in ensuring that children's rights are fulfilled and that the response to their protection needs are appropriate and effective. A licensing system for institutions aiming to care for children must be put in place to ensure that those that aim to provide such services are competent to do so but also to make sure that whatever service they deliver are professional and abide by some clear standards of care. It will also ensure that the situation of children in care and of childcare institutions is finally known and that appropriate data can be collected and used to ensure that responses and interventions towards children in care are effective and appropriate. In the same way that there are regulations for services provided under the education system and the health system, regulations for the care system must be in place and a oversight body put in place not only to inspect and monitor the services provided by childcare institutions but also to identify the needs

for support, training, capacity building as well as financial assistance.

This regulatory system will play a crucial role not only in ensuring that services provided in childcare institutions abide by some fundamental standards, but also in ensuring that an appropriate legal basis is provided for the delivery of the services as well as for the placement of the children in care. The development of a regulatory system for alternative care including residential care provides in itself an enormous opportunity for Indonesia to review not just how alternative care is best delivered for children but also how the child protection system should operate.

Moving away from entrenched and overwhelming reliance on residential care in Indonesia is not just about addressing the needs of a particular group of children, such as 'neglected children'. Instead, it is about responding to the needs of all children who, for whatever reasons, are in need of care and protection. It is about establishing a child protection system that can actually respond to their situation and that does not see placing a child in an institution as the solution to an undiagnosed problem and certainly not as the only, or even best, response but only as one of many possible interventions, one to be resorted to when no better options are truly available. This is essential not only for 'neglected' children but for all other groups of children for who residential care remains the primary form of intervention in Indonesia. This includes disabled children, so called 'naughty' children, trafficked children, abused children, children in conflict with the law, street children, children suffering from substance abuse, child domestic workers, children involved in prostitution or children who are separated from their families or whose families are facing an immediate crisis as a result of natural or social disaster. This constitutes the biggest challenge to the establishment of an effective and appropriate child protection system in Indonesia and a social work system that truly respond to children's rights and best interests.

LIFE STORY:

YUDHA (Boy, 20 years old), WEST KALIMANTAN

A. Particulars

Name: Yudha

Place and Date of Birth: Landak District, 15 September 1987

Ethnic Group: Dayak Belangin

Religion: Protestant

Length of time in institution: 7 years

B. Family Background

Yudha is the youngest of seven children, and he has three brothers and three sisters. They are all Dayak Belangin. Of the seven siblings, 3 are Catholic and 4 are Protestant, including Yudha.

Yudha's father worked in the fields, and his mother helped. Their fields were deep in the forest, so that his parents frequently used to overnight there. The area of forest that belongs to Yudha's parents is not big, and they practiced shifting cultivation. Besides working on the land, Yudha's father was also known as a shaman, and knew how to treat the sick. Yudha says he used to like to see people coming to his father for treatment.

Yudha says that his parents were poor. This is because they were not able to fully educate his brothers and sisters. One of his siblings graduated from high school, but his education was not fully paid for by his parents. Instead, he had to work at the same time. Meanwhile, Yudha's other siblings never graduated from elementary school, some got as far as grade 4, some grade 6.

Yudha's sibling who graduated from high school now works and lives in the city, and rarely returns home to the village. His other brothers and sisters are married and live in other villages. Only Yudha still lived with his parents.

C. Life before the Institution

1. Living in the Forest

When he was small, Yudha spent a lot of time with his parents at their fields in the forest. He still remembers living in the forest with his parents, watching over their fields, while his brothers and sisters stayed in the village. He liked playing in the fields, running around, while helping root out the weeds from among his parents' rice plants. He spent approximately 3 years living in the forest at the family fields.

2. Mother Passes Away

One day when Yudha was five, he left the forest and returned to the village. He stayed there for one week. On the way back to the family fields in the forest, his mother took ill with a fever. By the time they had reached the fields in the evening, his mother was still feverish. After three days, she had not recovered. Yudha's father then resolved to take her and Yudha back to the village. She still had not recovered by the time they arrived there.

Yudha says that his mother's illness was "strange". The fever would not break and suppurating red boils appeared on her body. At home, Yudha's mother was treated by his father, who was known as a shaman. *"My dad is a shaman, so he treated mum himself,"* explained Yudha, who spoke haltingly as he tried to hold the grief in. His mother died at twelve noon after ritual offerings had earlier been made as part of the treatment regime. *"When Mum died, I didn't know. I was sleeping beside her. Then I heard my brother crying. So I started crying too. But I didn't understand at the time that mum had*

passed away". When his mother died, Yudha was 5, and his mother was 59.

After Yudha's mother died, his father became sickly and he did not return to the fields. He stayed at home with Yudha. Both Yudha and his father now had to be supported by Yudha's siblings, even though none of them had regular jobs. Yudha's father would sometimes do a little work in the rubber plantations, while the family fields in the forest were worked by Yudha's siblings.

3. Starting at Elementary School

In 1994, Yudha started at elementary school at the age of 7. His father was at his wits' end as he could not afford to pay the school fees and buy Yudha's uniform. *"Seven days after mum died, dad told my brothers and sisters that as he was old and sick, they were going to have to look after me from then on."* But Yudha's siblings were also in precarious financial straits themselves so that they were only able to help out with food. As for Yudha's school expenses, there was nothing they could do to help. In the end, Yudha had to go to school shoeless and without a uniform.

