The Role of Civil Society Organization in Education Service
(A Case Study of Catholic Foundation and Muhammadiyah Organization, Indonesia)

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Abstract

"Education for All" (EFA) in Indonesia has not brought significant benefits particularly for religion-based, private schools. EFA policy is supposed to enhance the performance of both state and private schools. The private schools are generally described either as highly elitist and targeted for the well-off group on the one hand, or poorly managed, housed in dilapidated buildings, and taught by poorly prepared teachers, on the other hand. However, most of private schools experience inequality. It is shown from low curriculum quality, lack of budget, insufficient school equipment, and low student interest on private schools. This paper aims first to investigate the private schools from participatory leadership, curriculum, students' result, budget provision in education for all. The data gathered from 92 schools in the provinces of Yogyakarta and Central Java suggest that the majority of these schools are stifled with unfriendly policies issued by national and local authorities. This research used mixed methods to tap into both quantitative and qualitative data. This research concludes that only very few schools do thrive thanks their uniquely strong school culture of excellence and particular leadership of their school principals. It is thus highly recommended for policy makers, mostly at the local levels, to sensitize themselves to dynamically complex challenges encountered by private schools in implementing "education for all".

Keywords: education for all, inequality, participatory leadership, and curriculum implementation

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Background

Educational policies have been considered to be the realm of polity. Following Rawlsian distributive justice (1999), states are presumably expected to play a just role to distribute resources for all their

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citizens. Entering the seventh decade of its independence, however, Indonesia is generally seen to fail to provide appropriate educational services for all its citizens. Since its pre-independent period, civil society's educational contribution to the indigenous children had been formidable (e.g. Sirozi 2004, Rosariyanto 2009). Unfortunately, little is done to formally admit such contributions. A case in point, a state-funded joint review of educational enterprises up to the 20th century does not touch the contribution of civil society (National Standards Boards, 2010). It is thus logical to draw that the most fundamental distributive justice for all citizens remains a rethoric. This paper sets out to explain how the idea of distributive justice in the provision of basic education for Indonesian citizens, especially among those attending religion-based schools, remains elusive. On the one hand, some amount of funds is distributed to all schools. On the other hand, the government also issues unwarranted regulations which entrap most religion-based schools.

Law No. 20, 2003 on the National Educational System stipulates that all citizens between 7 and 15 years of age must attend compulsory elementary education. As stated in verse 32(2), both central and local governments warrant the provision of free-fee compulsory elementary education. On 32(3), it is stated that the compulsory education is the responsibility of the government, and is run by state-owned educational institutions, local governments, and society. It is therefore imperative for both central and local governments to provide free elementary education.

In line with the law, the central government has issued the Government Regulation No. 47, 2008, which specifically delineates compulsory education (*Wajib Belajar*, or *WAJAR*). In its implementation, however, as Zuhri and Abidin (2009) assert, this policy tends to bring more benefits for state-owned schools only. It was found that this policy was not well-communicated to the public and prone to infringements. On the other hand, in schools, it also unfairly led to some criminalization on the part of school parties which encountered troubles to make use of School Operational Fund (SOF) for schools (*Bantuan Operasional Sekolah/BOS*). It is thus imperative to conduct a program evaluation to assess the implementation of the policy initiated by the government.

As stated in the Government Regulation No. 47, 2008, the Compulsory Education policy requires
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requires four major variables to evaluate the program, i.e. gross-participation rate, curriculum enactment, learning results, and school budgeting. These four areas will be used to investigate the implementation of the program in the schools under investigation. This research has two benefits. First, none has been done to investigate both implementation process and implications of the compulsory education policy for religion-based, non-state schools. Second, program evaluation studies that depict the implementation and implications of the program are scarce in the literature. Policy studies play a central role to provide both conceptual and empirical portraits with regards to the praxis of policy implementation. Third, religion-based schools have empirically contributed much to the education of citizens in the country. Unfortunately, acknowledgement and approach by the government officials have been too formalistic, neglecting the unique characteristics that made up such schools.

This study was set to elaborate the dichotomy of structure vs. agency, which has been of common issue in the policy studies. To understand the structure, we need systematic efforts to obtain a big picture that has those four major components, i.e. gross-participation rate, curriculum

implementations, learning results, and school budgeting. To grasp the agency, we need a systematic effort to get qualitative data obtained through interviews with real actors in the field. Anecdotal evidence suggests that non-state, religion-based schools are highly resilient in the face of degrading policies with regards to a lack for resources to pay salaries for teachers. Despite the challenges, some schools remain strong and maintain their great contributions to the citizens.

Within the framework of "structure vs. agency", lies another element called "structuration" – which refers to socio-cultural mechanism owned by an organic entity to respond and react to the dynamic surroundings in order to survive, live and even thrive. This study was set to identify the concept of structuration that operates in both Catholic and Muhammadiyah schools within the unique socio-cultural-political bureaucratic system of Indonesia. This study was also established within the discipline of critical sociology, where reflexivity plays a major role in the research (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). The researchers belong to the two major religious groups, i.e. Catholicism and Islam, and teach in two different religion-based universities – one a Jesuit university,

and the other a Muhammadiyah. This study itself reports a study conducted among 92 schools in two provinces, Yogyakarta Special Province and Muhammadiyah. In these two provinces, there are 1,082 schools from these two religious groups.

1.2. Research problems

To what extent did the implementation of compulsory education in religion-based schools (Catholicism and Muhammadiyah) in the two provinces (Yogyakarta and Central Java) lead to improved performance in those schools? How did the participation of civil organizations in organizing religion-based schools help to achieve the targets of compulsory education policy?

