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Governing Quality in Indonesian Early Childhood Education

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Abstract

This thesis examines the way in which ideas around quality early childhood education in Indonesia were produced over three periods of government: Pre-Reformasi (1950-1998); Reformasi (1998-2003); and post-Reformasi (2004-2015). With a focus on the present – post-Reformasi Indonesia – a Foucauldian analysis of policy documents traces shifting discourses of quality. The thesis focuses its analyses on the ways in which quality has influenced conceptualisations of young children, the roles of teachers, and learning environments in shaping Indonesia's youngest citizens over the past twenty years (1998-2018).

Using a Foucauldian genealogy of selected policy documents, the thesis traces four major discourses that have shaped notions of quality in general, and shifting ideas of what are good children, good teachers, and good early learning environments. The pre-Reformasi notions of quality were shaped by two major discourses: the discourse of nationalism during early independence to the end of Sukarno's administration, and the discourse of correction and development during the New Order administration. In the brief period of Reformasi, quality was influenced mainly by a discourse of distinction and change. The contemporary post-Reformasi notions of quality are shaped by a discourse of standardisation.

By examining notions of quality through the three lenses of children, teachers, and learning environment, various influences are traced. These include nationalism, child development, quality indicators, professionalisation and standards. From an analysis of the key documents in each period, quality is seen to be the major theme. Quality, however, is viewed differently over time. During the pre-Reformasi period quality is characterised by obedient children, compliant teachers, while the learning environment functions to foster nationalism and national ideology. During the Reformasi period, quality is informed by the emergence of Western notions of child development and teachers are seen as role models of reformed citizens and facilitators in developmental learning environments. In the post-Reformasi, quality is characterised by developmentally-standardised children, professionally certified teachers, and standard-driven learning environments.

While these characterisations are useful in tracing the shifting understandings of quality this thesis also explores other internal tensions and contradictory ideas of quality. It focuses on post-Reformasi policy documents and provides some suggestions for ways to overcome contradictions, while diversifying quality-governing tools.

List of Terms and Acronyms

Term	Definition
ACDP	Analytical and Capacity Development Partnership
ADB	Asian Development Bank
BCCT	Beyond Center and Circle Time, a curricular framework produced by the Creative Center for Childhood Research and Training (CCRT)
BECHRD-EQA	Board of Education and Culture Human Resources Development and Education Quality Assurance
DECE	Directorate of Early Childhood Education (*Direktorat Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini*)
DOEC	Department of Education and Culture(*Departemen Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*)
DKPE	Directorate of Kindergarten and Primary Education (*Direktorat Pembinaan Taman Kanak-Kanak dan Pedidikan Dasar*)
DONE	Department of National Education (*Departemen Pendidikan Nasional*)
DGECENIE	Directorate General of Early Childhood Non-Formal and Informal Education (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini Non-Formal dan Informal*)
DGHE	Directorate General of Higher Education (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Tinggi*)
DGIE	Directorate General of Islamic Education (*Direktorat Jenderal Pendidikan Islam*)
ECE	Early Childhood Education (*Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini*, PAUD*)*
ECE Forum	*Forum PAUD*, a multi-sector taskforce on early childhood education
GOI	The Government of the Republic of Indonesia (*Pemerintah Republik Indonesia*)
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah, Indonesian currency, abbreviated in Indonesian as 'Rp.'
Kiai	Traditional Muslim leader normally owns or teaches at a *pesantren*.
Kindergarten	By law is a formal preschool program service for children aged 4 to 6, Indonesian, *Taman Kanak-Kanak*
Madrasah	Islamic schools coordinated and supervised by MORA
Manusia Pancasila	Pancasila-istic human, the New Order government idealisation of the good Indonesian human
Manusia pembangunan	Human of development, i.e. developed human and/or development-supportive citizens, another New Order idealisation of the good Indonesian equalised to *manusia Pancasila*
Manusia Indonesia seutuhnya	Fully Indonesian human, another designation of 'manusia Pancasila' and 'manusia pembangunan'

MNDP	:	Ministry of National Development Planning, (*Kementerian Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional*) also called National Development Planning Agency (NDPA, *Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional,* Bappenas)
MOEC	:	Ministry of Education and Culture (*Kementerian Pendidikan dan Kebudayaan*)
MOH	:	Ministry of Health (*Kementerian Kesehatan*)
MOHA	:	Ministry of Home Affair (*Kementerian Dalam Negeri*)
MONE	:	Ministry of National Education (*Kementerian Pendidikan Nasional*)
MORA	:	Ministry of Religious Affair (*Kemenetrian Agama*)
MORTHE		Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education (*Kementerian Riset Teknologi dan Pendidikan Tinggi*)
MOSW	:	Ministry of Social Welfare (*Kementerian Sosial*)
NAB	:	National Accreditation Board (*Badan Akreditasi Nasional*)
NABNFE	:	National Accreditation Board of Non-Formal Education (*Badan Akreditasi Nasional Pendidikan Non-Formal*)
NFBCB	:	National Family Planning Coordination Board (*Badan Koordinasi Keluarga Berencana Nasional,* BKKBN)
NTRMS	:	National Team for the Reform towards the Madani Society (*Tim Nasional Reformasi Menuju Masyarakat Madani*)
OECD	:	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
Orde Baru	:	New Order, popularly known as the period of Soeharto administration (1967-1998)
Orde Lama	:	Old Order, the New Order government designation of the late Sukarno administration
Pancasila	:	Literally Five Principles (*panca*, five; *sila*, principle), Indonesia's national philosophy consisting of belief in one God, humanitarianism, national unity, democracy, and social justice.
PCA	:	People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat*, MPR)
PLPG	:	Teacher Professional Education and Training (*Pendidikan dan Latihan Profesi Guru*)
Pesantren	:	Boarding house of traditional Islamic education system
PPCA		People's Consultative Assembly (*Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat Sementara*, MPRS*)*
PPGT	:	*Pendidikan Profesi Guru Terintegrasi* (Integrated Teacher Professional Education)
Raudhatul Athfal	:	Islamic kindergarten, another name variation is *Bustanul Athfal*
SM3T	:	*Sarjana Mendidik Daerah Terdepan, Terluar dan Tertinggal*, (Pre-Service Teachers Teach in the Frontiers, Outer, and Underdeveloped Regions)
TPE	:	Teachers' Professional Education (*Pendidikan Profesi Guru*, PPG)
UNDP	:	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	:	The United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNICEF	:	United Nations International Children's Fund

Dedication

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Chapter 1. Introduction

This chapter contextualises the thesis by providing the rationale for the study of Indonesian policy of early childhood education quality and an overview of Indonesia. The overview includes a brief profile of the country including the education system in general, the early childhood education system in particular, and the major discourses that circulated in three periods of Indonesian history and considerably contributed to the production of the notions of quality early childhood education. The chapter draws on earlier works on Indonesian history, a number of official publications by Indonesian government agencies, and existing works on Indonesian education and early childhood education.

The chapter begins with a brief rationale of the importance of scrutinising and, more precisely, critically analysing, Indonesian policy notions of quality early childhood education. This section of the chapter highlights early childhood education policy development in post-Reformasi Indonesia and the scarcity of studies that question this development.

The latter parts of the chapter provide an overview of Indonesia. They look at the country's history and profile in general and at its education system and early childhood education system in particular. They also include an overview of international agencies' contributions to post-Reformasi Indonesian early childhood education.

Why Study Indonesian Early Childhood Education Quality?

In post-1998 Reformasi Indonesia, an impressive mobilisation of early childhood education policy occurred. As further demonstrated in the next section on Indonesian early childhood education, in the post-Reformasi period, the Indonesian government launched various early childhood education campaigns and numerous policy documents (often) with only a short interval between the publication of a policy and its replacement by a new policy. This tendency has left no space for both those who are responsible for the delivery of the policy and those who become the very targets of the policy.

Reports and studies by the country's international partners (e.g. OECD/Asian Development Bank, 2015; UNESCO, 2005; World Bank, 2006a) and international observers (Hasan, Hyson, & Chang, 2013; Newberry, 2012; 2014) have documented this development. However, studies

that specifically examine what the post-Reformasi policy defines and how it regulates early childhood education quality are scarce. While, for example, reports by UNESCO (2003; 2005) and Hasan, Hyson, and Chang (2013) recognise the country's impressive early childhood education development and advocate the need for ensuring its sustainable high quality, they do not specifically scrutinise the existing policy ideas of quality early childhood education.

The rapid policy cycle could, at first sight, be seen as the Indonesian government's commitment to create quality early childhood education. However, it can also been seen as an indication that a policy had its own internal problems that had not been completely resolved at the time of its publication, and therefore, had to be quickly replaced by a new policy. As a result, many aspects of Indonesia's early childhood education quality can be questioned and challenged.

This thesis addresses government policy documents' notions of quality. It does not, however, intend to undermine the significance of the construct of quality as operationalised in the Indonesian government's policy documents. Rather, it treats their notions of quality as neither a taken-for-granted nor a value-free construct. It assumes that just as production of policy involves a complex network of knowledge, discourse, rationalities, powers, and authorities, so does the production of the notions of quality.

This thesis discusses the Indonesian policy notions of quality early childhood education in four major historical stages: the pre-Reformasi that included Sukarno' presidency (1945 – 1967) and Suharto's administration (1967-1998), Reformasi (1998-2003), and post-Reformasi (2004-2015). It focuses its analysis more on the present, post-Reformasi period (2004-2015), given that it is only in the post-Reformasi era that Indonesia has organised a large-scale, nationwide campaign for early childhood education. The main questions that guide its analysis are: (1) what are the notions of quality; and, (2) how have the notions of quality been produced in the post-Reformasi Indonesia?

Drawing on Michel Foucault's (1980a; 1984c; 1988; 1991) ideas of 'genealogy' it can be taken that the emergence of a particular construction of quality is influenced and shaped by the major discourses that circulated in each of the four historical stages. The following section provides a more detailed overview of these three historical stages and their major discourses.

Indonesian Historical Stages and their Major Discourses

The analysis in this thesis is based mostly on the post-Reformasi policy documents. However, the quality constructs mandated by the policy of the previous periods, namely the Reformasi, and pre-Reformasi (1950-1998) years of Indonesia also need to be taken into account.

The pre-Reformasi period is divided into two parts: the Sukarno administration (1945-1967) and the Soeharto administration (1967-1998). The late years of the Sukarno administration were often referred to by the Soeharto government as the Orde Lama (Old Order). Soeharto himself called his administration as the Orde Baru (New Order) government. The Reformasi period covers years between the second half of 1998 and 2003. This short period started with Soeharto's resignation from his presidency on 21 May 1998 and included the three short presidencies of Habibie (May 1998 – October 1999), Wahid (October 1999 – July 2001), and Megawati (July 2001 – October 2004). The post-Reformasi period spans from late 2004 to 2015.

It is critical to note here the time frames used to define the Reformasi and post-Reformasi, as it is not easy to build a clean demarcation between the two. Complicating the issue is the fact that Indonesian daily use of the term 'reformasi' can be ambiguous, pointing to both a process and to a historical stage. Considering its meaning as a process, today's Indonesia could be seen as in the era of Reformasi, in a sense that the country is working on its reform agendas. This is shown, for example, in one of its ministries' names, *Kementerian Pemberdayaan Aparatur Negara dan Reformasi Birokrasi* (www.menpan.go.id, State Ministry of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform). Apart from this ambiguity, the framing of the Reformasi era proposed in this thesis is justified as follows. First, Soeharto's resignation on 21 May 1998 is commonly seen as the landmark of Reformasi. Second, the new cabinet formed by his successor, Habibie, on 22 May 1998 was named the *Kabinet Reformasi Pembangunan* (the Development Cabinet of Reform) (GOI, 1998a). Third, the period of 1998 to 2003 was the time when the Indonesian government envisioned the birth of a new, reformed Indonesian society and developed the instruments of its realisation (Ricklefs, 2001). This is evident, for example, through the creation of the blueprints of national Reformasi in general (GOI, 1998b; NTRMS, 1999) and the education Reformasi in particular (ERC, 2001a).

In line with this framing of the Reformasi period, the framing of the post-Reformasi period in this thesis is justified as follows. First, and generally speaking, from 2004 onwards, the

Indonesian policy and political landscape underwent dramatic changes, following the enactment of the reform instruments prepared during this period, such as the decentralisation law and the new education law. Second, as indicated above and as suggested in numerous reports (e.g. ECE Forum, 2004; UNESCO, 2005), the large-scale campaign for early childhood education was organised notably after the 2003 education law was effective. This period in this thesis refers to 2004 onwards.