"My older brother in the city promised that he would buy me shoes. I waited and waited, but they never came. But I still had to go the school." At the time, Yudha did not know whether his school fees were being paid or not. All he thought about was how to keep going to school. *"At the time, I wasn't embarrassed as lots of my friends didn't have uniforms either, and went to school in sandals,"* he replied when asked how he felt about having to go to school without a uniform.

Yudha's school was located about 3 kilometres from his house. He walked to school with his friends along the edge of the fields. The road was very bad. During the dry season, it was very dusty while during the wet season it became muddy and slippery. However, this was not enough to prevent Yudha from going to school, even though he did not have any shoes. In fact, during the wet season, even those of his friends that had shoes would take them off and carry them in their hands.

When Yudha was in grade 3 in elementary school, he finally got a pair of shoes. His brother had bought them as a reward for his good grades at school. He had promised to buy the shoes when Yudha started at school, but never did so. Then he promised to do so again if Yudha progressed to the next grade and came to the top three in his class but his elder sibling never showed up. Yudha gave the following reason for this: *"My brother lives far away and it costs a lot to get there. So, he has to keep working all the time. I feel sorry for him."*

The new shoes also did not appear when Yudha moved up to grade 2. It was only during the second quarter of grade 3 that the shoes finally arrived. However, *"the shoes were too small, but I kept wearing them anyway. There were already holes in them after two months,"* Yudha recalled, while nodding his head sadly.

Yudha was at home one day and there was absolutely nothing to eat in the house. He was in grade 5 at elementary school at the time. Yudha was desperate. Then, one of his elder siblings arrived with rice, saving Yudha from starvation. *"I really remember that day as I saw that dad hadn't cooked anything. He just sat there dreaming, like he was in a daze."* Because the family fields were not being looked after properly, they did not produce enough rice to feed the family. So, when the rice they had grown ran out, they had to buy more.

When in grade 6 of elementary school, it was time for Yudha to sit his final examinations. The exams were held in the city as the school that Yudha attended did not provide for this. So, Yudha went off to the city, along with his classmates and teacher. Besides him, a total of 6 students from his class sat the exams.

The examination fee was Rp 50,000, which was paid for jointly by Yudha's siblings. Besides the examination fee, Yudha also brought Rp 30,000 with him as he would have to stay overnight. Yudha, his classmates and the teacher slept in the school where the examination was to be held. *"I was embarrassed to ask my elder sibling for any more help."* In Yudha's village, quite a lot of unofficial gold mining was carried on

by local people. Yudha also looked for gold in the nearby river with people from the neighbouring village after he returned home from school. He didn't feel that he had to do this. Rather he felt sorry for his siblings and embarrassed as he always had to ask them for assistance, even though they were his own brothers and sisters.

He would normally make around Rp 2,000 per day from the gold he found in the river – *"enough to buy rice, enough to feed myself and dad."* Yudha was thankful even though he didn't make much money from the gold panning.

If he was not looking for gold, Yudha would collect vegetables from the forest and sell them to the neighbours. This would earn him between Rp 200 and Rp 500 per day, which he would spend on groceries or snacks.

4. Going to the institution

After his elementary school examinations, Yudha's second eldest brother, who lived in another village, came to Yudha's house and said, *"Would you like to continue on at school? If you would, I can bring you to the Children's Home in Tebas"*. Yudha was overjoyed at the suggestion as he really wanted to continue on at school. *"I wanted to go to school in the city, like my brother and then find a job in the city."* At the time, Yudha didn't know that it was a childcare institution.

Yudha's brother had heard about the institution from a Pengembala (clergyman) who used to visit his village doing missionary work. The clergyman told him about the Tebas childcare institution which took in indigent children. He immediately thought of his brother Yudha and went back to the village to tell him about it.

After Yudha heard from his brother about the institution, he waited impatiently for him to take him there. *"I waited for my brother for one week, but he didn't come. I went nowhere as I was afraid that he would come to take me there and I would miss him"*. After a week waiting for his brother, Yudha decided that he wasn't coming and that it was safe to go outside again. So, one day he went with some friends to the river to fish. They caught a lot of fish that day. But, while they were fishing, someone came and told Yudha that his brother had arrived. *"I was really happy. I didn't even take time to eat the fish I'd caught, I just wanted to go as quickly as possible."* Yudha then walked to his brother's house, which was some 4 kilometres away from his father's house. *"At the time, I really felt sorry for dad, as I'd left him behind. There was no one to look after him. I cried, but I really wanted to go to school. I told dad that I wanted to become a servant of God, but would come home to visit him."* Yudha's father also cried as Yudha took his leave.