II. Theoretical Framework

1.1 Role of Civil Society in Public Service

As Wilensky and Lebeaux assert, the role of polity in welfare states is very imporant, In welfare states. They define a welfare state as follows:

> a "concept of government in which the state plays a key role in the protection and promotion of the economic and social well-being of its citizens. It is based on the principles of <u>equality of opportunity</u>, equitable <u>distribution of wealth</u>, and public responsibility for those unable to avail themselves of the minimal provisions for a good life. The general term may cover a variety of forms of economic and social organization."

Modern welfare states include the <u>Nordic countries</u>, such as <u>Iceland</u>, <u>Sweden</u>, <u>Norway</u>, <u>Denmark</u>, Germany and <u>Finland</u>[2] which employ a system known as the <u>Nordic model</u>. The welfare state involves a transfer of funds from the state, to the services provided (i.e. healthcare, education) as well as directly to individuals ("benefits"). The welfare state is funded through <u>redistributionist taxation</u> and is often referred to as a type of "<u>mixed economy</u>"

Social security is a function of a welfare state in order to protect citizens from risks. According to Barr (1996), the government's intervention on public services, cover four areas:

a. Regulations to manage quality (food and services), quantity (social insurance membership), and price (minimum wage).

b. Price subsidy both in partial (food) and total (medical services for the haves-not) forms.

c. Public productions where the state serves as service provider such as in education, train (mass transportation), etc.

d. Income transfer in social insurance benefits.

Basic needs such as income, housing, and health care are filled by the state using the voucher mechanisms. It means that all citizens meeting the criteria will obtain those services both in cash or public services. Based on the general literature and discussion of scholars and policy advisers working on civil society, a balance d and diverse civil society, conducive to democracy, implies five basic functions:

a. Civil society is an independent platform for discussion of alternative ideas for government, business, and society.

b. Civil society organisations are important to assist in monitoring and controlling state institutions and the implementation of laws and regulations.

c. Civil society should be active in providing legal advice and advocacy on rights and legal issues to the citizens.

d. Civil society organisations can provide the institutional means for mediating between conflicting social, religious and cultural interests.

e. Civil society should be strong in the social and humanitarian field, including welfare, health care, pensioners, and the poor (Feulner, 2001).

Furthermore, Salamon and Anheier (1996) examined that there were six theories regarding to the participation of civil society in public services, namely heterogeneity, supply side, trust, welfare state, interdependence and social origin. The "heterogeneity" theory focuses exclusively on the unsatisfied demand for public goods left by failures of the market and the state, a second body of theory treats this as a necessary but not sufficient condition to explain the variations in nonprofit development. According to this "supply-side" theory, a second condition is needed for nonprofit organizations to emerge: namely, the presence of "social entrepreneurs," people with an incentive to create nonprofit organizations to meet such demand (James 1987).

Table 1. Theory Civil Society Participation in Public Services

THEORY	SUMMARY	Nonprofit Finance		
		Scale	Fields Most Affected	Nonprofit Finance
Heterogeneity	Unsatisfied demand for public and quasi-public goods in situations of demand heterogeneity leads to emergence of nonprofit providers	Size of the nonprofit sector varies with the degree of demand heterogeneity	Education	Demand heterogeneity leads to greater reliance on private donative income relative to other sources of revenue
Supply side	Nonprofit organizations are a reflection of demand heterogeneity served and created by entrepreneurs seeking to maximize nonmonetary return	The greater the level of religious / ideological competition, the larger the nonprofit sector	Education	The greater the level of religious / ideological competition, the greater the reliance of private donative income on nonprofit organizations relative to other sources of revenue
Trust	Nondistribution constraint makes nonprofit organizations more trustworthy under conditions of information asymmetry which makes monitoring expensive and profiteering likely	The higher the levels of trust in business in a society, the smaller the nonprofit sector	Health, Social services	The lower the level of trust in business in a society, the greater the importance of private fees & payments in nonprofit sector revenue
Welfare State	Industrialization leads to the modern welfare state which "crowds out" private nonprofit providers Size of the nonprofit sector varies inversely with the level of per capita income.	Size of the nonprofit sector varies inversely with the level of per capita income	Health, Social Services	[theory implies no specific hypothesis]

Interdependence	Because of (initially) lower transaction costs, nonprofit organizations precede government in providing public benefit goods, but due to "voluntary failures" develop synergistic relations with the public sector over time	The size of the nonprofit sector varies with the amount of public sector social welfare spendin	Education, Health, Social Service	The greater the scale of government social welfare spending, the greater the public sector share of nonprofit finance
Social Origin	The size and structure of the nonprofit sector	The relationship between level of government spending and size of nonprofit sector depends on the type of welfare regime	Social Services, Education, Culture & Recreatio	The revenue pattern of nonprofit sectors depends on the type of welfare regime

Source: Salamon and Anheier (1996)

The third theory is called trust theory. We would expect that the scale of the nonprofit sector would vary inversely with the level of trust in the business sector in a society (Salomon and Anheier, 1996). The greater the level of that trust, the more confident people will be to secure the services they need through the market system and therefore the less they will feel obliged to turn to the nonprofit sector. Traditional welfare state theory would thus lead us to expect that the greater level of economic development, the more extensive the state provision of social welfare services; and the more extensive the state provision of social welfare services, the smaller the nonprofit sector (Salamon and Anheier, 1996). The interdependence theory outlined

acknowledges the possibility of a cooperative relationship between the nonprofit sector and the state, it does not really specify the circumstances under which such a relationship is most likely to emerge (Salamon and Anheier, 1996). The social origin theory potentially provide a bridge between the economy and simplicity of the economic theories we have been considering and the complex and often inconclusive world of comparative historical work (Salamon and Anheier, 1996).