Many have suggested that each of these historical periods were marked and shaped by a series of struggles between diverse ideological and political camps (Latif, 2006; Ricklefs, 2001), competing to offer their best idealisation of the Indonesian nation. Since they shared a common belief that education was a vehicle to realise their imagined Indonesia (Buchori, 2007; Suradi Hp et al., 1986; Thomas, 1981), their competition had significant impacts on the education sector in general, defining both the nature of education and the way education should be organised. Nevertheless, as studies in critical policy scholarship demonstrate, at the end, these struggles produced winners and losers. It was the winners, the dominant groups, or to put it more softly, those with the most promising and rational ways of realising such imagination, as to whose interest would shape the overall policy.

The pre-Reformasi Period: Nationalism Correction and Development

As I have indicated in the beginning of the last section, the pre-Reformasi period was divided into two main phases, the Old Order era and the New Order period.

Earlier studies have shown that certain dominant discourses, endorsed by the governments through their education policy ran through these periods (Buchori, 2007; Suradi Hp et al., 1986; Tilaar, 1995). From early independence to the end of Sukarno's administration, education policy was shaped mainly by the discourse of nationalism and/or national unity (Mangunpranoto, 1978; Poerbakawatja, 1962; 1970). This is apparent, for example, in the 1950 education law's provisions that removed Dutch as the language of instruction and required teachers to act in a way that fostered mutual respect and national solidarity (GOI, 1950, Article 5; Article 15).

During the New Order period, the main discourse was correction and development. The New Order administrations believed that the previous government betrayed the state philosophy,

and national ideology *Pancasila* literally means the Five Principles,[1] and thus failed to work for the public good. It also believed that under the past government the soul of the nation was tainted by communism. Thus, in the light of the discourse of correction and development, the New Order government sought to purify the nation from the defects left by communism and to protect them from any threats that might potentially damage the sanctity of their (supposedly) Pancasila-istic souls. This is apparent, for example, in the 1989 education law's goal or education as to produce the "manusia Indonesia seutuhnya" (fully Indonesian human), who is also called "manusia pembangunan" (human of development), and "manusia Pancasila" (Pancasila-istic human) (GOI, 1989, Article 4; Addenda general). With this formula, the 1989 education law seems to indicate that the past education had resulted in corrupted by-products, and that the function of education was to normalise them into a certain desired state of being.

The Reformasi Period: Distinction and Change

The Reformasi 1998 period provided a space for the rethinking of what appeared to be normal and acceptable during the New Order times. During this period, being distinct from the past and changing the existing situation for a better future were the major discourses in circulation. Evidence for the distinction-oriented thought was the introduction of the phrase "masyarakat madani" (*madani* society) as the ultimate goal of reform by the first Reformasi government (GOI, 1998b; NTRMS, 1999) where "*madani* society" is a phrase parallel to "civil society" used mainly among Indonesian Muslim modernist intellectuals.[2] This intellectual camp was relatively marginalised during the Sukarno and early New Order administrations.

The Reformasi's discourse of distinction and change was further mobilised and institutionalised with the amendment of the New Order legacy of education law. The Reformasi government education's reliance on the discourse of distinction and change was apparent in its

[1] Pancasila is Indonesia's official state ideology/philosophy consisting of five principles, namely "Belief in one God, Humanitarianism, National Unity, Representative Democracy, and Social Justice" (Hosen, 2005).

[2] The phrase 'masyarakat madani' (*madani* society) is an alternative to the Western idea of 'civil society'. A closer translation of the phrase is 'civilised society', originating in the characterisation of the people of Madinah (previously known as Yatsrib) founded by the prophet Muhammad. Introduced initially by Malaysian Deputy Prime Minister Anwar Ibrahim, the term gained a wider audience in Indonesia in the years towards the Reformasi 1998, when a modernist Muslim faction led by Habibie founded the *Ikatan Cendekiawan Muslim Indonesia* (ICMI, Indonesian Muslim Intellectuals Association), a political faction that obtained more space in the cabinet. Among the works that discuss the idea of 'civil society' and/or 'masyarakat madani' in Indonesian context are those of Aspinall (2004) and Baso (1999).

characterisation of national education as being "responsive to the demands of the *era of change*" (GOI, 2003b, Article 1: 2).

Finally, the discourse of change also dominated the education law's formulation of teacher obligations. Unlike the New Order's education law's emphasis on teachers' loyalty to government, the new law recognised principles that reflect teachers' individual freedom and professional status (GOI, 2003b).

The emergence of the discourse of distinction and change was simultaneously driven by a number of changes in the education agendas at a global level. Among these changes, the most relevant one to this thesis is the Dakar's World Education Forum in 2000, which called for the expansion of early childhood education (World Education Forum, 2000). The call was quickly taken up by the World Bank (Buchert, 2002), which soon included early childhood education as part of its loan to the country members, including Indonesia. Later, the encounter between the national need to be distinct from the past system and to change the existing, inherited system to a better one and the new global education, became the channel for the entry of global early childhood and quality discourses into Indonesian early childhood education policy.

Post-Reformasi Period: Standardisation

The Reformasi period concluded with the publication of the 2003 education law. The law mandated that to ensure the provision of quality education, a set of standardised quality references were required (GOI, 2003b). The call for the development of standards, however, was not achieved until the end of the Reformasi government in 2004.

As mandated by the 2003 education law, in 2005, the Government Regulation on National Education Standards (hereafter *Education standards*) was published (GOI, 2005a). Hence, the idea of quality, once an aspiratory notion, eventually turned into a regulatory one. The regulation stipulated that eight aspects of education were to be standardised: learning contents, learning process, graduate competencies, educators and personnel, facilities and infrastructure, management and administration, finance, and assessment (GOI, 2005a, Article 2). Following the publication of the *Education standards*, numerous technical standards documents have been published. In 2009, the first Ministry of Education Regulation on Early Childhood Education Standards (*ECE Standards*) document was published (DONE, 2009d). Along with the successive production of standards documents, from 2004 onwards, public conversation about quality has been synonymous with conversation about standards. Similarly, during this period

quality improvement efforts have been nothing but program activities undertaken to align the existing conditions with the minimum criteria prescribed in the standards documents. Therefore, it can be said that standardisation is the dominant discourse in the post-Reformasi period.

While this thesis covers a long period of Indonesian education policy, it is not a full account of the Indonesian policy notions of quality early childhood education, nor is it an analysis of every single policy document published since early independence to the post-Reformasi Indonesia. Rather, it examines three aspects of preschool quality: children, teachers, and learning centres. Two factors lie behind the choice of these aspects, informed by the findings of the literature on quality that will be presented in the following chapter. Firstly, each of them represent the outcome, structure, and a combination of process-structure dimensions of preschool quality (Cassidy et al., 2005; Cryer, 1999; Fenech & Sumsion, 2007; Huntsman, 2008; Woodhead, 1996). Secondly, drawing on Foucault's idea of governmentality, each can be considered as the target of the Indonesian early childhood education authorities governmentality, through which they are shaped into certain beings and characterisations that reflect the truth held by each political regime of the four historical periods.

Indonesia: A Brief Overview

Many scholars from various disciplines have written about Indonesia. Among these Indonesianists—so the foreign social scientists interested in the study of Indonesia are commonly called—are those who viewed the country through a macro lens. They portrayed Indonesia as a nation and state and their study covered a long historical period. Others, who saw Indonesia through a micro lens, presented a snapshot of one small corner of the country—of its ethnics, of its hundreds of local languages, or of a short chapter in its long history. Few writings about Indonesia look at the country's leading individuals. Historian Ricklefs, for example, wrote a handbook that covered the country's history that spanned from 1200 AD to the downfall of the New Order administration and early years of Reformasi (1998-2001). Mitsuo Nakamura (1983) and Andrée Feillard (1999) are renowned for their works on two of the Indonesian major Muslim organisations, Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, respectively. Well before these works, the field of Indonesian Studies recognised Clifford Geertz's name. His, *The Religion of Java* (Geertz, 1960), especially his proposed trichotomy of Javanese society as composed of the *abangan* (nominal Muslim) *santri* (observant Muslim), and *priyayi* (aristocrat), is not only one of the most influential references for subsequent works

on Indonesia. The book also triggered a rejection by an Indonesian social scientist (Koentjaraningrat, 1985). Given the extent of the writings about Indonesia, this section aims to provide only a brief orientation to the country's history and profile as the context for its more specific focus on its education system.

The present-day Indonesian archipelago was under the successive occupations of different colonial administrations (Brown, 2003; Poerbakawatja, 1970; Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 1984; Ricklefs, 2001). The Dutch was notably the longest one that occupied the major parts of the archipelago. Indonesian school students have been taught that the Dutch occupied the territory for three and half centuries and the Japanese for three and half years.

On 17 August 1945, Sukarno and Hatta proclaimed the country's independence, and were then appointed as its first President and Vice President, respectively. Before the proclamation, however, the would-be political leaders of Indonesia had laid down a number of principles. It should be noted here, that during their short occupation, the Japanese formed at least two committees for the preparation of Indonesian independence: the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence (*Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*) and the Preparatory Committee for Indonesian Independence (*Panitia Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*) (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 1984; Tim Nasional Penulisan Sejarah Indonesia, 2010). The meetings and sessions within these two committees allowed the Indonesian leaders of that period to formulate the principles and basis for the life of their would-be new, free nation and state. Speaking before the Investigating Committee session on 1 June 1945, Sukarno proposed the five principles that were eventually adopted as the foundation of the free Indonesia. He called these principles *Pancasila* (from the Sanskrit *panca* means 'five' and *sila* means 'basis' or 'principle'), the Five Principles (State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 1995; Sukarno, 1964b). While these principles have been presented in English literature differently (Fitch & Webb, 1989; Morfit, 1981), they refer respectively to belief in one God, humanitarianism, national unity, democracy, and social justice (Hosen, 2005; Sukarno, 1964b).

Geographically, Indonesia is an archipelagic country in the South-East Asian region. Its territory comprises more than 17,000 islands, covering an area of 1,910,931.32 km^2 (Statistics Indonesia, 2015a), situated between the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean. **Figure 1**, taken from the Indonesian Board of Geospatial Information (2015), shows Indonesia's position

between the Pacific Ocean and Indian Ocean and its closest neighbours of Malaysia, Singapore, Brunei Darussalam, East Timor, Thailand, the Philippines, and Australia.

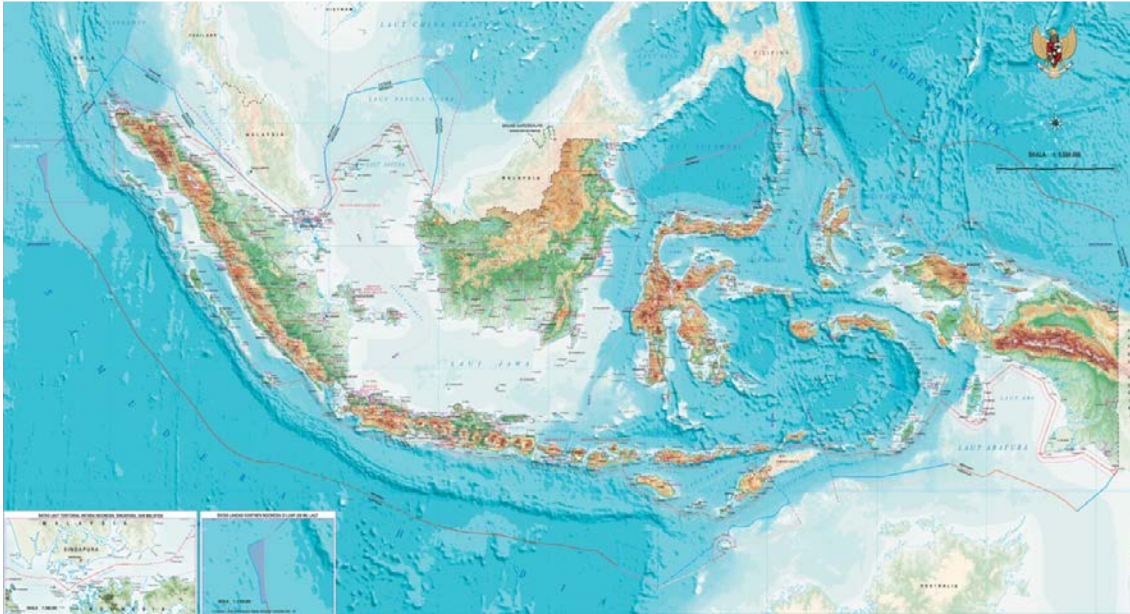


Figure 1. Indonesian territory

Indonesia with it vast and archipelagic territory is a unitary state and not a union of federal states. Once, as a result of the post-independence Dutch reoccupation of the territory and its following negotiations (Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 1984; Ricklefs, 2001) a federal system was applied but was abolished in mid-1950 and the country's government returned to its unitary state system. Before the Reformasi, Indonesia had only 27 provinces, including the region that now belongs to Timor Leste. After the Reformasi, and despite the Timor Timur secession in 1999, a number of new provinces were created and subdivided from the existing provinces. The same trend applied to the district level. In 1998, the number of districts (*kabupaten*/*kota*) was only 282. Following the so-called "Big Bang decentralisation" in the early 2000s, as early as 2004, the district numbers doubled (Fitrani, Hofman, & Kaiser, 2005). Currently, the country consists of 34 provinces, 416 districts, 98 cities, and 81,626 villages (Statistics Indonesia, 2015b).