Before travelling to the Tebas childcare institution, Yudha stayed at his brother's house. After a week there, he was getting restless as his brother was showing no sign of taking him to Tebas. Instead, he kept saying they would have to wait until he had enough money. Yudha became desperate to get to the institution as school had already started. *"I was really upset and asked to be allowed to go back home to dad."*

The following day, his brother found enough money and invited Yudha to come with him to the institution. They set off early in the morning and finally arrived at Tebas at 6 p.m. The journey from Yudha's village to Tebas to approximately 8 hours and cost around Rp 100,000. (USD 10)

D. Life in the Institution

1. At the start

When they arrived at the institution, Yudha and his brother were welcomed by the woman who heads the institution, Mrs N. *"When I met her, she asked me, 'Do you want to go to school?"* I answered *"Yes, Mam"*". 'Do you have any parents?' *'Just my dad'."* This conversation with the head of the Children's Home, took place 5 years ago and is still remembered by Yudha.

After one day in the institution, Yudha was enrolled in junior high school. In reality, enrolment was already over for that year as school had already started. Yudha was worried that he would not in the end be accepted. The next day, he met Mrs N. who said *"You just stay here and work in my place. I'll give you what I can,*

OK?" This was how Yudha was invited to live and work in the head of the institution's house.

Yudha's enrolment in junior high school went smoothly as Mrs N. had a friend working there and many of the children from the Children's Home also went to school there. The enrolment fee was Rp 200,000 (USD 20). *"Everything was paid by Mrs N. I was also given a uniform, bag and books."*

Since then, Yudha has been in the care of the childcare institution and living in Mrs N.'s house. His daily activities there, besides going to school and participating in the activities organized by the childcare institution, consist of keeping Mrs N's yard clean.

"*At the start in the institution I cried a lot thinking about my dad and brother. My brought me here. The next day when I returned home from school, he had gone. He didn't even say goodbye to me.*" According to Mrs N., *"When he first arrived at the institution, I told him to stay with me in my house. I told him to help me around the house. I felt so sorry for him, he was so small and thin. He would often feel down or cry to himself. So, I would rub his head and tell him to treat myself and my husband as his own dad and mum."*

With the passage of time, and kept busy with his school work and the activities in the childcare institution, Yudha came to adapt. He no longer cried, and began to make new friends.

2. Sad to hear of dad's death

Yudha did not return home for a year and a half after he came to live at the Tebas childcare institution. One Christmas, he wanted to go home but he did not have enough money, and there were also lots of things going on in the childcare institution. Then, a preacher informed Yudha that his father had passed away. *"I was really sad. Why hadn't my brother told me? I wanted to go home, but I didn't have any money."* He continued, *"When mum died, I was still small and I was sleeping beside her. When dad died, no one told me. I didn't even know he was sick and dying. I cried non-stop for a week."* When asked what was it that most grieved him about his father's death, Yudha replied, *"I have no parents left, other people still have their mums and dads."*

Mrs N. recalled that Yudha's grief over his father's death lasted for a relatively long time. *"He was always crying and withdrawn."* But time heals everything, and Yudha eventually stopped crying. Mrs N. and Yudha's friends did their utmost to take him out of himself, especially his friend called Morry. Now, Morry is his best friend.

3. Working with Mr P.'s family

As Yudha became a teenager, his needs increased, while the services provided by the childcare institution remained relatively constant. Among his needs was additional money for snacks, transport and education.

The distance between Yudha's school and the childcare institution was approximately 5 km. He cycled every day on a bicycle provided by the childcare institution as far as the highway, from where he would catch a minibus to bring him the rest of the way. The minibus fare was Rp 1,000 each way, meaning that he needed Rp 2,000 per day. However, this money was not provided by the childcare institution. Similarly, the childcare institution did not pay for the maintenance of the bicycle, such as repairing punctures. This was the responsibility of Yudha.

Yudha attended school from 1 p.m. until 5 p.m. During break time, he would need something to eat. This was also not provided by the childcare institution.

In order to cover these additional expenses, Yudha worked in the house of a man named Mr P. Yudha's main job was looking after Mr P's citrus grove, and he worked there together with his friend, Morry. Yudha's main tasks in the citrus grove were:

a. clearing away grass
b. spraying
c. picking the fruit at harvest time.

He worked for Mr P. three times per week, on Monday, Wednesday and Friday. However, even then, it all depended on what was going on at the childcare institution: *"Nothing was definite, it all depended. It could be any day. If I*

wasn't scheduled for duties in the childcare institution, then I could go out to work." Normally Yudha worked from 6 a.m. (sometime 7 a.m.) until 9 or 10 a.m.

Besides maintaining the citrus grove, Yudha also looked after Mr P's house whenever he was away. As Mr P was a Dayak community leader, he was often called away. When looking after Mr P's house, Yudha's duties were as follows:

Cleaning up around the house

a. Hosing down Mr P's two pigs
b. feeding the chickens and ducks
c. cleaning out the pig sty and chicken coops.

The amount of money received by Yudha in return for his work was not fixed. *"It all depended, it could be Rp 15,000, Rp 20,000 (USD1.5 - 2), it wasn't fixed."* Not only was the amount of money received not fixed, neither was the amount of time worked. *"Yeah, it wasn't fixed. If I needed something, I could ask for 3 days work. If I didn't need something, I might only work once in the week."* If he needed something urgently, then he would normally be paid more: "I once said I needed to make photocopies and was given Rp 30,000 (USD 3)."

Besides working for Mr P, Yudha was also frequently given chores by Mr P's wife. *"If I was asked to do something for Mrs P, she'd give me Rp 5,000 – straight away after I did the job."* Normally, Mrs P would ask Yudha to clean out the animal pens. This work was incidental in nature, and would arise when they had no time to clean the pens themselves.