The existence of private, religion-based schools run by societal organizations in a number of the East Asian and Southeast Asian countries is seen to have played a unique role in the preparation of young generation. Such a unique contribution represents a demand

side theory. In his sociological studies on the schools in these areas, Cummings (2008) finds some shared commonalities: the governments are more likely to provide vast rooms for privately-run activities or services as far as they are not disruptive to national stability. On the one hand, this serves freedom for some groups to actively contribute in the provision of services. On the other hand, this loose attitude on the part of the governments also gives some legitimacy for the ruling governments to provide minimum support for the initiatives carried out by some groups. Both freedom to contribute and a lack of support from the government take place in both Catholic and Muhammadiyah schools, that were initially set up to meet the needs of common people.

The provision of some room for civil society to participate in education is known as a form of complementarity (Coston, 1998), where the state allows private sectors to engage in resource sharing, mutual benefits, and information sharing. Meanwhile, other experts in the area assign the phenomenon as center-periphery approach to analyzing private participation in education. Much of the emphasis on fee charging and private education during the 1980s and 1990s was in fact not on primary education but

on higher education, where it was believed that private participation was crucial for innovation and could allow for more government funding to target basic education (Samoff & Carrol, 2004). Private schools in Indonesia have provided educational alternatives for the poor and those living in more remote areas, and are sometimes the only options for these students (Christiano and Cumming, 2006). There is a methodological imperative to approach the study of schooling aspart of an historical process whose dynamics are internal to it (Postiglione, 2007). However, the grossly abused privatization discourse does not necessarily entail a move beyond the center–periphery platforms associated with promises of national progress. This is actually part of an international process that pulls EastAsian education back into a position that keeps center–periphery platforms relevant. In short, private education has the potential to be part of an exploitativerelationship in which core nations are collaborators. Even while the discourse inAsia calls for rejection of selected Western value positions, it has been slower at developing newer analytical categories for schooling-state development experience.

Lockheed and Jimenez explain three reasons why private participation in basic education plays an important

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role. First, private education must fill the inevitable gaps offered by public education provision. They quoted James that private organizations have two other different motivations for the establishment of private schools - a differentiated demand arising from a deep-seated religious or linguistic diversity and an offer on the part of an entrepreneur or organization, often religious, to start the schools on a non-profit basis. This situation may change as countries develop and differentiated demand becomes a bigger motivator of private education (James 1988, 1989a, 1986b,1986c). A second role that private education can have is in fostering greater efficiency by requiring public schools to compete for students. These characteristics include a greater flexibility in the way they operate and in the way they are funded, a direct accountability to those who use their services and a greater tendency for those in charge of individual schools to make critical educational decisions (Coleman, Hoffer and Kilgore, 1982). It is often argued that these characteristics enable private schools to provide education more effectively, in other words, to provide the type and quality of education students and their parents' demand (Lockheed and Jimenez, 1994). Furthermore Lockheed and Jimenez (1994) said

that private schools can serve as a laboratory for alternative models of school-level management, which, if effective, could be adopted by public schools. And then they said theoretically, private schools are free of the bureaucratic constraints that encumber public schools, and are able to control many more decisions at the school level (Lockheed and Jimenez, 1994).

Other studies have been done to investigate the extent of private participation in educational service provisions. Privately-owned educational institutions are believed to provide educational services that meet parents' needs which are unavailable in public schools, such as students with particular needs. Park, *et al.* (2011) find that in addition to formal schooling in public schools, the Korean children are also supported with private tutors (*hakwon*) in order to allow them excell and enroll in highly prestigious universities. Private schools are considered to have an ample room to manage their own resources (Carbonaro and Covey, 2010), and therefore are more flexible in decision making. Bryk, Lee dan Holland (1993) highlight the possibility that a larger private school may foster equality by allowing school to be more flexible. Control over hiring decision,

curriculum offerings and budget allocations may allow private school the flexibility to meet the particular needs of low-achieving student in their local context, potentially reducing dispersion in achievement. The flexibility of private schools have intitutional meaning in terms of their capability to exist without government subsidy. Indeed, private schools have capability to adjust with different and dynamic environment. Amartya Sen, a Noble Laureate, proposed the capability approach to look at how the private institution use their resources.

The capability approach looks at a relationship between the resources people have and what they can do with them. As Sen puts it, in a good theory of well-being, "account would have to be taken not only of the primarygoods the persons respectively hold, but also of the relevant personal characteristics that govern the conversion of primary goods into the person's abilityto promote her ends"(Sen 1999, p. 74).
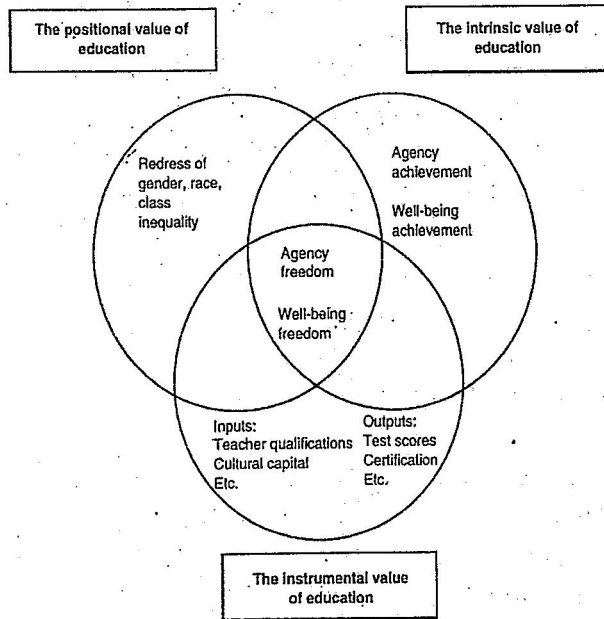