Being an archipelagic country means that its people are separated by the sea and islands. This physical and geographical nature allows the development of diverse ways of life, customs and values between its people. Indonesia indeed is a country of high social and cultural diversities.

While the country has commonly been reported to have 300 different ethnicities, the Indonesian board of statistics reported in 2011 that the country had 1300 different ethnicities with more than 700 local languages spoken. As an illustration, although most Indonesians are able to speak the national language, *Bahasa Indonesia*, less than 20% of the population speak that language in their daily life (Statistics Indonesia, 2011).

The Indonesian government holds a national census once every ten years and an interim census once every five years. The last national census was held in 2010. It recorded that Indonesia's national population was 237,641,326, 28.6% of whom formed the preschool- and school-aged population (0 to 14 years old) (Statistics Indonesia, 2011, p. 9). It has been projected that the population would increase to 305,652,400 in 2035, with the preschool- and school-aged groups constituting 21.5% of the projection (Board of National Development Planning, Statistics Indonesia, & United Nations Development Fund, 2013, p. 24). It was also reported that the biggest proportion of the population belonged to the 15 to 64 years age group (66.5% in 2010 and 67.9% in 2035), and the smallest to the age-group of 65 years old and above (Board of National Development Planning et al., 2013, p. 26). With this demographic structure, Indonesia has anticipated a decrease in its dependency ratio, a situation expected to lead to the idea of "bonus demografi" (demographic dividend) (Adioetomo, Burhan, & Yunus, 2010; Statistics Indonesia, 2012b). This situation refers generally to the country's low dependency ratio accompanied by its large proportion of the productive-aged population. Following the 2010 census, the demographic dividend idea was introduced to the education sector, viewed as one of the vehicles for ensuring that the existing demographic structure would truly become a demographic bonus, instead of a demographic disaster (MOEC, 2013c).

Indonesia's big population, however, has seemingly been a challenge for the country's human development. On a global perspective, since the 1990s and regardless of the educational progress it has made, such as education access improvement and decreasing gender educational disparities, it has not moved from the group of countries with a medium human development achievement. In 1997, its human development was ranked 99 of 175 countries by the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP, 1997). Within the same cohort, Indonesia was ranked 110 of 188 countries and 113 of 188 countries in 2015 and 2016, respectively (UNDP, 2015; 2016).

Indonesia's diversity, furthermore, is reflected in the religious beliefs its people adhere to. Six religions are officially acknowledged: Islam, Roman Catholicism, Protestantism, Hinduism,

Buddhism, and Confucianism. Based on the 2010 census, Islam is the biggest religious group, adhered to by 87.18% of the population, followed by Protestantism (6.96%), Catholicism (2.91%), Hinduism (1.69), Buddhism (0.72%), and Confucianism (0.05%) (Statistics Indonesia, 2011). In addition to these six, various local religio-spiritual beliefs exist across the country and are grouped into the category of "Aliran Kepercayaan" (literally means 'school of beliefs'). The *Constitution 1945* states that the state of Indonesia is based on the belief in One God and should protect every individual citizen to express religious identity (People's Consultative Assembly, 2011, Article 29). This, however, does not mean that the country is free from religious discrimination. Confucianism, for example, was banned along with the exclusion of Chinese cultural practices by the New Order government (GOI, 1967). After the Reformasi, the ban was lifted and Confucianism was equally acknowledged as the other five religions (GOI, 2000). The same happened to the *Aliran Kepercayaan* (Arifin, 2013; Howell, 2005). The most obvious discrimination against these local religions is that it was only after 2016 that their believers were allowed to openly show their religious identity (Constitution Court of the Republic of Indonesia, 2017) on their *Kartu Tanda Penduduk* (KTP, Indonesian national identity card). In the past, they either hid their true belief or confessed to embracing a different religion.

Apart from its religious-demographic structure and the fact that Muslims are the biggest religious group, Indonesia is a democracy and not an Islamic-theocratic state. However, religions have been an influential aspect of Indonesian life in general and in education in particular. Not only is religion a mandatory subject at every level of education, but, more importantly, the Indonesian education system is divided between general and religious lines, each under the Ministry of Education and Ministry of Religious Affairs, respectively (GOI, 2003b; Sirozi, 2004). This system, it seems, has its roots in the religious education practice that existed in the major islands of the archipelago long before the idea of Indonesia was even coined.

The general-religious division of Indonesian education has a long genealogy. In the past, in the archipelago that was later called Indonesia, there was an Islamic education system resembling the present-day boarding school system, called *pondok pesantren*, often shortened as either *pondok* or *pesantren* (Dhofier, 1980; 1982). This education system offered mainly courses on Islamic studies, delivered directly by the *pesantren* leader, the *kiai* or other designation depending on the location where the *pesantren* was based. Studies on *pesantren* reported that

communities of *pesantren* were highly involved in the struggle against colonialism (Azra & Afrianty, 2007; Pohl, 2006). Given this contribution, it is understandable that after independence, religious education, and in this case, Islamic education, was governed separately from general education. There is no record of whether the early Indonesian *pesantrens* included young children. In a recent development, many *pesantrens* have now grown into a complex education system. While maintaining their traditional Islamic educational practices and Islamic identity, many *pesantrens* offer multi-level formal education, from preschool to higher education. In addition, a number of *pesantrens* accepting preschool-aged children have now opened in many parts of Indonesia, focusing mostly on the early memorisation of the Quran. Yet, they are still not called “preschool pesantren” and studies into them are limited (Sanani, 2016).

The present day public general education dates are from those set up by the Dutch during the colonial era. The Dutch created an educational system, which resembled the present-day primary, secondary, and tertiary level system (Poerbakawatja, 1970; Poesponegoro & Notosusanto, 1984) which, due to the policy of segregation, was only available to the upper echelons of local societies. The Dutch also reported to introduce the Froebelian kindergarten to the archipelago (Thomas, 1988). To secure a supply of teachers, the Dutch established a teacher education system, which included preschool teacher training – the Froebel Kweek-school (Suyanto, 2003; Thomas, 1992). After independence, the system was nationalised (Pohl, 2006) and included its contents. In 1950, the first post-independence education law was published. The law stipulated that it only governed general education and excluded religious education from its coverage (GOI, 1950, Article 2) thus, officially recognising the general-religious division of the Indonesian education system.

Currently, the Indonesian education system is governed under the 2003 education law (GOI, 2003b). In line with the *Constitution 1945*, which mandates a minimum 20% allocation of the national budget to the education sector (People's Consultative Assembly, 2011, Article 31), the law stipulates that the regional government must also allocate a 20% minimum of its budget to the education sector (GOI, 2003b, Article 49). The 2003 education law perpetuates the previous law’s general-religious division of the education system, but provides a number of stipulations on religious education. The law stipulates that national education consists of three lines, namely the informal (family-based), non-formal (non-schooling system) and formal lines (school-based system). Furthermore, the formal line is divided into three levels, namely the primary,

secondary, and tertiary or higher education levels (GOI, 2003b, Article 14). Early childhood and preschool education is apparently excluded from the law's education levelling system. The law does, however, provide two provisions regarding early childhood education that define early childhood education and early childhood education institutions, respectively (GOI, 2003b, Article 1:14; Article 28: 1-3).

In addition to the general-religious division, the responsibility for education is also divided on the basis of levels. During the Sukarno era, the responsibility for higher education was delegated to the Department of Higher Education and Science (Buchori, 2007; Poerbakawatja, 1970). The New Order government simplified the system and united all the responsibilities for education under the Department of Education and Culture (DOEC). This system lasted until the middle of 2014 apart from the successive changes in the formal name of the Education Department and Ministry. In October 2014, President Joko Widodo split his government responsibilities for education (GOI, 2014a), with preschool, primary, and secondary levels delegated to the Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) and the tertiary level to the Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education (MORTHE).

A further characteristic of Indonesian education is decentralisation. From independence until the early days of Reformasi, education was managed in a centralised way. The central government, through the education ministry, regulated the development and delivery of education, from curriculum development and teacher recruitment to school building and renovation. In 1999, the first Reformasi government enacted the new law on local governments (GOI, 1999b). The law stipulated the devolution of a number of responsibilities from the central to the local, district-level government, among these was education. The governing law has been amended several times, and most recently in 2015 (GOI, 2015b), but has made no change to its decentralised status. It was assumed decentralisation would improve educational performance. It was also assumed that local governments would be most familiar with local needs and problems and with the ways to meet and solve them. Yet, in reality, decentralisation has effected only limited changes due to the long period of centralism (Bjork, 2004; 2005; Kristiansen & Pratikno, 2006). More specifically, in the case of early childhood education, decentralisation created an inter-regional gap. Because education was decentralised, district governments (*kabupaten*/*kota*) were responsible for financing the sector. In the face of district financial disparities, early childhood education is often prioritised less than the higher levels. A 2004 World Bank's project document says that poor understanding among district authorities

"has resulted in limited or no funding allocation" (World Bank, 2004c, p. 2) for early childhood education.

Indonesian Early Childhood Education at a Glance

Early childhood education is a long established tradition in Indonesia. Nevertheless, there has been a tendency to claim it as a sector introduced to the country only after Reformasi, and more specifically, after 2000 (Gutama, 2006). It is true that the phrase 'early childhood education' (Indonesian, *pendidikan anak usia dini*) was introduced and became popular in Indonesia after the 2000 Dakar world education summit and after its adoption into the 2003 education law (GOI, 2003b, Article 1: 14; Article 28). However, if early childhood education is seen as a preschool service, it has been practiced in Indonesia since before the country's independence in 1945. Thomas (1988; 1992) notes that at the beginning of the twentieth century, the Dutch colonial government initiated a number of Froebel schools. As early as 1919, the Muhammadiyah's women's association, 'Aisyiyah, initiated its Islamic preschool (Pengurus Pusat Aisyiyah, 1992; Van Doorn-Harder, 2006). This preschool laid the foundations for the present-day '*Aisyiyah Bustanul Athfal* (Arabic, literally 'garden of children'), a variant of an Islamic kindergarten. Moreover, in 1922 Ki Hadjar Dewantara, who later became the Minister of Education after independence, established the *Taman Indrya* (Sanskrit or old Javanese, literally, 'garden of senses'). This kindergarten was claimed by its founder as the first nationalist kindergarten as opposed to the 'Aisyiyah Islamic preschool and to the Dutch-founded Froebel schools (Dewantara, 1955; 1959).

After independence, and along with the publication of the education law (GOI, 1950) in early childhood education, the form of kindergarten was acknowledged as a part of the country's national education system. When the new education law was passed in 1989, early childhood education was, however, "excluded" from its stipulation on education levels. The law itself had no more than a flexible section about preschool, stating that "beside the education levels stipulated in section 1 [primary, secondary, tertiary] preschool education could be organised" (GOI, 1989, Article 12: 2). Thus, early childhood education has been a long commitment, though the sector has received adequate attention only following 2000.