Yudha would try to do some work in Mr P's citrus grove every week. If he didn't work, then he would find it difficult to ask for money.

If Yudha didn't work during a particular week, he would not be brave enough to go to Mr P's house. It had happened in the past that he didn't work for a full week. When asked why he did not work, he said he *"couldn't be bothered."* As a result of not working, he had no money for his minibus fare. In order to make up the shortfall, he borrowed money from a staff member. "I borrowed Rp 10,000 from A," he responded when asked where he got the money for his minibus fare.

Besides borrowing from A, Yudha said he also frequently asks Morry to buy snacks for him. *"Morry is more economical and doesn't eat so many snacks,"* Yudha said when asked why Morry had money but Yudha didn't, even though both of them worked for Mr P. *"If I buy something, I buy a drink and a snack, sometimes bread, but Morry doesn't."*

Yudha regards Morry as his best friend. So, when it is time for them to perform chores in the childcare institution, he asks the childcare worker to roster him at the same time as Morry.

4. Going Home

In 2004, after sitting the junior high school examination, Yudha returned to his home village. He had asked permission from Mrs N beforehand, and permission had been granted. She paid for his trip home: *"Mrs N gave Rp 100,000 for the fare home (USD 10)."* Yudha was ecstatic at the prospect of returning home and being reunited with his family. Three years after Yudha had left home, his father had died, so that they had never met again after Yudha left for Tebas. At home, Yudha only met with his elder brother who had originally brought him to the childcare institution. He did not meet with his other brothers and sisters.

He was very sad that his father was no longer alive. He did not visit his father's grave, but rather spent all of his time at his elder brother's house. *"I didn't want to go home as it would only have upset me by reminding me of dad,"* he said. None of Yudha's brothers and sisters came specially to meet him.

After a week at his brother's house, Yudha returned to Tebas. His brother gave him Rp 100,000 for the fare. Yudha wanted to get back to the childcare institution as quickly as possible as he was afraid he would be late registering for school. In addition, as the examination results had not yet been announced, he was afraid there might be other things he would have to take care of.

Furthermore, Mrs N had warned him not to spend too long at home. *"Don't spend too long in your village, OK? You haven't got your exam results yet and you have to register for school again,"*

5. Failing the Final Examination

Yudha sat the UAN (Final National Examinations) in grade 3 of junior high school. Of the 7 students that took the examination, 2 failed. One of them was Yudha, who failed mathematics. When asked why he had failed maths, he replied, *"Maths is difficult. I didn't like studying maths."* He added that the maths teacher frequently failed to show up for class. Yudha also admitted he was a reluctant maths student as there was no one in the childcare institution whom he could turn to for help, save for the other children, who also didn't understand maths. *"It was not big deal… it's really difficult. Mrs N understands,"* he replied, when asked how he felt about not passing the UAN.

As he had not passed the first time around, Yudha repeated the UAN maths examination the next time around.

6. Enrolling in SMEA (Economics High School)

Before he knew whether he had passed the repeat maths examination or not, Yudha enrolled in the Economics High School (SMEA). SMEA was in reality not his first choice. However, the staff at the institution had urged him to enrol in SMEA as it offered better employment prospects. So, Yudha agreed and followed his friends who had already enrolled there. *"My friends told me that if I wanted to get a job quickly, SMEA was the place to go. Also, lots of my friends from the childcare institution had enrolled in SMEA, so I did the same."* Another reason Yudha enrolled in this SMEA was that it was close to Tebas. In reality, Yudha wished to enrol in a Technical High School (STM), but the nearest STM was in Singkawang.

Enrolment in SMEA cost Rp 200,000 (USD 20), which was paid in full by the childcare institution. During his time in SMEA, Yudha was held back one year.

7. Moving to Technical High School (STM)

Yudha was not happy at SMEA. *"It didn't suit me, I was bored. It's also difficult to get jobs,"* Yudha said, explaining why he didn't stay on at SMEA. He decided to transfer to the Technical School which he had been interested in right from the time he graduated from junior high school. When asked why he wanted to go to STM, he replied, *"I want to be independent. I want to know all about engines so that I can get work quickly. There's lots of garages. Who knows, maybe one day I'll have my own workshop."* In addition, an STM had already opened in Beikut, which was close to where Yudha used to go to junior high school. He would be able to get to the new school on his bike as far as Tebas, and walk from there.

The school transfer went relatively smoothly, with Yudha organizing it himself. He got his junior high school certificate (STTB) from the SMEA and then enrolled in the STM in Bekut. In deciding to move schools, Yudha was acting with the support of the childcare institution, which paid the Rp 200,000 (USD 20) fee required for the transfer.

Since July 2005, Yudha has been enrolled as a student of the STM.