Fig. 1. Three different fields of education and capabilities

Source: Elaine Unterhalter and Harry Brighouse

In this research, we use capability approach in order to investigate the participation of private schools in primary education. The three fields that intersect with this terrain of freedom relate to three different understandings of education. First, education has an instrumental value. In this field education (very often understood as schooling) helps secure work at a certain level and political and social participation in certainforms. Without some formal level of skill acquisition, schooling for a number of years or other form of initiation into a group (for example, through learning a sacred language or particular religious practices), one cannot achieve vital aspects of agency and well-being, that is, live a life one has reason to value (Unterhalter and Brighouse, 2007). The instrinsic value of education refres to the benefits a person gets from education thatare not merely instrumental for some other benefit the person may be ableto use it to get (Unterhalter and Brighouse, 2007).The third of education ispositional insofar as its benefits for the educated person depend on howsuccessful she has been relative to others (Unterhalter and Brighouse, 2007).

At the heart of the three overlapping fields is the concern in the capability approach with well-being and agency freedoms (Sen 1985). These freedoms relate to the social conditions to secure instrumental, intrinsic,and positional values through education. The field of well-being freedom in education is concerned, for example, with freedom from harassment in a classroom, freedom to concentrate in a classroom (not too tired, too hungry, too anxious), freedom to access a lesson through appropriate pedagogies, and good quality of management (Unterhalter 2005).

III. Research Methodology

This evaluation was based on the policy evaluation of education policy in the two provinces in Java, i.e. Yogyakarta Special Province and Central Java. Most of the data in this study were both quantitative and qualitative in nature. This implies that the analytical approach of this study is derived from mixed methods between quantitative and qualitative research methods. It is known earlier as multi-method, integrated, hybrid, combined, and mixed methodology research (Creswell and Plano Clark 2007: 6 in Driscoll, et.al. 2007). Mixed methods generally described as methods to expand the scope or breadth of research to offset the weaknesses of either approach alone (Blake 1989; Greene, Caracelli, and Graham 1989, Rossman and Wilson 1991 in Driscoll, *et. al.* 2007).

The data used in this research were drawn from both primary and secondary sources. The primary data were obtained through surveys and interviews. When considerable constraints to obtain data from the primary sources occured, the secondary data sources were tapped into. The secondary data consisted of all evidence in the forms of documents and records. To build the conceptual framework of the study, a review of literature on a wide range of policy studies was done.

Data triangulation (Denzin, 1970) was done through comparing and contrasting findings and interpretations among researchers to capture both convergence among researchers (agreement between field notes of one investigator and observations of another) and convergence among theories. The instruments for qualitative approach were the interview guide and Focus Group Discussion.

For quantitative approach, this research uses questionnaire to collect data from Primary and Secondary Schools both of Catholic and Muhammadiyah Schools. The sampling technique in this research employed in the study was Nonprobability Sampling with Quota Sampling procedure. Expected response rate was minimal at 60 percent. Sampling was based on Slovin formula: $N = n/N(d)2 + 1$, whereas n = sample; N = population; d = precision value 95% or sig. = 0,05 (Arikunto, 2005).

Tabel 2. Population and Sample

NO	Schools	Yogyakarta	Central Java	Number of schools
1	SD Muhammadiyah	282	183	465
2	SD Katolik	65	95	160
3	SMP Muhammadiyah	81	279	360
4	SMP Katolik	26	70	96
	TOTAL			1081

The population in this research involved 1.081 Catholic School and Muhammadiyah Schools at Yogyakarta Special Province and Central Java Province. By using Slovin's formula, the number of samples was 92 schools for quantitative data and 9 schools for qualitative data.

IV. Findings and Discussion

Epistomologically, we set out to engage in our scientific inquiry by drawing multiple perspectives in

order to gain a holistic view of the matter under investigation (Cooper & White, 2012). Accordingly, both findings and discussion are drawn both from the survey data and qualitative inquiry, and are represented through genealogically rich descriptions of the realities (Kamberelis & Dimitriadis, 2005). The conceptual framework being employed is Amartya Sen's (1993) capability approach. This framework is useful to capture both the learning processes and social values of education. It also sets out the plan to evaluate educational advantages and equally to indentify disanvantaged, marginalization and exclusion (Unterhalter, 2010). Four major areas of inquiries are presented under this section, namely conditions of participation, school content and forms, curriculum as lived experience, and financing agency in schools.