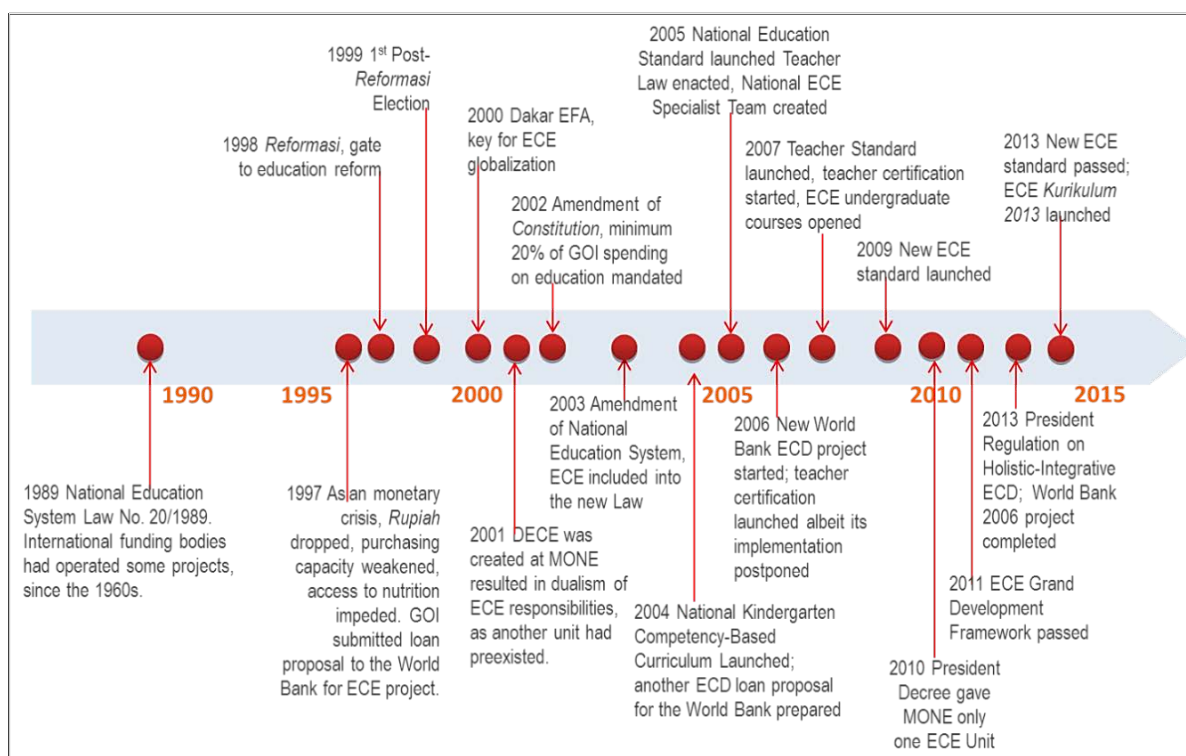


Figure 2. Post-Reformasi ECE-related institutional and policy development

The 2000 Dakar world's education summit was a turning point for Indonesian early childhood education. As widely known, the meeting called for the expansion of early childhood education and care services (World Education Forum, 2000). **Figure 2** illustrates Indonesia's response and commitment to the Dakar call. In 2001, the Indonesian education ministry created a special directorate responsible for early childhood education. This was followed by the publication of the 2003 education law that adopted the phrase "early childhood education" (*pendidikan anak usia dini*) and, as early as 2003, targeting by the Indonesian government of achieving an enrolment rate of 85% and 75% by 2015 for the care and education services, respectively (National Coordination Forum, 2003, p. II. 25). To meet the goal, the government set a target that every village nationwide, must have at least one early childhood centre. This program, popularly known as "program Paudisasi" (ECE-isation) (MOEC, 2015b, p. 7) was run between 2010-2014. Through the program, the government set out to boost its national early childhood education enrolment rate which was reported to be no more than 20% when the campaign began (DONE, 2005; UNESCO, 2003; 2005),

The Ministry of Education and Culture (MOEC) and Ministry of Religious Affairs (MORA) are currently the main agencies responsible for early childhood education, with the latter responsible mostly for programs affiliated to religious groups, especially Islamic ones. In the past, numerous governmental bodies such as the Ministry of Home Affairs (MOHA), the Ministry of Social Welfare (MOSW), the Ministry of Health (MOH), and the National Family Planning Coordination Board (NFPCB) (ECE Forum, 2004; GOI, 1990a; UNESCO, 2003; 2005) were responsible for delivering early childhood services. Even during the early stage of the 2000 campaign, the education ministry had two directorates responsible for early childhood education. Although not typical to Indonesia, as Anning (2006) indicates, the poor coordination of these multiple actors attracted criticism from international observers (UNESCO, 2003; 2005; World Bank, 2006a). UNESCO (2005), for example, underlined that the presence of multiple governmental actors led to "wastage of resources" (p. 27). The financial resources that could be allocated directly on the establishment of new early learning centres or the procurement of learning materials, for example, were eventually spent on paying the employees working for those government agencies.

The duality of the MOEC's early childhood units was resolved in 2010. This was possible following the structural adjustment of the ministry which moved the responsibilities to the new early childhood directorate (GOI, 2010). This adjustment, however, did not integrate all the responsibilities for early childhood education under a one-roof coordination of the education ministry. Outside the MOEC and the MORA, a number of government agencies such as the MOH and the NFBCB continue to hold partial responsibility for early childhood education. As a midway step, the government launched a 2013 presidential decree through the "Task Force for Holistic and Integrative and Early Childhood Development" (GOI, 2013b, Article 9). This taskforce includes twelve governmental agencies, and therefore, perpetuates early childhood education multiple actors stipulated by the 1990 regulation on preschool education (GOI, 2013b; MNDP, 2013).[3] This task force has been replicated at both provincial and district (*kabupaten/kota*) levels, apparently in Central Java and East Java (Central Java Regional Office of Education, 2013; Government of the Province of East Java, 2013). The Province of East Java had created a similar taskforce as early as 2011, at least before the central government

[3] These agencies are the Coordinating Ministry of Social Welfare, Ministry of National Development Planning, Ministry of Home Affairs, Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Health, Ministry of Social Affairs, Ministry of Religious Affairs, Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, Cabinet Secretariat, National Board of Population and Family Planning, and Central Board of Statistics.

created the national taskforce. No reports on the taskforce's performance at national and regional levels seem to be available.

By law, early childhood education is delivered through formal, non-formal and informal lines. Included in the formal line are kindergarten and Raudhatul Athfal (Islamic kindergarten supervised by MORA). In the non-formal line are programs such as playgroups, nurseries, and 'Satuan PAUD Sejenis' (SPS, programs and institutions other than playgroups, nurseries, and kindergartens). The informal line refers to caring for young children by their own families. MOEC reports that until 2015 there were 85,499 kindergartens, 75,763 playgroups, 3,053 day-cares, and 25,144 SPSs (Data and Statistics Center, 2015). In addition, the number of Islamic preschools reported by the MORA's Directorate of Islamic Education (DGIE) was 27,978 (DGIE, 2015). All non-formal programs are under the coordination of the MOEC, whether or not they are delivered by religious groups and deliver religious contents. This is evident in the MORA's *Islamic education statistics* which only have a single nomenclature for early childhood programs: Raudhatul Athfal (DGIE, 2015). On the other hand, the MOEC definition of SPS includes such programs as "PAUD Bina Iman dan Agama" (PAUD-BIA, early childhood program for faith and religious development) commonly affiliated to churches (Directorate of ECE, 2011c) and "PAUD Berbasis Taman Pendidikan Al-Quran" (PAUD-TPQ, Quranic Learning Centre-based early childhood education) commonly attached to the mosques (Directorate of ECE, 2011b). It is also worth noting here that no preschool under the MORA's supervision is government-owned. Accordingly, MOEC's state-owned kindergartens are also limited, constituting roughly 3.73% of the national figure (Data and Statistics Center, 2015).

The two-decade long campaign since the Reformasi has now allowed early childhood education to be distributed almost equally to all Indonesian villages. More importantly, the campaign has convinced the public of the value and benefits as well as the necessity of investment in early childhood education. Furthermore, the very sponsor of the campaign – the World Bank – in the light of such studies as those of Heckman (2006; 2008), has documented the benefits of its investment in the Indonesian early childhood sector (Hasan et al., 2013; MNDP/NDPA, 2015; OECD/ADB, 2015). Using the seven different instruments, including the Education and Development Instrument (EDI) and Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ), the World Bank (Hasan et al., 2013) measured its project's impacts on children's overall development and found that children benefit from the presence of early childhood learning and development centres in their villages. The benefit is reported to be even greater in

the case of children from poor and less educated families. With these positive impacts, the World Bank (Hasan et al., 2013) recommends Indonesia ensure sustainable funding for early childhood education and to make quality a key issue of its early childhood service future expansion agenda.

As the post-Reformasi Indonesian campaign for early childhood education was driven and accelerated initially by global level dynamics, its future is likely to be influenced by the same factors. Recently, the world's education leaders re-gathered in Incheon, South Korea and launched Education 2030 (UNESCO, 2015). The summit specifically called on world education leaders to provide "free and compulsory quality pre-primary education provision" and to rejuvenate education's role as a tool for promoting "sustainable development…culture of peace and non-violence, [and] global citizenship" (UNESCO, 2015, pp. 14, 20). The Jakarta-based daily, *Kompas*, reported in its 4 February online edition (Afrian, 2015), that the Indonesian education ministry is likely to align its future policy with the Incheon agendas. Nevertheless, at the time of the writing of this thesis the ministry had not published any new policy to enact the plan. There is no reliable information as to when Indonesia would eventually adopt the Incheon declaration. What has been clear is that global dynamics and the institutions behind them have played critical roles in shaping Indonesian early childhood education. To further unpack the influence global agendas on the post-Reformasi campaign for early childhood education, the following sections will provide an overview of the Indonesian government's early childhood sector in international partner activities. Given the large number of the international agencies working for Indonesian early childhood education, however, the biggest portion of the next section deals with the World Bank's projects.

International Agencies and Indonesian Early Childhood Education

The role of international agencies in promoting and shaping the post-Reformasi Indonesian early childhood education is notable. Inclusive to these agencies are philanthropic organisations such as Save the Children and PLAN International, development organisations attached to foreign governments such as USAID and AusAID, and organisations attached to the United Nations such as UNESCO, UNICEF, and the World Bank, even though the latter is often described more as an international financial institution. Save the Children, for example, is reported to work in conjunction with 'Aisyiyah, the Muhammadiyah women's organisation managing the Bustanul Athfal kindergartens (Pengurus Pusat Aisyiyah, 1992; Save the Children, 2013). Likewise, PLAN International supported a Yogyakarta-based women's and

children's rights organisation, *Lembaga Studi Perkembangan Perempuan dan Anak* (LSPPA, Institute for the Study of the Development of Women and Children), by establishing a demonstration preschool (Newberry, 2012; Newberry & Marpinjun, 2017). In addition to these institutions, a number of governments from foreign countries also provide support through their embassies for the early childhood sector. The Australian government and European Union, for example, facilitated the establishment of the Education Sector Analytical and Capacity Development Partnership (MNDP/NDPA, 2013), which conducted the study to formulate strategies for early childhood education and development.

Adriany (2018) identifies three types of roles that international agencies play in the development of Indonesian early childhood education. The first role is mainstreaming and advocating the value of early childhood education. This role is played notably by the World Bank, UNESCO, and UNICEF. The second role is transferring international practices into Indonesian early childhood education. In the post-Reformasi this is marked notably through the introduction of the Beyond Center and Circle Time, a curriculum framework developed by the Center for Childhood Research and Training based in Tallahassee, Florida (Creative Center for Childhood Research and Training, 2007; Directorate of ECE, 2006; Phelps, 2002). The last type of role, as Adriany (2018) calls it, is the "franchising of [international] schools" (p. 93) in Indonesian territory. This is apparent, for example, in addition to the adoption of the Beyond Center and Circle Time curriculum framework, in the mushrooming of bilingual early childhood learning centres, which at the same time employs the so-called international curriculum. This section is concerned only with the first type of role and, especially that played by the World Bank.

Among the international agencies assisting the Indonesian early childhood sector, the World Bank is financially and influentially Indonesia's biggest partner. Gavin and Rodrik (1995) portrayed the World Bank's influence on its clients: "money always came with the ideas and advice attached" (p. 333). A World Bank's (2006b) publication states that "no other international agency has comparable expertise in supporting large-scale ECED projects" (p. 7). This claim was later reiterated in numerous publications of Indonesian early childhood education government agencies (Anam, 2011a; 2011b; Anam & Nabila DP, 2011; Directorate of ECE, 2011a; ECE Forum, 2004; MNDP/NDPA, 2013).

The World Bank played a role in Indonesia soon after its independence. Its assistance was seemingly unavoidable for Indonesia, a baby nation-state born amid the ashes of World War II

and long successive colonialisms. In fact, as its official, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development suggests that the World Bank was founded to help its country members cope with post-war destruction.