8. Leaving the Childcare institution for a time

In June 2006, Yudha decided he would leave the childcare institution. *"I wanted to be free and to work,"* he explained. When he left the childcare institution, he worked in a citrus plantation owned by the Chinese. He also lived on the plantation. He was paid Rp 50,000 (USD 5) per week. *"If you worked hard, you could earn more as it depended on how many trees."* Describing his work, he said, *"I worked from 7 to 9 a.m., or 2 to 4 p.m. on a Sunday as I would be at church in the morning. I learned how to drive a tractor when I was there."*

After leaving the childcare institution, he teamed up with some women who also worked in the plantation. They all lived in a shed that was specially provided for accommodating the workers. This shed was located within the plantation. Although Yudha had left the childcare institution by this stage, he still went back to the church there as the

plantation was not too far removed from the childcare institution.

During his time away from the childcare institution, Yudha did not attend school. When asked whether it was freedom that he had been seeking, he replied, *"No, as I had to work."* As a result, he was willing to return to the childcare institution when Mrs N came to pick him up. His main motivation in returning, however, was that he wanted to continue at school. Now he's back at school and is very happy as the school is arranging to get all of the students driver's licenses.

9. *Children's Activities in the childcare institution*

Yudha was on the chores roster in the morning twice per week. The chores he was required to do were as follows:

a. Prepare afternoon meal. The children were required to boil water, and cook rice, vegetables and side dishes.

b. Clean the auditorium (That also serves as a dining room)

c. Clean the kitchen.

Yudha is quite an expert at cooking and always seems to know what he is doing. When he is doing the morning chores, he cooks in the kitchen from 7 to 9 a.m. His co-worker on morning chores is Morry. When on duty, they boil water, cook rice and kangkung, and fry fish. Even though Yudha is a boy, he is a real expert at frying. The fish that he fries is always delicious, and never burned, even though he fries it on a big fire fed by wood.

When cleaning the kitchen, Yudha doesn't mind sweeping the floor even though it is made of crumbling old concrete blocks.

Time	Activity	
04:00	Wake up	
04:30-04:45	Morning prayers	Held in the auditorium, attended by all the children
04:45-06:00	Bathing, breakfast	
06:00-09:00	Work in the citrus plantation	If not working in the plantation, then on cooking duty twice per week
09:00-12:00	Getting ready for school, preparing books, break nad chatting with friends	
12:00-17:30	School	School over at 17:00, 30 minutes walking
17:30-18:00	Evening meal, evening reflection	Held in the auditorium, attended by all the children
18:00-21:00	Study	After reflection, all the children study together in the same room
21:00-22:00	Back to room, chatting with friends, sleep	

Besides doing his roster duties in the kitchen, once a week Yudha goes off to collect firewood. When the assessor was in the kitchen at 7:30 a.m. on Friday, 6 October 2006, Yudha arrived back clutching a big load of firewood to his chest. He had been out looking for firewood in the forest around the childcare institution from 6 a.m. The length of time Yudha would spend collecting firewood varied, but he always made sure to go out collecting it once per week.

E. Yudha's Hopes

Yudha hopes that everyone will pray for him as he wants to become a servant of God. In addition, he wants to become a livestock trader.

F. Other people's comments about Yudha

Mrs N: Yudha gives up easily, and is always changing his stance, never the same. He also keeps his problems bottled up inside him. He doesn't tell anyone else. So, he's often to be found moping and crying to himself. He likes to help others, he likes to give. He has money because he works.

E (a child in the institution): Shy, quick to smile, doesn't say much.

Morry (his friend): Good fun, likes to help, doesn't get angry easily.

Footnotes:

1 D. Tolfree, 1995, Roofs and Roots: The care of separated children in the developing world. Save the Children

2 For background and an analysis of the impact of these social protection schemes see: Social Safety Nets: protection the Poor from Economic Crisis. Lessons Learnt from Indonesia. 1998-2003 (2004) RI, ADB, British Council. See also: Steven Baines: Towards more Transparent Financial Management: Scholarship and Grants Programmes in Indonesia (2005). International Institute for Educational Planning. UNESCO

3 For a review of BOS see SMERU: A Rapid Appraisal of the PKPS-BBM Education Sector: School Operational Assistance (BOS) The Smeru Research Institute (2006)

4 The recently amended Government Regulation on Adoption in that regard is good news in that it has removed the age limit whereby only children under a certain age could be adopted. On the other hand it has multiplied the criteria in term who is able to adopt and retained the requirement that couples planning to adopt must be childless or only have one child. On the other hand it actually provides little regulatory or support system for children who have been adopted and their families. It also leaves adoption under customary law entirely unregulated. (Government Regulation No 54 (2007) on the Adoption of Children.)

XVI. Recommendations

Overall

1) Indonesia has clearly recognised that children have the right to know and grow up within their families and that being cared for by a family is the most effective and healthiest development model for all children. The Government must now develop a clear policy framework that strengthens family based care for vulnerable children and prioritise alternative care in the extended family or in an alternative family for children in need of care and protection. Poverty should not be a reason to break up families and residential care should ALWAYS be the last resort for children.

2) Children also have the right to education and they should not have to choose between family and education. There is an urgent need to understand why so many poor and vulnerable children are not able to access quality education except through placement in institutional care. The Government's Operational Assistance to Schools Program (BOS) needs to be assessed and reviewed to establish why it is failing to reach certain children, those who are most in need of its assistance. The Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Education, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and other key agencies need to work together to identify better ways to ensure that poor and vulnerable families can access financial and other forms of support to guarantee their children's education.