Conditions of Participation

The conditions of participation discussed in the following sections are conditions that encourage community participation through the establisment of schools and school management and/ or maintenance that involve a particular community. The research was conducted on 55 primary and secondary Muhammadiyah schools and 37 primary and secondary Catholic schools for two months between November 2013 and January 2014. Historically speaking, Muhammadiyah schools were founded by a group of people or leaders of Muhammadiyah branch or branches. A case in point, Muhammadiyah Noyokerten Elementary School was established in 1987 by the board of Muhammadiyah branch of North Sendangtirto, Bantul, Yogyakarta. It was established by mobilizing the local community to help set up the school building. Similarly, arch-diocese, parish-based Catholic schools were initiated by the local people who intended to equip children with knowledge, skills, and good attitude. Meanwhile, particular order/congregation-based schools were established by congregations of nuns or brothers, such as Pangudi Luhur schools by *Fratres Immaculatae Conceptionis* (FIC) brothers, Tarakanita schools by Carolus Borromeus (CB) sisters, and Marsudi Rini schools by *Sisters of St. Francis* (OSF), to name a few.

Politically speaking, the introduction of the European model of schooling took place largely due to the adoption of Ethical Policy issued by the Netherlands East Indies authority in 1900 (Rosariyanto, 2009). Such a policy was issued as

a token of gratitude by the colonial ruler over economic contributions of the archipelago for the last three centuries. This policy led the establishments of primary schools called *sekolah rakyat* or folk schools for indigeneous children. In the mean time, more opportunities were offered to other agencies, such as Protestant's and Catholic's religious congregations or orders to open religion-based schools in the Netherlands East Indies.

Since the 1900s, there were four groups of schooling, i.e. state-owned schools, mission-based schools, nationalist-driven schools, and Islamic-based schools (Budiraharjo, 2014). Among these types of school, only the first group that was actually established by the government. The other three groups of schools, which were mission-based (belonged to the Catholic Church), nationalist-driven (such as *Taman Siswa*), the pesantren-based (Islamic Madrasah), actually emerged from community participation.

From the perspective of nation-building, the presence of these schools had led to heightened sense of patriotism. Colonial repression had lasted for about three centuries and therefore had silenced the indigenous people. Political struggles in the form of military battles took place during the three-century period

in some places, such as Yogyakarta (1628/29), Minangkabau (1803-1838), Mollucan Islands (1816-1817), Yogyakarta (1825-1830), and Borneo (1859-1905), to name a few. The introduction of formal schooling system in Indonesia was seen to have changed the course of military struggles to socio-cultural approaches. Many view that the establishment of Boedi Oetomo (1908) signifies the National Awakening, that had drawn a lot from the schooling system in the country. Given the huge wave of civil participation to offer education to the young generation of Indonesia, it could be concluded that it was the civil society movement that had changed to course of modern Indonesian history.

The original form of civil society movement remains to be of today's characteristics found in both Catholic and Muhammadiyah schools. The governance of those religion-based schools is strongly influenced by the history and mission of the organizations. In Muhammadiyah schools, in general, the composition of school management committee consists of representatives of parents, community leaders, representatives from Muhammadiyah administrators and alumni. The same happens in Catholic schools. Both diocese-based schools and

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congregation-owned schools largely maintain the legacy of the past. They are managed by unified foundations that serve as intermediary between the schools and the governments and parents.

School contents and forms

As civil society organizations, Muhammadiyah and Catholic foundations have a long tradition and history in the management of schools before Indonesia's independence in 1945. In the 18th and 19th century, a vast network of Qur'anic schools spread across the archipelago (Hefner, 2000). The leaders of these schools were suspicious of Europeans and their native allies, and they located their institutions at a safe distance from state capitals (Hefner, 2000).

The establishment of Muhammadiyah schools was started before independence with the aim to provide educational opportunities to the natives. Muhammadiyah attempted to purify the renewal of religious beliefs of a mixture of traditional systems by implementing the reform movement to bring religion to work in harmony with the modern rational thought back to the Koran and Islamic beliefs are. On the one hand, Muhammadiyah chose to provide religious lessons for those unable to attend boarding schools.

On the other hand, the schools intended to equip their students with science and skills relevant to the challenges of life and work (Ariyanti, 2011). K.H. Ahmad Dahlan, the Muhammadiyah founder, was known to have combined both boarding school system with a Western schooling system. Lessons learned from boarding school education were Islamic religious subjects, while those taken from the western education system were generally subject and class system (Ariyanti, 2011).

From the point of view of Catholicism, one of the most influential figures that established the underlying principles of Catholic education in Java was Rev. van Lith, SJ (1863-1926). He arrived in Indonesia in 1896 and established St. Francis Xavier College in Muntilan, Central Java. The school was intended to prepare young poeple to teach the indigeneous children. In fact, some Catholic schools were actually built long before his arrival in Java. Ursuline Sisters was established in Indonesia first in 1858. However, the presence of Rev. van Lith, SJ, brought lasting significance and contribution at larger spheres. First, he maintained a social-anthropological approach in order to transform Javanese culture. His presence in Java was not

solely targeted for conversion into Catholicism per se. His concerns were more on how to help the Javanese people aware of their own values and improve their conducts and behaviors upon the awareness of their own culture. Second, his commitments to creating a group of young people to be highly aware of the existing Javanese culture led him to establish a teachers training school, called St. Francis Xavier College (now van Lith Senior High School) in Muntilan, Central Java (Subanar, 2003; Rosariyanto, 2009).

What was carried by Rev. van Lith in teacher education was an effort to assist the transformation of the socio-cultural-anthropological nature of the Javanese community. He identified some negative things among Javanese people, such as maintaining contract-based marriage, and being apologetic and opportunistic. He set out to address such issues through his interactions with his students, students' parents, and people in general (Rosariyanto, 2009).