Indonesia became a member of the World Bank in 1954, but it resigned in 1965. A year before the resignation, President Sukarno indicated his intention to free Indonesia from its dependence on western countries, and stated in his speech "go to hell with your aid" (Ricklefs, 2001; Taylor, 1965). However, at the same time, Sukarno gradually lost power and control over his government. Exacerbating the situation was an aborted attempted coup by the communist party on the eve of 30 September 1965, concerning which the president was assumed to have prior knowledge. At least six army leaders and an officer in Jakarta, and three in Yogyakarta were killed in the event. The coup was followed by horrific serial massacres and bloodshed whose "death toll… is never likely to be known with certainty" (Ricklefs, 2001, p. 347). In March 1967, parliament impeached Sukarno for his policy that indirectly protected the communist party, then swore in Suharto as new president. Hence, a new era, the New Order era, was born. A month later Indonesia re-joined the World Bank. In June 1968, the World Bank's President McNamara visited the country and discussions concerning the opening of the Bank's office in Jakarta was undertaken (World Bank, 2008).

Under McNamara's leadership (1968-1981), World Bank assistance for Indonesia was delivered through a double-tracked approach, combining infrastructure and human development. It shifted its "focus from infrastructure projects to antipoverty programs" (Gavin & Rodrik, 1995, p. 333). In 1968 and 1969, for example, the World Bank supported irrigation and highway development combined with a mission on a national family planning (*Keluarga Berencana*) program. The mission concluded that the program had "fallen short of targets" (World Bank, 1970, p. ii) and to revive it a supporting loan was agreed in 1972 (International Development Agency, 1972a; 1972b). It is from this point that the roots of the World Bank's role in Indonesian early childhood development can be traced.

Under the family planning program, however, children were seen as population and economic challenges, while education was hardly addressed. The World Bank mission argued, for example, "families with fewer children can save more while the government budget can divert resources….to provide basic services….such as education into investment" (World Bank, 1970, p. 143). This does not mean that children were left unaddressed. Some project components indeed targeted children through, for example, the construction of "maternal and

child health/family planning centers" (International Development Agency, 1972b, p. 3). In 1982, the World Bank advised the Indonesian government "to give the development of its human resources the highest….priority" (World Bank, 1982, p. 90). This call did not directly lead to investment in early education, rather through another family planning project for which the Bank lent US$104 million in 1991 (World Bank, 1991; 1997a).

When the 1991 family planning project was completed in 1997, the Asian economic crisis hit the country. The crisis led to the devaluation of the Indonesian currency rate and a rise in the price of nine primary commodities. The situation weakened people's purchasing capacity, which undoubtedly affected their ability to provide their children with adequate nutrition. To prevent the situation worsening for young children, the Indonesian government proposed a loan of US$23.4 million to the World Bank to finance its Early Child Development Project (World Bank, 1997b). Unlike the previous projects, which were led by the MOH and the NFPCB, this project was coordinated by the MOE's Directorate General for Out of School Education, Youth and Sport (World Bank, 1997b) and, therefore, incorporated children's educational stimulation. As a result, early childhood development emerged as an area partially separated from the health and family planning sector and at the same time became more educational in nature. As the project document indicates, early childhood development should no longer rely merely on health and nutrition. Rather, it should embrace a more comprehensive approach, including the stimulation of psycho-social skills.

> there are….30 million children….ECD interventions exist to address the needs of these children, particularly in health and nutrition. Early childhood education (ECE) programs—cognitive simulation (sic) and psycho-social development—however, have not received….much attention (World Bank, 1997b, p. 1).

The educational nature of the 1997 Early Childhood Development project, furthermore, was apparent in its financing scheme, which included kindergarten construction and/or rehabilitation, learning material provision, and teacher improvement. More technically, it aimed at (1) strengthening and integrating the existing Child-health Service Post and Parent-child Education Program previously founded by MOH and NFPCB; and (2) incorporating health and nutrition intervention into the kindergarten programs (World Bank, 1998).

At a glance, the 1997 project looked no more than a palliative response to the impacts of the economic crisis. A deeper look, however, reveals that it marked a pivotal transition for the roles

of the World Bank and the Indonesian government in the early childhood sector and laid a new landmark for that sector. First, and without undermining the contribution of the existing kindergarten system, the project effectively promoted the importance and value of early education to a literally, unimaginable level. The project, of course, was not the one definitive factor, but its contribution is undeniable. Secondly, the project shifted the perspective on children. During the family planning campaigns, children were seen more as a population and economic challenge and partially understood simply as physical beings. The 1997 project broke this long-standing perspective by integrating 'early childhood education' and 'early childhood development'.

At the time when the 1997 project was concluded in 2003, the demand for the amendment of the existing 1989 education law, which has grown since the early periods of Reformasi, had reached its high point. The roles that the World Bank played in this legal shift require a deeper study. What became clear, however, is that when the new education bill was eventually passed in 2003, the phrase "early childhood education" (*pendidikan anak usia dini*) was adopted giving it a decent and strong legal position.

Aside from its important achievements, one element of the World Bank's 1997 project, namely its plan to revive and transform the Family Planning's institutional legacies – the Child-health Service Post and Parent-child Education Program – into early childhood learning and development centres was to be regretted. In some cases, the project successfully transformed both institutions into integrated early health-education centres. However, it was not the case for the kindergarten program. There was some thought that this plan was at the root of the unnecessary differentiation of the formal and informal early childhood education centres (GOI, 2003b, Article 28). By law, informal early childhood education is all types of early education other than kindergarten. In fact, both kindergarten and the informal centres have numerous features of formal education programs, such as specifically assigned educators, specifically designed curriculums, and similar sequences of learning instruction processes. UNESCO (2005, p. 26) reports that the distinction is factually "artificial….[and has]….no logical grounds apart from different administrative auspices". Thus, whilst advocating service integration, the World Bank's project unexpectedly reproduced and even institutionalised service disintegration.

Since the Reformasi the Indonesian education landscape has changed. The regional autonomy law (GOI, 1999b; 2004) decentralized education authorities from the central government to the

local government (*kabupaten/kota*). Inter-regional disparities, unfortunately, often impeded its implementation in the education sector. This situation was reported to leave the new early childhood education with “limited or no funding allocation” (World Bank, 2004c, p. 2). In response, a scheme was designed for which MONE prepared a US$75 million loan proposal to the World Bank (World Bank, 2004b) for another early childhood development project.[4]

The new project started in 2006. Unlike the 1997 project, which generally aimed at introducing and mainstreaming early childhood education in Indonesia, the new project began to raise the issue of quality. The World Bank’s (2006a) *Early childhood education and development in Indonesia: An investment for a better life* stated that the major challenge for Indonesian early childhood education was to overcome its lack of quality framework (World Bank, 2006a).

As had been the case for the 1997 project the World Bank relied on its investment through the 2006 project on Western studies of preschool benefits (World Bank, 2006a). The World Bank, however, showed a “surprising” attitude against the Directorate of Early Childhood Education preference to the Beyond Centers and Circle Time (BCCT) curriculum mentioned at the beginning of this section. It insisted that the integration of “cognitive….psychosocial, and physical stimulation” (World Bank, 2006a, p. 45) was an unnegotiable feature of a good curriculum.

The 2006 project was completed in 2013. The World Bank (2014, p. 8) claimed that the project’s “overall implementation was positive” (p. 8). Among those positive impacts was the introduction of the first comprehensive national early childhood education standard (DONE, 2009d). Apart from the criticisms of the standard, including those presented here in chapters 4, 5, and 6, the standard itself is a significant milestone for Indonesian early childhood education. Seen from this angle, the World Bank 2006 project is a landmark in Indonesian early education’s move from expansion to quality.

[4] This total comprised the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) BRD loan of US$27.5 million, International Development Association credit of US$40 million and an Indonesian government financial commitment of US$7.5 million. A thorough look is needed to confirm the total amount of the funding, as the Bank’s subsequent reports indicate some major revisions. No difference in the project total funding appears in two project Concept Stage documents (World Bank, 2004a; 2005). The project appraisal document (World Bank, 2006b), however, shows a significant increase in each of the contributors’ support. It is also reported that the Netherlands’ Government commitment of US$25 m to support the project, later increased the project’s total funding up to US$150 million.

Despite its achievement, the 2006 project, did leave a question around sustainability (World Bank, 2006a; 2014), especially at the district and centre level. Following the fourth amendment of the *Constitution 1945*, which mandates a minimum allocation of 20% of the national budget for the education sector (People's Consultative Assembly, 2011), investment in education has indeed increased. However, the largest portion of the budget is spent on salaries instead of more “real” development (World Bank, 2013). This makes sustainability a big question. In fact, without sustainability, even a high-quality program is worthless. With such an unbalanced proportion of the national budget, combined with financial disparities between regions as alluded to in the earlier sections, the World Bank’s loan was a limited and palliative remedy to quality.

The World Bank itself recognises that sustainable quality is a big challenge that the Indonesian early childhood sector has to overcome. In its 2006 project evaluation report (Hasan et al., 2013), therefore, the World Bank recommended the importance of national and regional leadership commitment to ensure sustainable quality. Quality is directly linked to budget allocation, and budget allocation is generally dependent on political leadership, so political regime and leadership transition would undoubtedly affect early childhood education quality and sustainability. The cycle of leadership transition both at national and regional levels occurs every five years. As the responsibility for education has now been decentralised to the regional government’s early childhood education quality, and therefore sustainability, it is almost entirely in the hands of the elected leaders.

It is expected that upon the completion of the project and termination of funding supports, the regional and national leaders will institutionalise what the World Bank has stimulated. However, this scenario does not always work well and that stimulus can end up in dependency. Above all, it should also realise that the World Bank’s financial scheme has an inherent potential to create dependency and unsustainability. As Penn (2002; 2011b) suggests, the so-called World Bank assistance is no more than a debt that the borrowing country, like Indonesia, has to pay back. In most cases, the loan is for a long-term period, therefore, a loan made in the past might be paid off in the distant future by those who neither signed off the contract, nor enjoyed its monetary luxury (Penn, 2005). In this sense, therefore, the recipient of the World Bank’s advice on early childhood education, still has to pay the principal loan and its interest in the future even when the advice is no longer applicable or even obsolete. However, in the

Indonesian context, it is undeniable that the World Bank's presence has brought the country's early childhood education to a stage previously unimaginable.

Thesis Coverage and Notes on Policy Materials and Abbreviations

This thesis is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter 2 discusses the notion of quality as informed by the body of literature. It presents debates between two theoretical camps: the objective and the relative – before accepting and highlighting the meaning of quality as the outcome, structure, and process is highlighted. The chapter concludes with a brief review of the Indonesian studies and the quality of early childhood education.

Chapter 3 presents the thesis theoretical and philosophical underpinnings as well as the methodology used for this study. It begins by highlighting the Foucauldian approach to policy analysis and concludes with the methodological aspects of the study.

Chapters 4, 5, and 6 analyse the data from the policy materials collected. In these chapters the three dimensions of quality, outcome, structure and process are analysed respectively under the lens of the four major discourses that operated in three different historical periods of Indonesia—nationalism (pre-Reformasi/Sukarno administration), correction and development (pre-Reformasi/Soeharto administration), distinction (Reformasi), and standardisation (post-Reformasi). Chapter 4 discusses the outcome dimensions of quality, represented through my satirical term "Superkids". It analyses the genealogy of the post-Reformasi "Superkids" that is rooted in the idea of *manusia susila* (decent human during the Sukarno era), *manusia Pancasila*/*manusia seutuhnya* (Soeharto/New Order administration), and developmental, standard children (Reformasi). Chapter 5 presents good teachers as the structural aspect of quality. The chapter proceeds by presenting different constructs of good teachers across distinct historical stages of Indonesia. The later part of the chapter analyses the making of the post-Reformasi notion of the good, professional teachers. Chapter 6 provides an analysis of the policy recommendations concerning the learning space plus those affecting early childhood learning contents, approaches, and infrastructure.

Chapter 7 pulls together the findings and analyses presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6 and draws lessons from this study by highlighting the problems left by post-Reformasi early childhood education policies reliant on the predeterministic, reductionist quality constructs. This chapter

concludes by inviting the Indonesian early childhood sector to embrace comprehensive, essential quality constructs.

Most policy materials used in this study are written in the Indonesian language and by Indonesian institutions of Indonesian name. Therefore, most quotes from Indonesian sources in this thesis are my own translation. When the quotes from the Indonesian sources are original in English this is noted by "words in the bracket English original" or "Italics, English original" or similar remarks. This is also the case for English translation of the names of the government agencies. There are a number of agencies' names adopted from their existing English version made available by the Indonesian government's international partners. The World Bank and UNESCO, for example, translated many government bodies' names and included them in the glossaries of their publications (UNESCO, 2005; World Bank, 2006a).