3) Direct services to support families who are facing challenges in the care of their children should be developed and piloted. These services should include both financial and psycho-social interventions and should be provided by the Government in partnership with community and faith based organisations that are crucial to social welfare service delivery in Indonesia.

4) The provision of a system of alternative care prioritising family based care for children without parental care including through kinship care, fostering, guardianship and other forms of family based care should be supported and a clear legal and policy framework should be developed to strengthen the delivery of these forms of alternative care and encourage and support families to care for children without parental care.

5) Discussions should be held with faith based and community organisations, including those that run childcare institutions, on how best to support children in their families and communities. The commitment given by these organisations in relation to the care of the most vulnerable members of their communities, including children, should be recognised and government should explore with them possible alternative interventions to residential care services and to ensure that it is able to support them effectively in their crucial role as service delivers.

6) A clear regulatory framework for childcare institutions must be established which provides clear standards in relation to the establishment of childcare institutions, the quality of services that must be provided, operational requirements including a licensing system which is based on monitored compliance with set standards. The Ministry of Social Affairs as the primary Government agency needs to develop such a system and work with local government agencies to ensure its implementation across Indonesia. In light of the government's clear commitment to children's rights and international standards of best practice as well as Indonesia's traditional emphasis on family care, evidencing a clear commitment to maintaining and strengthening family contact should be a precondition for registration of any child care institution.

7) An effective system of data collection on children in alternative care should be established providing accurate and updated information about the situation of children in alternative care including children in institutional care as well as data on both government and private childcare institutions and other social and justice institutions where children reside.

8) An independent and professional oversight body (inspectorate) must be established to oversee the proper application and implementation of standards of care in childcare institutions in Indonesia and support the implementation of the licensing system.

9) A review of government assistance schemes to the childcare institutions should be undertaken in particular the BBM subsidy system and financial assistance to institutions should be provided in the context of the regulatory system to institutions which are shown to abide by standards of care for children.

10) Specific support to families who are facing particular challenges in the care of their children in particular single parent families, widow and widower, extended families that have taken on the care of children without parental care and foster families should be identified and piloted in the context of the provision of social protection.

11) Discussions should be undertaken between the Ministry of Social Affairs, the Ministry of Religious Affairs and the Ministry of Education as well as key associations and organisations of pesantren and pesantren leaders to discuss the situation and implications of Islamic Boarding Schools increasingly merging or opening childcare institutions.

12) Research should be undertaken to understand the outcomes for children who have left care to look in particular at positive and negative impacts of their experience and develop support services for children who are leaving care to facilitate their successful transition out of care and into the community.

Specific

1) A review should be undertaken by the provincial and district offices of Social Affairs with the support of the Ministry of Social Affairs of the purpose and length of placements of children in institutional care. Children who are in the institutions for the sole purpose of accessing education and who could be assisted through their families should be provided direct assistance to cover the cost of education. Assistance provided under the Deconcentration Fund and under the BBM subsidy should be redirected to support particularly vulnerable children directly rather than through institutions. Childcare institutions should not be allowed to operate as dormitory or hostels for children who can be cared for by their families or in a family like environment.

2) Childcare institutions should be supported to review the basis and process upon which they recruit children or admit children into institutional care. It should never be about finding children to fill vacancies but about finding the best option for children in every individual case. The National Standards of Care for institutions caring for children to be developed by the Ministry of Social Affairs should include clear guidelines and procedures to ensure that residential care is used strictly as a last resort and for the small number of cases where no family based alternative is available, possible or in the best interest of that particular child. These should include in particular the following aspects:

1. An initial assessment process supervised by the local office of Social Affairs that includes a social inquiry report detailing the reasons, purpose and length of the placement in each case before a child is admitted to a childcare institution. The local office of Social Affairs should ensure that it holds individual records of each assessment made and of interventions recommended including assistance to the family or placement in institutional care. Data should be collected on every child that enters institutional care and the information compiled and updated regularly to ensure that the situation of children who are in care at any time can be assessed and reviewed.

2. Clear criteria should be set to ensure a screening process that is based on a real assessment of the capacity of the child's family, including the extended family to care and that prioritises providing support to the child within a family context rather than placement in institutional care.

3. A review of the child's history including a possible history of violence, loss, neglect, should be undertaken and form part of the assessment in order to determine the particular needs for support the child may have and whether placement in a particular institution would respond to those needs or whether other another intervention is needed.

4. The assessment and review of the need for placement should form a key part of the services provided by the institution and ongoing throughout the placement. Placement should not be permanent until end of high school but temporary until a more suitable and permanent care arrangement can be made.

5. The purpose, scope and length of the placement should be discussed fully with the child as well as his or her family before a decision of placement is made. A written record should be made of the agreement in relation to a particular placement and be signed by all parties including the child. This agreement should clarify the obligations of the childcare institution towards the child and the obligations of the parents or legal guardian. A care plan should be developed at the outset for each child and be reviewed regularly to determine whether the services provided are relevant and appropriate or whether the situation of the child has changed and new provisions need to be put in place.