Table 3. Contents and Forms of Private Schools

	Catholic schools	Muhammadiyah schools
Contents	Catholicism, general subjects (science, math, civics)	Al Islam and Kemuhammadiyaan general subjects (science, math, civics)
Forms	Half-day school	Fullday School

Source: Primary Data

Principles of Accountability

Public accountability refers to the implementation of the system which is open, transparent, and scalable. Availability of funds from the government to build the infrastructure and facilities in private schools is very rare and certainly not sufficient. Private schools are required to find ways to get necessary resources to develop their own school facilities and infrastructure, such as buildings, desks, chairs, and information technology systems.

Empirical data gathered from the study demonstrate that it is the leadership of the schools that keeps the schools to run well. The school principals and his team are expected to formulate skillful communication strategies with funding parties to run the schools. Based on an interview (March 14, 2014) with the school principal, the Muhammadiyah Sapen Elementary School relies on a good relationship with the donors, school committees, and parents. One of the methods in order to

remain close to the donors, parents and school committee members is to maintain relational trust and friendship through monthly meetings, and other social activities, such as home visits. The school maintains a public accountability by sending financial reports of how the school is run to parents as well.

The same method is also implemented in other schools as well. Maintaining public accountability and good relationship with school committee members, parents, and alumni is seen to bring a positive identity of the schools. In turn, when the trust is obtained, funding donors are more likely to take part. Pangudi Luhur Junior High School of Bayat, Klaten, Central Java, raises funds from its alumni across the nation. The best religion-based school in Bayat District, the school airs its accountability both in academic, social, and economic terms. Many of its alumni are successful professionals in the capital city. The alumni association has largely functional in obtaining large amount of funds to build school facilities, infrastructure, and scholarships for the needy students. Many of its alumni recalled to have come from the same poor socio-economic backgrounds, and such a compassion leads them to give away their fortunes to the next generation

of the students attending this school. It is worth noting as well that the school principal has been influential in drawing attention of the alumni of the school.

It can be concluded that the principals are required to be able to manage money in a way that is open, transparent, and scalable through a variety of ways. The donors of private schools are thus encouraged to invest their money as social fund for education as far as the schools are able to demonstrate the evidence upon which the money is effectively and efficiently used to fund educational activities. The existence of clear evidence that the money collected is appropriately spent, such as for the construction of a particular facility and well-distributed scholarship, maintains the public accountability.

The field data indicates that private schools remain to be trusted by the public (community) who send their children to such religion-based schools largely due to the high degree of accountability shown by these schools. Muhammadiyah Elementary schools such as in Sapen, Noyokerten and Nitikan serve as good examples. They always report to the parents and the school committee members for the school year of income and expenditure of each activity. The strong air of

accountability is perceived by the community because the fincancial reports are made public, allowing both parents and school committee members to get a grasp on how the school is run. Based on interviews with two school principals of Muhammadiyah schools, even all of school-related activities are reported to the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education Finance of each local branch (March 14, 2014). A different case takes place among Catholic schools. The accountability is maintained through the foundation that takes care of the congregations of the schools under their administration. The control and monitoring systems are aligned to the respective foundations.

Taking into account the data presented above, it can be said that the majority of the reasons why parents send their children to private schools are three-fold. First, the cost to send children to Muhammadiyah schools is affordable. The similar case also takes place among Catholic schools, especially those located in rural areas. Second, parents want their children to obtain specific religious teachings. It is the beliefs of parents that their children will receive a foundation of Islamic faith upon their completion of the study in the school. Ideologically speaking, most parents believe that religious

beliefs gained through the schooling in Muhammadiyah schools will equip their children with better attitude. Ideological reasons are also found among Catholic schools. Many parents want their children to acquire particular values, such as obtaining disciplined mind and behaviors, and developing a tolerant attitude to live in the multiculturalist society. Third, the religion-based schools are widely known to have better qualities in training academic skills for the students. In some parts of the country, parents believe that Muhammadiyah schools are better than any other schools. As pointed out by Mu'thi (2010), parents in the town of Ende send their children to Muhammadiyah school. This is an interesting case to take into account. Given the fact that the majority of the community in the town is Catholic (67%), the existing Christian and Catholic schools are considered of lower quality. It is worth noting that Mu'thi's (2010) findings are unlikely to be generalizable across other settings. The empirical data obtained through this study demonstrates that some well-established Catholic schools remain to be highly competitive.

Curriculum as lived experience

In contrast with general views on systemic perspectives of

curriculum, this study draws much discussion on a socio-cultural perspectives (Budiraharjo, 2014). In the contemporary discourse of curriculum, a linear, systemic view of curriculum has largely made schools and teachers left impoverished. Considered from such an instrumentalist rationality, most people are forced to talk about curriculum in response to the formal policies issued by the government. The all-encompassing discussions are very likely to refer to the power of polity, and therefore all seem to get trapped within a socio-regulative sphere. A socio-cultural perspective allows us to comprehend the enacted and lived curriculum from a starkly different angle.

Accordingly, curriculum is thus a representation of the complexity of geological layers of lived experiences undergone by some school communities for an extended period of time (Darling-Hammond, 1997). Within this highly contested field of curriculum as lived experience, lies a variety of ideological underpinnings. Kliebard's (2004) historiography on the emergence of curriculum as an independent discipline of inquiry underscores four ideological assumptions that had contributed to its establishment. The four areas include traditional intellectualist, efficiency, child developmentalist,

and reconstructionist. In short, out of the four contesting assumptions, it is the efficiency model that eventually wins the battles. Upon the delineation of Ralph Tyler's (1949) rationale for curriculum development, the curriculum development programs holds to be highly systemic by nature. Given the increasing trends of audit culture in such neoliberalistic ages and standards-based movement, curriculum development remains to be largely document-based (Taubman, 2007). The very trend strongly appears in the most recent curriculum, i.e. *Kurikulum 2013* (dubbed as K-13), formally enacted by the Yudhoyono administration, where teachers are seen merely as technicians.