In some cases, the translation of the government agencies names comes from other sources, especially the literature on Indonesian studies. Among these resources is Ricklefs' (2001) *A history of modern Indonesia since c. 1200*. In the reference list, the name of these bodies are not abbreviated, and the titles of the documents used are not translated. This approach is used to assist researchers in tracking the original documents, despite, in some cases, the title of the original documents not being easily translated. Translating the title of these types of documents would only create difficulties for future researchers. For example, the *Majelis Permusyawaratan Rakyat* (MPR) can be translated as the People's Consultative Assembly, (PCA). However, the decision (*ketetapan*) it made such as the *Ketetapan MPR No. II/MPR/1978 tentang Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila*, could not be simply translated as the PCA Decision No. II/PCA/1978 on the Guideline of the Internalisation and Implementation of Pancasila. This translation may not lead the researchers after me anywhere when they need to track its original document. In addition, a number of abbreviations in this thesis refer to a single government institution, namely the Ministry of Education. They are DOEC, DONE, MONE, and MOEC.

Chapter 2. Perspectives on Quality: A Review of the Literature

Introduction

This chapter presents a review of the literature and previous research that are relevant to this study. It begins with the issue of the elusive definition of quality. Two approaches to defining quality are considered, followed by an overview of the dimensions of quality. Its following section summarises previous research on the quality of Indonesian early childhood education. The chapter concludes by highlighting the current tendency of Indonesian studies into early childhood education in general, and its quality, in particular, to focus on the how-to and practical aspects of early learning.

Defining Quality

Since the beginning of the contemporary campaign for early childhood education in Indonesia, quality has been its very heart and promise that early childhood education offers young children a brighter and better future (Calman & Tarr-Whelan, 2005; World Bank, 2006a; World Education Forum, 2000). It is not an exaggeration, therefore, to admit that quality has been the very "slogan" (Farquhar, 1990, p. 74) and "buzz word" (Moss, 1994, p. 1) of the contemporary discussions of early childhood education. Wesley and Buysse (2010) argue that no "conversation about early childhood education [is had] …without mentioning quality" (p. 1). Moreover, it is the story of quality that drives the present global proliferation of early childhood education (Moss, 2014). Despite the growing interest in it, quality remains elusive to define. At the very "heart of issues in early childhood education are definitions of **quality**" (Siraj-Blatchford & Wong, 1999, p. 8).

Sarah Farquhar (1990) notes the elusiveness of quality in her study, arguing that quality refers to two matters, "character" and "excellence". As character, quality is the "distinctiveness or unique combination of characteristics" of a practice or an early learning centre. As excellence, quality is seen as an effort to meet a "predetermined ideal" (pp. 74-75). For the latter meaning, the closer a centre or a practice is to a pre-set ideal, or the more it represents the desired criteria, the higher its quality. Quality also has two meanings, namely the "analytic" and the "evaluative" according to Moss (1994, pp. 1-2). The former emphasises the understanding of

quality as a framework to capture the characteristics of an early childhood education program or practice. The latter sees quality as a framework to measure the extent to which an early childhood service practice is in line with the predefined goal.

Quality is also conceptualised in relation to the perspectives of different early childhood education stakeholders. In this regard, Katz (1993a; 1993b) identifies five perspectives on quality; the top-down, bottom-up, outside-inside, inside, and outside points of view. The top-down perspective represents the view of the authorities regulating the ECE program. Quality in this view is more or less about the attainment of pre-determined goals and indicators. The bottom up perspective sees quality from the eyes of children. Quality is therefore associated with the early childhood program's "*ultimate effects*…experienced by the participating children" (Katz, 1993b, p. 6; italic original). The outside-inside perspective represents the view of the ECE program insiders—the teachers and the staff—of the program outsiders, the parents and families. Quality in this sense is about the positive relationship between these groups (Katz, 1993a; 1993b). The inside perspective represents the ECE program of insiders' experiences. In this sense, quality is related to the positive professional and collegial relations among the ECE program's teachers and staff. The outside perspective belongs to the community where an ECE program exists. Quality in this sense is about the benefits the community gains from the ECE program and the ECE program's internal support that enables the community to gain these benefits or, conversely, impedes it from gaining them. This includes aspects such as teacher training, qualification, supervision and the program's overall working conditions (Katz, 1993a).

Katz's five-perspective theory shows that quality has different meanings for different early childhood stakeholders. In the literature, however, there are shared views about the dimensions of quality: its structure and process (Cassidy et al., 2005; Cryer, 1999; Fenech, 2011; Fenech & Sumsion, 2007; Howes, Phillips, & Whitebook, 1992; Huntsman, 2008; Tietze et al., 1998; Tietze et al., 1996). Often these two dimensions are given different labels. The structural dimension refers to "inputs to process". It is a set of "characteristics that creates the framework for the processes that children actually experience" such as "group size, adult-child ratios, and the education and experience of the teachers" (Cryer, 1999, pp. 40-41). The process dimension refers to children's actual experience such as their interaction with their teachers, other children, their learning materials and activities as well as the fulfilment of their personal routines and needs. The structural dimension is often presented using different labels. A

number of studies call it the “regulable” or “regulatable” dimension (Cassidy et al., 2005; Clarke-Stewart et al., 2002; Huntsman, 2008), because of the ease with which its indicators can be regulated. Dunn (1993) calls the structural and process quality components “distal” and “proximal” (p. 167) dimensions respectively, considering that each has different levels of influential proximity on children’s development. Woodhead (1996) proposes a different categorisation of quality dimensions, namely “input”, “process”, and “outcomes” (p. 38). By ‘input’ he means the structural dimension; by ‘outcomes’ he means some of the elements are classified as parts of the process dimension in other studies (e.g Cassidy et al., 2005; Huntsman, 2008).

Along with the various attempts to pin down the elusive meaning of quality, studies into early childhood education have also varied in their findings.

As pointed out above, quality traditionally depends on both human and non-human factors. Quality involves an interplay between the human and non-human early childhood education aspects (Essa & Young, 2003). The human aspect of quality is represented both in certain components of the process dimension such as child-centeredness, child-staff interaction, and multi-age integration and in certain components of the structural dimension such as staff-child ratio, staff education and qualification, and group size. The non-human aspect of quality is mostly represented in the regulable physical environment of an early childhood program (Cassidy et al., 2005; Cryer, 1999; Dunn, 1993; Fenech, 2011; Howes et al., 1992; Huntsman, 2008; Podmore, Meade, & Hendricks, 2000).

Different studies, however, place different degrees of emphasis on the significance of the individual quality indicators. In the case of the child-staff ratio, “there is no definitive answer” for the question of “appropriate child-adult ratio” according to Essa and Young (2003, p. 19), instead emphasises the importance of “staff consistency” (Essa & Young, 2003, p. 21). By the same token, formal staff qualifications regardless of their pivotal contribution to the overall quality (Layzer & Goodson, 2006; Podmore et al., 2000) are not in themselves the sole quality guarantee. High staff turnover rates, in this sense, may put children’s needs for stable attachments with adults at risk.

This diversity in the quality aspect of particularities is important to note in the case of the cultural and intercultural awareness indicator. This indicator is widely accepted as one of the key ideas of a quality early childhood program (e.g. Brewer, 2007; Farquhar, 1993; Kostelnik,

Soderman, & Whiren, 2007; Podmore et al., 2000). Surprisingly, Farquhar's (1993) study in multicultural New Zealand found it rated among parents and staff with "minimal importance" (p. 85). Parents made negative comments on the provision of other cultures' materials, arguing that it is "not necessary until a child studies other cultures at school" (Farquhar, 1993, p. 66). Cultural consideration was also less significantly found in France according to Tobin's (2005) preschool quality ethnography. The study found that French preschools are monolingual, even though, like New Zealand, the country is multicultural. This confirms the argument that quality can mean different things even when it is applied in seemingly similar situations.

Another case to note is that of teacher qualifications and licensing policies. The centrality of teacher and staff qualifications to the quality of early childhood education is much underlined (Layzer & Goodson, 2006; Podmore et al., 2000). Formal qualification, however, is inadequate without the opportunity for teachers and staff to access continuous professional learning (Burchinal et al., 2002; Peralta, 2008). The same applies to licensing, which is the education authorities' common tool for early childhood education and quality assurance (Fenech, Sumsion, & Goodfellow, 2006; Grieshaber, 2000), as Clarke-Stewart (2002) and her colleagues found the license itself did not make a significant contribution to the early learning centres' overall quality.

To sum up, quality is, as shown above, an elusive concept. A quality indicator theoretically or culturally valued as an important aspect may be empirically rejected. Despite the agreement on the importance of quality early childhood programs, the factors that define quality ECE remain open to question. This relativity raises the prospect of a more open and contextual approach to quality, as the following sections will show.

Objective versus Relative Approaches to Quality

The elusiveness of the concept of quality, as established above, reflects the ambiguity of its definition. Many have argued that quality is defined in two ways, according to two approaches: objective and relative (Moss, 1994; 1996; Siraj-Blatchford & Wong, 1999). These approaches are also termed "exclusionary" and "inclusionary" respectively (Munton, Mooney, & Rowland, 1995, p. 12). Objectivists base their idea of quality on the positivistic view of knowledge while relativists base theirs on the interpretive tradition.

The objective model sees quality as a set of observable and measurable characteristics. These characteristics are believed to influence children's development (Fenech, 2011; Siraj-

Blatchford & Wong, 1999; Sylva, 2010). Based on the positivistic view of knowledge, this perspective assumes the possibility of a generalisable, decontextualised, and predetermined quality construct (Dahlberg, Moss, & Pence, 1999; Moss, 2014). As a generalisable concept, the quality construct is assumed to be universally applicable to all contexts and situations.

The objective quality model relies a lot on the findings in the field of developmental psychology (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005; Ebbeck, 2002; Kostelnik, Soderman, & Whiren, 1999; Kostelnik et al., 2007). Conventionally, developmental psychology assumes a universal pattern of children's development (Berk, 2006). Accordingly, the objective quality model also follows the idea of developmental appropriateness and normality, which refers to the extent of a child's alignment with, or break from the universal pattern of development. This developmental discourse has long dominated both the academic and professional fields of early childhood education (Blaise, 2005; Soto & Swadener, 2002). There may be no better example to show its dominance than the US' National Association for the Education of Young Children's 'developmentally appropriate practice' (DAP) early childhood education framework (Copple & Bredekamp, 2006; NAEYC, 2009). Its prominence for the context of the objective quality model is summarised in Charlesworth's (1998) claims that DAP "is for everyone" (p. 274).

The influence of the developmental discourse on the Indonesian ECE is significant. This is evident, for instance, in one of the Indonesian early childhood education principles, namely, "child's development-oriented learning" (Indonesian, 'pembelajaran berorientasi pada prinsip perkembangan') (Curriculum Centre, 2004, p. 10), which is often used interchangeably with DAP literal translation of 'pembelajaran selaras perkembangan (PSP)'. In line with this theoretical affiliation, the influence of the objective quality on the Indonesian ECE quality assurance system is inevitable.

The influence of the developmental discourse on the Indonesian ECE has been widened by World Bank support. For example, in one project, the World Bank facilitated the introduction of the Early Development Instrument (EDI), a screening tool used in Australia and Canada, to measure children's development in the project sites (Duku, Janus, & Brinkman, 2014; Maika et al., 2013; Pradhan et al., 2013). Although no formal measure has seemingly been taken to make EDI a national quality tool, its ratification is open as the MONE (DGECNFIE, 2011) endorses international quality framework adoption for its ECE sector.

In contrast to the objective model, the relative quality model stems from the interpretive paradigm. It acknowledges the subjective nature of quality (Dahlberg et al., 1999), values the participation of different ECE actors, and sees quality as dynamic and negotiable (Moss, 1994). In this perspective, quality should not be arbitrarily predetermined, since predetermination may lead to unequal power relations:

> [the] definition of quality is…a process of identifying and applying 'objective' and indisputable knowledge….[which] is an inherently…didactic process…by a particular group whose power and claims…enable them to determine what is…true or false….Once defined, criteria are then offered to others and applied to the process or product under consideration (Dahlberg et al., 1999, p. 93).

Arguments for the relative perspective also include the need to embrace children and their families' differences (Penn, 2011a; 2011b). A further argument is the gap between the world's regions in terms of their support for ECE. To illustrate this, as Woodhead (1998) states, the annual support for a child participating in the USA's Headstart program was USD2600, an amount that could pay the annual salaries of 150 nurseries' workers in India.