6. Bearing in mind the well documented negative impact of institutionalisation on children who are at the critical stages of development, institutionalisation should never be an option for babies and young children unless it is absolutely demonstrated in the best interest of that particular child and supervision is provided by the local office of Social Affairs. In those rare cases, care should be provided within a small family group home. Institutional care as a rule should not be considered for children under 10 years of age (elementary school level 4).

7. Family contact and involvement should always be seen as an essential need for children and supported systematically including financially. Rather than seen as a 'problem', it should be seen as essential to children's development as well as their

eventual successful reintegration in their communities. Going home at regular times and for decent period of times should be made a requirement and financial as well as staff support provided to enable children to do so. Childcare institutions should become places that work towards the strengthening of family relationships rather than undermining them and should make every effort to ensure children are able to go home and maintain contact with their families as regularly as possible. Parents, siblings and families should also be encouraged and, if needed, actually supported to visit and to share in the life of their children in the institutions. Regular and positive contact should be evidence of a successful childcare institution rather than seen as undermining the objective of the institution.

8. Staff should be recruited to ensure appropriate child/staff ratio and children's work or an informal care system should never be used to justify not having enough staff. Care staff should also be recruited on the basis of having demonstrated experience and skills in caring for children and not on the basis of other criteria such as experience of teaching whether formal or religious. All staff should be trained in childcare principles including positive discipline. Sufficient support staff should be provided in each institution to ensure that children do not have to work for the institution to run. Children's life skills are to be built as part of the services provided by the institution not as a result of lack of staff

9. Rules and regulations for the institution should be discussed and reviewed regularly with the children and amended as necessary to ensure clear understanding about their purpose and to negotiate appropriately with the children what are appropriate boundaries of behaviour. The use of violence or humiliating, degrading treatment should never be allowed but a culture of respect and non violence should be supported.

10. Children should be encouraged to develop meaningful and respectful relationship with one another. While understandable that sexual relationships within the institution are not desirable this should not be all about punishment and excluding children from institutions, but should be about supporting them to understand what is appropriate for their age and why in line with their age and developing capacity. In that regard knowledge of children's development and the importance that peer relations play in their lives should be integrated into the care approach taken by the institutions.

11. Physical and psychological punishment should be totally prohibited in line with the Government of Indonesia's crucial commitment to eliminate violence against children as a response to UN Study on Violence against Children and under Law No 23 on Child Protection. Staff and teachers should be trained in positive methods of control and discipline. Children should never be asked to report on or punish other children.

12. A child protection policy and a prevention and reporting system should be in place in each institution including clear accountability for violations and a support system in place for children to report safely and confidentially potential violations including to the Office of Social Affairs. A mechanism for receiving and considering effectively complaints by children who are in institutional care, in a way that ensures children's safety at all time should be put in place by the Office of Social Affairs at both District and Provincial levels with support from the Ministry of Social Affairs. A referral mechanism to the appropriate agencies responsible for addressing cases of violence against children should be established to ensure appropriate and systematic responses are provided to such cases.

13. Each institution should have a clear written code of conduct for its staff including disciplinary action for breaches and a mechanism for referral of violations that may amount to a criminal offence or breach of the law to the appropriate agencies.

14. Children's views and involvement in every day decisions should be seen as crucial to the care they receive while in placement. It is not only a right for each child to participate in decisions that affect him or her in line with their evolving capacity, involving children in decision- making is also one of the most effective way of teaching life skills. Learning to consider options and to participate in decisions in that context is crucial to children's development, and their ability to become responsible, independent and resourceful individuals.

15. Space, both physical and social, should be made available for children so they can identify issues that are important to them and regularly discuss among themselves as well as with their carers the challenges they face and concerns they have as well as possible solutions to those. Children's agency should be seen as a mark of a successful care program rather than as a potential threat to discipline and order in the institutions. Enabling children to discuss things of concerns to them and take into consideration seriously their views is far more likely to support the development of independent, thoughtful and

responsible children than will feel a stake in the way services are delivered and their placement is going.

16. Regular and open forum should be provided to enable children to review the issues that matter to them not only with their carers and staff of the institution but with the managers of the parent organisation that runs the institution.

17. A responsible case manager should be identified for each child, taking responsibility for following the child's progress, development not just when a 'problem' is deemed to occur but to assess the child's well being, discuss regularly with issues and concerns important to the child whether in the institution or outside and support the child in finding solutions to problems faced.

18. Food should be appropriate to children's full development including in terms of nutrition and quantity. Clear variety in terms of food provided should be required and should be monitored including the regular provision of fruits and food that caters to the particular needs of growing children.

19. Sleep and rest are also crucial to the physical and mental well being of growing children and children in the institutions are not getting enough of it. This is bound to affect their development as well as their capacity to concentrate and perform at school. Children's work, religious practices or other assigned tasks should not mean that children are regularly not getting enough sleep. Night sleep in that regard is known to be particularly crucial to physical well being and napping is not sufficient to replace lost sleep. Schedule should make enough sleep for children a key consideration.

20. Recreation and playing is also known to have a crucial role in children's development and to contribute not only to children's social skills and learning but also to reducing stress and general well being. It should be build into the services provided by the institutions rather than seen as just a matter of providing a ball to play to fill free times between other activities. Going home for a decent period of time and at regular times, exploring their environment and communities, encouraging links with children from their schools and neighbouring communities, all of these would ensure that children are able to develop new skills and relationships outside of the institution as well as better links to their communities and the world around them.