Raising the curriculum within the area of lived experience promises a far greater depth of investigation. First, the existing practices in schools are a representation of culture or habits of mind shared by the school community. The empirical data obtained from this current study underscores such patterns. The implementation of the 2006 School-Based Curriculum (*Kurikulum Tingkat Satuan Pendidikan*) has not necessarily brought significant changes in teaching practices. The curriculum has shown to have influenced

more on the open governmentality by the schools. The inclusion of school committee members in the school governance allows better community participation in school management. The findings of the study corroborate Bjork's (2013) empirical findings with regards to the power of traditional teaching practices among Indonesian teachers. New jargons about constructivism, collaborative learning, and student-centered learning are generally adopted as fads, but not necessarily change the way teaching activities are conducted. Bjork (2013) notes that pedagogical methods being used by ordinary Indonesian teachers generally consist of 53 per cent of all lessons being used for lecturing, 20 per cent for working on worksheets or hands-on activities, and the last 5 per cent for a class discussion. Second, raising the issues of curricula as lived experiences by each school will offer a more colorful portrayal of reality. Each private school has particular ways of doing things. Many good practices that we can draw from how school community manages their lives in the school. It is therefore imperative to bring forward some discussions on the curriculum as lived experiences that are demonstrated by the schools.

The empirical data obtained through the study demonstrate that many religion-based schools being investigated seek to draw more from moral teachings of their religious values. The Jogonalan Muhammadiyah Junior High School (Central Java) opts to equip their students with more practical and meaningful skills relevant to the societal needs. While neighboring state-owned schools have more privilege to get more intelligent students, this school does not have any choice. The number of students is small, and their academic skills are of lower quality. Instead of blaming external constraints, the school decides to engage students with social activities conducted in the school neighborhood. The students are trained to have some public speech skills – in the form of *a 7-minute lecture* done in the mosque (dubbed as *kultum*, or *kuliah tujuh menit*).

Efforts to maintain high relevance to the societal needs are also found in other schools. The Pangudi Luhur Bayat Junior High School – owned by FIC Brothers – attempts to offer sewing skills for its students. The best private school in the area, this school is known for its generosity in terms of scholarship provisions for the needy students. Upon seeing the direct needs of some students who are not able to afford higher education after the completion of their junior high,

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the school principal and his team sought to obtain a number of sewing machines. The machines are used to train sewing skills for these students. The school is certainly responsive to the societal needs. It is known that Bayat District houses clothing-based industries.

Some other schools are very strong at pursuing particular values. Both Elementary and Junior High Schools of John Don Bosco (Yogyakarta) set out to enact inclusive education. Some students with particular disabilities and special needs are placed in the same rooms with those ordinary students. Both students and parents of the students learn to appreciate other people, no matter what and who they are. In addition, instead of following highly prescribed religion class materials – where learning assessments tend to measure knowledge, the schools assign students to demonstrate the proofs of being involved in both social and religious activities beyond the school. Local ulemas, priests, and other religious officers are invited to "assign" formal grades for the religion classes. Another case representing the power of ideals is obtained from Kanisius Kadirojo Elementary School. The 67-year old principal is a retired school teacher. This lady looks so frail and her being so humble seems to

undermine her achievements. She had won three *Adiwiyata* Awards from the President of Indonesia. She demonstrates an unrelenting passion to ecology-friendly creation. Her records, and her ways of leading the school community have earned her a prominence among the school community and the local education boards.

Another issue worth discussing is the curricula chosen by particular schools to educate people at large. Kanisius Elementary School Wirobrajan, a case in point, sets to educate both students and their parents to participate in developing school infrastructures. The breakthrough chosen by the school is the issuance of *Koin 100* policy. Literally speaking, the *Koin 100* is in the form of a box to deposit some money for students. This is a fundraising strategy, which sets to teach children to set aside a small fraction of their pocket money to contribute to the construction of some school infrastructure. The term *Koin 100* means the amount of Rp. 100,- (equal to 1 cent of US Dollar). To maintain its accountability, the principal sends a summary of financial report by the end of each semester. Another mechanism to teach the public at large is to involve parishioners to help fund teachers' salary. Drawing

from funds raised through Ganjuran Pilgrimage destination for the Catholics, Ganjuran Parish allocates Rp. 500,000.- for some teachers in the neighboring Catholic schools.

Financing Agency in Schools

As discussed previously, the existence of religion-based schools in Indonesia emerged as commitments of civil society to contribute to the capacity building of the young generation. In other words, such schools have maintained a high sense of agency, upon which self-determination, authentic self-direction, autonomy, self-reliance, empowerment, and voice are its major characteristics (Alkire & Denaulin, 2010). In the face of today's politics, however, three major problems appear to serve as insurmountable hurdles for most schools.