As the later parts of this section will show, the relative perspective promises a substantive capture of quality. This, however, does not mean that the relative model has no weaknesses. Woodhead (1998) points out that the relative approach to quality may fall into "the 'black hole' of extreme relativism" (p. 7). Siraj-Blatchford and Wong (1999) also wonder about its practicability. The application of the relative quality framework requires social conditions encouraging mutual contribution among the different ECE stakeholders, for which, unfortunately, not all preschools are well prepared (Siraj-Blatchford & Wong, 1999).

Despite its potential impracticality, the adoption of the relative framework is not impossible. The prospect of its adoption is supported by Hughes and MacNaughton's (2000) study on parent involvement and the study of Dahlberg, Moss, and Pence (Dahlberg et al., 1999) on the Italian Reggio Emilia practices. A precondition for its application is a space that encourages equality among the different ECE stakeholders. More fundamentally, it requires a new vision of quality as an opportunity for "sustainable improvement" (Woodhead, 1998, p. 16) and as a "starting point" (Tanner, Welsh, & Lewis, 2006, pp. 6-7) rather than as a predetermined end.

A Call to Move beyond Objective Quality Model

The prominence of the objective quality model has been further amplified in concert with the global campaign for early childhood education in the post-2000s. As it is known, the 2000 Education For All summit in Dakar called for global early childhood education expansion (World Education Forum, 2000). This call attracted international funding bodies such as the World Bank to lend money to assist governments of the developing countries in initiating their early childhood education campaigns (Buchert, 2002). The international agencies' financial support has later paved the new way for the objective quality model to be transferred to the developing countries (Penn, 2002; 2011a; 2011b). The typical recommendation these institutions make to the recipients of their assistance is normally formulated as: "early intervention + quality = increased human capital + national success" (Moss, 2014, p. 3). Moss (2014) calls this advice the "story of quality and high returns" (p. 3).

The use of the quality stories by and in the international agencies' early childhood education campaign has raised some concerns (Penn, 2010; 2011b), especially with its overemphasis on the USA's "success story" (Heckman, 2000; 2011; Heckman & Masterov, 2007; Schweinhart et al., 2005; Schweinhart & Weikart, 1981). Penn (2011a), for example, asks: "what constitutes quality when resources….are extremely meagre….[and]….ideas about childhood bear little resemblance to childhood in rich countries" (p. 163). These disparities assume the absurdity of transferring an early childhood education quality and benefit idea from one country to another without a proper adaptation. On the other hand, the objective model's inherent reductionism needs careful attention. Just as it believes in the possibility of quality criteria predetermination, equally, it sees early childhood education as the "producers of predetermined outcomes" (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005, p. 5). Indeed, quality criteria are merely predictors and not the quality itself (Layzer & Goodson, 2006). In addition, quality indicators are mostly developed on the basis of ideal images of children, which are tied to specific contexts. As a result, they are inherently, as Farquhar (2012) points out, "insufficient infrastructure" (p. 69) to support what the proponents of the objective quality model often herald as comprehensive child development. In short, predetermined quality indicators are essentially partial and reductionist.

> box-ticking, using predetermined criteria, will no longer adequately address the dimensions of quality within the field of early childhood education. Our practices require more introspective examination and…opportunities to explore our own

> values…beliefs…insights and understandings framed within our workplaces. (Goodfellow, 2001, p. 5)

A further potential negative impact of the prescriptive quality model is related to its typical presentation as a high-stake quality assurance tool or "technology of quality" (Dahlberg & Moss, 2005, p. 3). Its application at the early childhood centres is mostly endorsed by education authority representatives, such as kindergarten supervisors and accreditation assessors in the context of this study. This makes the practice of quality highly official. It strictly defines what is allowed or not allowed to be done for the centres (Fenech & Sumsion, 2007; Fenech et al., 2006; Grieshaber, 2000) and potentially leaves them no space for independent improvement.

In response to the limitations off universalistic quality discourse, Dahlberg, Moss, and Pence (1999) propose an alternative discourse, which they call, "the discourse of meaning making". This discourse frames quality as:

> situated within….the ethics of an encounter, foregrounding the importance of meaning making in dialogue with others….[and that] speaks first and foremost about constructing and deepening understanding of the early childhood institution and its projects, in particular the pedagogical work—to make meaning of what is going on. (p. 106).

With the overarching prominence of the prescriptive model, Dahlberg, Moss, and Pence (1999) admit that adoption of the meaning-making discourse is a challenging task. To cope with this, a "mid-way", in which the meaning-making discourse co-exists with the conventional discourse is possible. To support this co-existence the presence of working minds fully conscious and cautious of the limitation of the prescriptive quality is necessary.

> [The prescriptive] quality may be the right choice…but is it…choice for 10 or 15 years hence? If yes, then what is the rationale for this stasis....what are the dangers of staying with a language that is so strongly related to criteria and standards, that is so…regulatory, that results in exclusion and lack of diversity (Moss & Dahlberg, 2008, p. 8).

The meaning-making discourse, albeit challenging to adopt, promises a substantive understanding of the present-day early childhood education institutions. In the most limited meaning of this discourse, preschool is no longer seen merely as a learning site rather a space

for productive civil democratic engagement, through mutual, participatory meaning making. Transforming early childhood education into a space for democracy is the relativists' critical contribution to the field of early childhood education.

The call for reconceptualising the notion of quality has now moved forward to the decentralisation of the human position and to reconnection between human and non-human aspects (e.g. Arndt & Tesar, 2016; Malone, 2016). Currently, the dominant approach to quality tends to put the human at the heart of quality, both in terms of quality intervention actors and targets. Arndt and Tesar (2016) call this orientation to quality "mono-focused human-centric" (p. 18). Considering that quality involves complex, multiple aspects not limited to human ones, they argue a human-focused quality notion is inherently reductionist (Arndt & Tesar, 2016, p. 18). This perspective on quality has its roots in the anthropocentric vision on the world and the universe. While this has been a dominant scientific discourse for centuries, it has now been taken into account as the root of the world's contemporary problems and disasters such as environmental degradation, species extinction, and more extremely, climate change. The idea of putting the human as the centre of the universe means that the human is the only sovereign subject and species, while the rest of the universe is neither more nor less an aggregate of manipulable objects. In this sense, to put humans at the centre of quality, while degrading other, non-human aspects, potentially perpetuates the "current destructive path" of humanity, which would only lead the early childhood education sector to "void or nothingness" (Arndt & Tesar, 2016, p. 18).

As demonstrated here the objective and relative approaches both have strengths and weaknesses. For the context of Indonesian early childhood education, an objective model of quality is perhaps much more relevant as well as much more practical to adopt. Nevertheless, if early childhood education is seen as part of the country's fruits and tools for democratic reform then a relative model of quality, which is inherently much more democratic, is preferable. That the Indonesian government adopted the objective quality model, as presented in Chapter 1, is indicated by the massive publication of quality standard documents. Generally, the relative quality model has not received attention. As the following section will show, this is partly because, on the one hand, it is not the model recommended by the Indonesian early childhood education global sponsors and, on the other hand, the model has not attracted Indonesian researchers.

Studies on Early Childhood Education Quality in Indonesia

Until recently, Indonesian studies into early childhood education have focused more on the how-to aspects of early learning and instruction. Only a few studies have been made about quality. They were done mainly by the Indonesian government's global partners such as the World Bank, UNESCO, and Analytical and Capacity Development Partnership (ACDP). This section provides a brief review of these studies.

The World Bank has conducted a number of studies into Indonesian early childhood education. In 2006, the World Bank launched its study findings in its *Early childhood education and development in Indonesia: An investment for a better life* (World Bank, 2006a). This study could be seen as laying the foundation for the post-Reformasi early childhood education campaign. The World Bank points out that the key problem facing Indonesian early childhood education, in addition to the availability of the service, is the absence of a quality framework. This, however, does not mean that the sector has no policy regulating quality, but rather that the Indonesian government has no reliable and sustainable quality reference. In order to improve its early childhood education quality, while maintaining the expansion target the World Bank recommended the following nine policy options for the government to:

> [1] work toward developing and implementing a quality assurance system….[2] develop program standards that apply to all service types….[3] focus on registration and licensing of ECED program rather than….accreditation….[4] develop a professional development system….[5] define the competencies of ECED personnel in terms of levels of ability and steps to be followed….[6] organize existing training programs into a systematic professional career path….[7] bring those working on the curriculum together [8] develop effective supervision systems and upgrade technological and record-keeping capacity at the district level…[and] [9] monitor districts' progress in promoting school readiness using a population-based instrument that assesses the developmental levels of children" (World Bank, 2006a, pp. 43-46).

As for its 1997 projects (1977; 1998), the 2006 World Bank's study quoted a number of Western studies of preschool benefits and attached the USA's National Association for the Education of Young Children's professionals qualification model (World Bank, 2006a). The World Bank, however, showed an unexpected attitude on the education ministry's existing preference to adopt the US-made *Beyond Centers and Circle Time* (BCCT) curriculum, due to

its partial implementation. The World Bank (2006a) further insisted that the integration of "cognitive….psychosocial, and physical stimulation" (p. 45) is an unnegotiable feature of a good curriculum.

In 2013, the World Bank launched its report on its early childhood education and development project in Indonesia. The report, *Early childhood education and development in poor villages in Indonesia* (Hasan et al., 2013), compiles various findings on the impacts of the World Bank's 2006 project. The study generally found there had been the positive impacts from the World Bank's investment on children's development in the poor villages. The report says that early childhood intervention, "even in the short run" (Hasan et al., 2013, p. 149) positively influenced young children's growth and development. Nevertheless, while many Indonesians tend to assume that quality is the sole responsibility of the early childhood centre (Sugito & Fauziah, 2015), the World Bank's report indicates that the positive impact of early intervention involves a wider environment outside the centre.

UNESCO has also studied Indonesian early childhood centres. At least two studies were conducted in the post-Reformasi (UNESCO, 2003; 2005), both highlighting the issue of quality. In addition to the low and unequally distributed workforce qualification, UNESCO (2005) highlights the fragmented administration of early childhood education. At the time when the study was done, at least five different ministries and government agencies were responsible for the early childhood education service, each with their own construction and understanding of children, and therefore, of quality (UNESCO, 2003; 2005). The Ministry of Education itself used to have two different units responsible for the service, each of which established their own version of early learning institutions and therefore held different constructions of quality (UNESCO, 2003). To illustrate, due the duality of its early childhood education system, the ministry developed two sets of accreditation instruments to measure quality: one for kindergarten (NAB, 2009a) and another for non-kindergarten programs (NABNFE, 2009a). They, however, measured different objects of quality. The kindergarten instrument measured the impacts of developmental stimulation on children, while the instrument for the non-kindergarten program measured the availability of developmental stimulation. UNESCO saw this fragmentation as detrimental to quality.

> The primary victim of this fragmented administration is quality, especially in terms of continuity between different services to ensure the child's evolutionary progression through the different stages of early childhood. The child's holistic development

> requires cooperation among different sectors. Most of all, fragmentation leads to duplication and wastage of resources. Considering that payroll for administrative staff makes up a large portion of government investment in early childhood, considerable resources could be saved simply by streamlining the administration and reducing the number of officials involved (UNESCO, 2005, p. 27).

With the support of the Australian Aid, the European Union (EU) and the Asian Development Bank (ADB), the government established a joint program called Analytical and Capacity Development Partnership (ACDP), which has until now facilitated numerous policy developments for numerous sectors. The program assisted the MOEC, MORA and National Development Agency, to conduct the *Early childhood development strategy study in Indonesia* (MNDP/NDPA, 2013). Generally, the study was aimed at finding policy options to expand accessible early childhood services, improve quality, as well as strengthen early childhood sector planning and management. Although conducted after the Indonesian government published numerous governing standards including the 2005 *National education standard* (GOI, 2005a), the 2007 *Teacher standard* (DONE, 2007c) and the 2009 *Early childhood standard* (DONE, 2009d), this study, came out with rather unexpected findings. With regard to the use of formal qualification as a benchmark of quality, for example, it found that the formally unqualified teachers were not necessarily the low quality teachers, rather they were the teachers' less measurable characteristics, such as willingness to engage with children, patience, and community acceptance, instead of their formal certificates that contributed to most of the teachers' good performance (MNDP/NDPA, 2013). The same finding was later supported in a study by an Indonesian researcher (Hakim, 2014).