21. Ensuring education should be about more than just paying fees. Supporting children in their home work, giving them the time, space, tools (tables, a conducive learning environment, books and material to study) as well as support teaching whenever needed. Providing appropriate transport to school, meals or money for meals and snacks as well as required clothes including uniforms and shoes should also be provided in all cases.

22. Changing names, cutting relationships with families including not keeping adequate records of their whereabouts, the use of negative terms or language including 'neglected', 'poor', 'care children', children to develop negative images of themselves

through degrading practices, discouraging the use of their local language or their local customs, all of these practices are incompatible with the aim of providing appropriate care and protection for children and only serves to undermine the development of children's own positive sense of themselves and who they are as individuals rather than 'what or where' they come from. Institutions should encourage children's developing sense of who they are and of their identity and see this as a critical part of the care services they should provide to children.

23. Understanding the impact of ending care as not just finishing school but children having to leave behind what are often deep attachments with other children and in some cases the only emotional and social environment that they have known for major parts of their childhood is essential to ensuring a successful placement. Going home should be supported as an important step in the child's development and children helped to see this as the ultimate goal. Strategies and plans should be developed and reviewed throughout the placement including not only the transition from school to higher education or work but also the transition to a new social life. The aim of a placement should be to support children to move towards a better and more secure life within their communities and society and this entails fundamentally moving towards a care situation as well as a social situation which is positive, supportive and empowering to them.

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Attachment I

The Quality Care Research: Individual Research Reports (2007)

No.	Childcare Institution	Writers
I.	**Province of Aceh**	
1	Nirmala	Hayuannisa Rimadhani and Dwi Yuliani
2	Muhammadiyah Meulaboh	Diatyka Widya and Ellya Susilowati
3	Muhammadiyah Lhokseumawe	Tuti Kartika and Andriani Johar
4	Al Ummah	Dwi Yuliani and Hayuannisa Rimadhani
5	Suci Hati	Ellya Susilowati and Diatyka Widya
6	Darul Ulum Al Munawarrah	Andriani Johar and Tuti Kartika
II.	**Province of Central of Java**	
7	Woro Wiloso	Alit Kurniasari, Ismet Firdaus, Endang Srihadi
8	Wahyu Yoga Dharma	Ismet Firdaus, Endang Srihadi, Alit Kurniasari
9	Darurrokhmah	Endang Srihadi, Alit Kurniasari, Ismet Firdaus
10	Parmadi Utomo	Dorang Luhpuri, Meiti Subardhini, Dwi Yuliani
11	Muhammadiyah Cilacap	Meiti Subhardini, Dorang Luhpuri, Dwi Yuliani
12	SOS Desa Taruna	Dwi Yuliani, Meiti Subardhini, Dorang Luhpuri
III.	**Province of NTB**	
13	Patmos	Ellya Susilowati and Yanuar Farida Wismayanti
14	Harapan	Ellya Susilowati and Yanuar Farida Wismayanti
15	Dharma Laksana	Tuti Kartika, Lisma Dyawati Fuaida, Untung Basuki
16	Darul Aitam	Lisma Dyawati Fuaida, Tuti Kartika, Untung Basuki

17	Darul Hikmah	Yanuar Farida Wismayanti and Ellya Susilowati
18	Al Ikhlas	Lisma Dyawati Fuaida, Tuti Kartika, Untung Basuki

IV.	**Province of West Kalimantan**	
19	Al Amien	Yanuar Farida Wismayanti
20	Ibnu Tamiyah	Ellya Susilowati and Diatyka Widya
21	Eben Haezer	Lisma Dyawati Fuaida and Tuti Kartika
22	UPRS	Tuti Kartika and Lisma Dyawati Fuaida
23	Nur Ilahi	Diatyka Widya and Ellya Susilowati
24	Pepabri	Andriani Johar and Yanuar Farida Wismayanti

V.	**Province of North Sulawesi**	
25	Sayap Kasih	Alit Kurniasari, Endang Srihadi, Dwi Yuliani
26	Lohoraung	Endang Srihadi, Dwi Yuliani, Alit Kurniasari
27	Dr. J. Lukas	Dwi Yuliani, Alit Kurniasari, Endang Srihadi
28	Prajapati	Meiti Subhardini, Dorang Luhpuri, Ismet Firdaus
29	Dorkas	Dorang Luhpuri, Meiti Subardhini, Ismet Firdaus
30	Al Muthadien	Ismet Firdaus, Dorang Luhpuri, Meiti Subardhini

VI.	**Province of Maluku**	
31	Nurul Ikhlas	Dwi Yuliani and Tuti Kartika
32	Al Hidayah	Alit Kurniasari and Hayuannisa Rimadhani
33	Caleb House	Diatyka Widya and Ellya Susilowati
34	Hidayatullah	Tuti Kartika and Dwi Yuliani

35	Ina Theresia	Hayuannisa Rimadhani and Alit Kurniasari
36	Huke Ina	Ellya Susilowati and Diatyka Widya

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37	Tunas Bangsa Pati (Central of Java)	Kanya Eka Santi, Tuti Kartika, Diatyka Widya

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