First, the government has recently issued some policies that are highly insenstive to the historical and empirical existence of the private schools. In a joint decision involving three ministries (of Education, of State Apparatus, and of Religion Affaris), public servants (teachers receiving salaries from the government) are not allowed to work in private schools. For many years, private schools had enjoyed the state-salaried workforce of teachers. Second, state authorities frequently

air negative outlooks, which are highly insensitive to the historical contributions made by the private schools (Mujiran, 2014, *in press*). Muhammad Nuh, the Minister of Education, stroke a heavy blow on the parts of the private schools. According to him, private schools receiving School Operational Funds (SOF) from the government are unlawful if they remain to collect money from students to run the school. As definitively found in the research, the amount of SOF is in fact just a fraction of the total amount of money spent for the whole year. Third, the government tends to issue ideals-based standards (drawn from well-funded state schools), to assess school performance such as in accreditation schemes and other supervisory tools. Such mechanisms are found in any level of education, from kindergartens to higher education institutions.

The empirical data gathered from this study explains the amount of money collected by the private schools for each student. This study also reveals the gaps between the actual funds obtained from the government and the real expenditure by each school to fund the education for each student. Another information to raise in this report is particular strategies used by the private schools to meet the gaps of infrastructure construction.

The data shows that the distribution of state-owned SOF for private schools is intended to finance school operations, such as school activities, honorariums for instructors, learning aids, electricity, water, telecommunication bills, infrastructure maintenance, transportation, taxes, and food for students. However, SOF is not used to pay private school teachers' salaries. According to the regulation issued by the Department of Education, the amount of SOF is determined by the number of students in each school. The SOF is initially intended to alleviate the burdens of the society in sending their children to enjoy a nine-year compulsory education program. In addition, the fund is also expected to meet the minimum standards of service by the school. As shown in the following table, the amount of money obtained for each elementary school student is Rp. 580,000.-/year and for junior high student Rp. 710,000.-/year.

Table 4. Student Subsidy and Student Expenditure

LEVEL		Expenditure on average	BOS	Deficits
Muhammadiyah	ES	Rp1,524,184	Rp580,000	Rp944,184
	JHS	Rp2,316,437	Rp710,000	Rp1,736,437
Catholic	ES	Rp1,935,058	Rp580,000	Rp1,225,058
	JHS	Rp2,579,497	Rp710,000	Rp1,869,497

Source: Primary data

The empirical data show that the financial contribution of the government to the private, religion-based schools is far from being sufficient. First, the amount of fund supplied by the government to these schools on average contributed up to 47 per cent of all expenditure. From the data, it was also obvious that Catholic schools spent more money to run the schools. For Muhammadiyah schools, the funds obtained from the government contributed 51 per cent of the whole expenditure, while for the Catholic 42.5 per cent. The biggest gap took place among Catholic junior high where the total gap reached Rp. 1,869,479.-.

The study also reveals the fact that religion-based schools encounter huge problems with regards the construction of the school infrastructure and facilities. The data shows that the construction takes great amounts of funds. In contrast with state-owned schools

which solely rely on annual state budgets and local government's budgets to build the facilities, these religion-based schools are forced to find their own funding sources. In general, to build the school infrastructure and facilities, these schools obtained as much as 21 per cent from the government. The rest was obtained from other sources, such as networking (20%), parents (16%), and aids from external parties (18%). Given the huge disparities among schools, in terms of school leadership skills, networking, alumni relations, and other socio-economic considerations, only few schools were able to thrive under such a tough and dire atmosphere.

In conclusion, each private school stands in the face of a losing war, where their public school counterparts enjoy much privilege over resources that lead to attract brighter students, entice more parents with free-fee education services, and better school facilities or infrastructure. While some government officials in local education offices remain to show appreciation towards the contribution of private schools, the top leaders of the country, such as the Minister of Education, Muhammad Nuh, very frequently send some daunting remarks with regards to the existence of civil society's participation through education.

The religion-based schools have been heavily bombarded with unfriendly policies, making these schools less and less attractive. A case in point, the ignorance of Klaten Regency's Department of Education towards some unlawful practices done by state-owned schools, is very likely to end the existence of such private schools. By law, it is not allowed to add more classes in public schools. Some public schools, however, violate such regulation by setting up new classes in order to get more SOF and to allow their teachers to get certification allowances. The following excerpt highlights the injustices done by the public schools that are endorsed by the local education department.

> It is very difficult to compete with public schools, because they keep adding more classes. They reason that teachers need more classes to meet the basic requirement of 24 hrs/week to get certification allowance[3].

Accordingly, the neighboring private schools will only get one class (with most 35 students/class), while public schools open up more classrooms easily. The infrastructure construction in these public schools is fully supported by the local government, so things become very

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3 Interview with principal of Muhammadiyah Junior High Kalasan; November 25, 2013.

smooth and comfortable for public schools.

V. Conclusion

This research reveals a set of major characteristis generally found among religion-based schools in Indonesia. First, the schools came into existence in reponse to the societal needs mostly during the modern era of Indonesian struggles to gain independence. The schools were a representation of civil society's contribution to the nation building. Historically speaking, before frequent interventions by the polity became stronger, the schools thrived well and positively contributed to the preparation of significant workforce of Indonesians. Second, the religion-based schools remain to be significantly meaningful in terms of their hidden curricula. Their spiritual and ethical traditions remain to be guidelines for the school community members, allowing them to keep the spirit of service and moral purpose at hand. Religion-based schools offer humanistic approaches to teaching and learning, making them closer to the ideas of inducing better character building in comparison to their public school counterparts. Third, this study also yields systematic injustice done by the top leaders and the local officials of the department of education. In some instances public officials send some daunting remarks that lead to some labeling against religion-based schools collecting funds from parents. Parents' contributions to educational fees to support their children's schooling are seen as a criminal act. The minister of education seems to be highly insensitive to the reality that the amount of SOF is far from being sufficient to run the private schools.

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