In 2015, the ACDP program facilitated another study, the Development of Early Childhood Education Quality Assurance System (*Pengembangan sistem penjaminan mutu pendidikan anak usia dini*) (Gutama & Herarti, 2015). The study was aimed at identifying initial information that would be used by the MOEC's Centre for Education Quality Assurance (CEQA, Pusat Penjaminan Mutu Pendidikan, PPMP) for designing early childhood education quality assurance at the level of the *kabupaten/kota* (district). This study identified eleven legal frameworks that stipulated early childhood quality, ranging from laws, government regulations, and presidential regulations to different ministerial regulations (Gutama & Herarti, 2015). In fact, the governing instruments of early childhood education quality are more complex than those identified in the study. For example, the study does not include in its list a

number of policy documents such as the *Teacher standard* (DONE, 2007c), the holistic-integrative early childhood development presidential regulation (GOI, 2013b), and early childhood education curriculum (MOEC, 2014d). As if to confirm UNESCO's (2005) earlier study with these findings, Gutama and Herarti (2015) argue that the quality assurance system that would be developed is most likely to be extremely complex. Exacerbating the situation, these researchers add, the fact that only 60% and less than 50% of early childhood regulators and providers, respectively understand those quality legal frameworks and that they often do not cover both the regulators and the providers. This is due to the speed of the policy change at the central government level, which made the local governments and the policy end-users adapt to the change. Gutama's and Herarti's (2015) study itself is a good example of the effect of such series of hasty changes. The study was expected to assist the MOEC's CEQA founded in 2012 (MOEC, 2012a), but the unit was terminated before the study was completed (MOEC, 2015a). The study report does not provide further information about the new users of its findings.

Studies and reports on the situation of early childhood education in the pre-Reformasi era are scarce, apart from those made by the government bodies, which are often only a small part of a larger study. The work of Suradi Hp and his colleagues (Suradi Hp et al., 1986) on the history of Indonesian education, for example, incomprehensively highlights the government's effort to improve the quality of early childhood education through the establishment of preschool teacher vocational schools. The lack of study into preschool education in the past, results by and large from the fact that the government's main education priority was on primary education and illiteracy eradication (Gunawan, 1986; Suradi Hp et al., 1986; Tilaar, 1995). With this policy focus, most preschools were privately funded—a trend that has lasted until nowadays despite the increase in government attention to the sector.

Among the limited number of studies into pre-Reformasi early childhood education that are accessible for international readers are the works of Murray Thomas (1988; 1992). These studies revealed that since the beginning, quality has been one of the concerns of early childhood education provision. These studies, moreover, explain the roots of the government's dominant role over preschools in terms of quality issues. As most preschools were privately funded, so Thomas (1988; 1992) argues, to maintain quality the government and the preschool owners and teachers shared responsibilities. In that role division, the preschool owners and/or teachers assumed the responsibility of expanding the service and ensuring the availability of

funding. The government on the other hand was responsible for providing quality improvement supports in the forms of teacher training provision and of establishing demonstration preschools at provincial and district levels (Thomas, 1992). Such division certainly set preschool quality at stake, since teachers bore a double burden, as educators as well as fundraisers. Thomas (1988) suggests that it "may stimulate more efficient growth of preschools…if the [fundraising] task were turned entirely over to the government bureaucracy" (p. 43).

Studies on the quality of early childhood education by Indonesian researchers, as mentioned at the beginning of this section, are mostly about the how-to dimension of early childhood education. The how-to aspects mean the teaching of young children and young children's developmental stimulation. Consequently most studies by Indonesian researchers, to use Lodico, Spaulding, and Voegtle's (2006) research categorisation, tend to fall into the "action-oriented" rather than the "knowledge-oriented" (p. 11) category. This is partially because the current early childhood education campaign is intended to correct past early childhood practices that are now considered as wrong, for example, the reading-writing-arithmetic drill in kindergarten (Anam, 2011b).

The study of Suryono, Suparno, and Izzaty (2014) sought to find instructional design to improve early childhood learning outcome quality. The study found that the early childhood centre tended to facilitate children's learning in a way that was developmentally inappropriate. In response, following the research and development (R and D) approach, the study recommended the use of puppets as effective media to improve children's speaking ability. The study also found that the use of simple experiments significantly helped young children to acquire science-processing skills.

Another study by Sugito and Fauziah (2015) also highlighted quality issues. The study aimed at finding a model of learning management in a full-day preschool setting. This study also followed the research and development procedure. The study recommended that for effectiveness of learning management, full-day learning institutions should develop four types of instructional plans: the annual program, semester program, weekly program, and daily lesson plan. Moreover, as most full-day kindergartens pay more attention to children's character development, this study also developed and recommended the use of Big Book reading as character development media.

A number of studies follow even more specific how-to themes. The study of Soraya (2013), for example, explored the use of diversity dolls to stimulate children's understanding of tolerance, while Lestarininrum's (2014) study was aimed at understanding the use of VCD to facilitate children's acquisition of religious and moral values. A study by Ira, Engliana, and Hapsari (2015) discussed the use of songs to stimulate children's mastery of English vocabulary. It seems the how-to theme and action-oriented will continue to colour Indonesian research and study of early childhood education. This is partially due to the policy endorsement of this type of research. The current teacher standard, for example, requires a teacher to conduct classroom action research for their career promotion (DONE, 2007c). Of course, the presence of how-to research is also critical to maintaining and improving the quality of early childhood education. Nevertheless, in many cases, this type of research embarks on the assumption that the notion of quality as stipulated by the policy is final. In fact, the root of the quality problem is none other than the very idea of the quality embraced by the policy.

Concluding Comments

As the previous sections have shown, quality is an elusive concept to define. However, in general, quality is approached in two ways: objective and relative. In the first approach, quality is considered as a regulable and therefore measurable characteristic. In this view, quality is divided into at least three major dimensions: inputs, processes, and outputs or outcomes. These aspects are measured based on a set of predetermined criteria. In the relative view, quality is seen as an open-ended state of being and therefore not necessarily measurable. Quality is seen as how far a certain set of characteristics or states of being are meaningful for its users, in this case, early childhood education.

In this thesis both perspectives have been combined to examine the Indonesian early childhood education quality policy. The objective perspective of quality is used to help map out the aspects of quality. Insights from the relative perspective are used to question and challenge the Indonesian policy recommendations on quality. Drawing on the objective quality model, three aspects of quality regulated by the Indonesian policy documents have been chosen: children, teachers, and learning process and learning institution. Each is taken as representing the output, input, and process of the quality dimension respectively. These three aspects of quality are analysed in Chapter 4, Chapter 5, and Chapter 6 of the thesis.

Chapter 3. Theoretical Framework and Methodological Consideration

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the theoretical underpinnings and methodological aspects of this thesis. It is divided into two main parts. The first part provides an overview of the Foucauldian policy analysis, which includes Michel Foucault's ideas of genealogy and governmentality. The second part describes the methodological aspects of the thesis, including the process of the data and policy materials gathered as well as the methods employed in their analysis.

Approach to Policy Analysis

There are many ways to approach policy. One may see policy as a proposal or the plan behind a solution. Others, taking a critical point of view, emphasise it more as a political product. This study adopts the second perspective. A key understanding in critical policy analysis is the association between 'policy' and 'politics', where 'politics' is viewed as an endeavour to gain or to execute power (Olssen, Codd, & O'Neill, 2004) and policy is "power/knowledge configurations par excellence" (Ball, 2006, p.26). The terms 'policy' and 'politics' "came from the same root, and that policy necessarily involves politics" (Yang, 2014, p. 249). Policy can be seen as "the cultural-textual expression of a political practice" (Levinson, Sutton, & Winstead, 2009, p. 770).

At a glance, the involvement of power in policy making might not be a problem. Yang (2014), however, explains that in practice, policy making "only represents the values of the interest group that possesses the authority" (p. 250). The state, which should ideally listen to different stakeholders, "represents unevenly the influence of different groups and sectors of the society" (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 71). As a result, a policy "codifies and extends the interests of those who disproportionately wield power" (Levinson et al., 2009, p. 769). A policy may be, therefore, harmful, especially when it reaches those who have neither power, nor access to voice their interests during its production. Taylor et al. (1997) argue that "to ignore the issues of power is to ensure our own powerlessness" (p. 20). Critical policy analysts aim to unmask

these issues and through so doing, envisage “a possible world of social justice” (Levinson et al., 2009, p. 769).

A wide range of theoretical orientations have contributed to the development of policy analysis. However, recent development has come in a growing body of works with a strong affinity to Michel Foucault’s philosophical and methodological framework, including those in the field of ECE (e.g. Ailwood, 2003; Dahlberg et al., 1999; Stuart, 2011). Foucault’s thoughts have profoundly shaped these works, especially his perspective on language and conceptions of ‘discourse’, ‘genealogy’, and ‘governmentality’. In their work, Dahlberg, Moss, and Pence (1999) note, for example, that the “language we use shapes and directs our way of looking at and understanding the world” (p. 31).

Foucauldian Approach: Genealogy and Governmentality Analysis

Critique according to Foucault aims to unmask the unseen dangers of seemingly irresistible ideas or practices. This is obvious from his statement that “everything is dangerous” (Foucault, 1984d, p. 343). Equally, this study argues that the Indonesian ECE quality policy potentially comes with some unseen dangers. To reveal these dangers, or to critique in a Foucauldian sense, however, is not simply a matter of judging that something is dangerous or wrong, it is a matter of:

> pointing out on what kinds of assumptions…unconsidered modes of thought, the practices that we accept rest….[and] of flushing out that thought and trying to change it: to show that things are not as self-evident as we believed, to see that what is accepted as self-evident will no longer be accepted as such. (Foucault, 1988, p. 154)

This passage demonstrates that critique has two aims. Firstly, it identifies the underlying assumptions of the seemingly ‘unchallenged modes of thought’ or ‘practices’. Secondly, it proposes alternative understandings of those thoughts and practices. In the context of this study, these thoughts and practices are materialised in the form of policy, the beliefs that underpin it, and its recommendations on the measures to take to implement these beliefs.

Foucault’s perspective on language and discourse is also pivotal for this thesis (Rose & Miller, 1992). Foucault sees ‘discourse’ as an alternative to and working in the same way as ideology (Olssen et al., 2004). Moreover, he “treats all phenomena as linguistic phenomena” (Olssen,

2006, p. 41). Drawing on this understanding, language is the proxy for the present thesis' analysis of the policy documents.

Foucault characterises 'discourse' as having at least two main features. Firstly, he conceives 'discourse' as a 'statement' or a 'group of statements'. Precisely 'discourse', as he suggests in his Archaeology of Knowledge, is "a group of statements that belong to a single system of formation" (Foucault, 2005, p. 120), such as a 'clinical system' or an 'economic system'. Secondly, he characterises discourse as power-laden; 'discourse' does not only point out an object, it constitutes and shapes it. This representation is evident, as he argues that 'discourse' is "a weapon of power, of control, of subjection, of qualification and of disqualification" (cited in Davidson, 2004, p. xx).

Foucauldian scholars (e.g. Fairclough, 2003; Gee, 2012; Taylor, 2004) believe that discourse is manifested through language. Consequently, given the power-laden nature of discourse, they argue that language is also "performative" (Rose & Miller, 1992, p. 275). It is not per se an innocent medium of interaction. Indeed, language is an instrument of control. Language performativity is even stronger in the case of its uses in and by policy (Apthorpe, 1997; Taylor, 2004). Apthorpe (1997) argues that, in the case of policy documents, language "is itself a form and source of policy power" as its framing discourses naturally tend more "to persuade than to describe" (p. 42).

Genealogy

Foucault suggests two methodological approaches: 'archaeology' and 'genealogy' which share a common concern with the historicity of the objects being investigated but differ in what they investigate (Kendall & Wickham, 1998). Archaeology uncovers the historical assumptions that underlie or give birth to a particular system of thought. Genealogy traces the process of descent and emergence of a given system of thought through which it is born, built, or transformed (Olssen et al., 2004). In this sense, this thesis is more genealogical than archaeological.

Foucault (1984c) sees history not as the records of the past. For him, history is not the narratives of the ancient, and by genealogy, he "does not pretend to go back in time to restore an unbroken continuity" (p. 81). He does not see history as a "continuous development of an ideal schema" and his genealogy is "oriented to discontinuities" (Tamboukou, 1999, p. 203). It questions the status of the present and views the present not as it appears. The "history of the present"

(Foucault, 1984a, p. 178) is the matter of his genealogy and with which it is labelled (e.g. Garland, 2014; Gordon, 1980; Tamboukou, 1999).

Foucault develops his genealogical approach from the German philosopher Friedrich Nietzsche (Foucault, 1984c; Kendall & Wickham, 1998; Tamboukou, 1999). A key point to Nietzsche's thought is a stance that "truth cannot be separated from the procedures of its production" (Tamboukou, 1999, p. 202). This, however, does not mean that genealogy seeks an ultimate origin of the truth. Rather it looks for the "historical tie between power and knowledge" (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 47). To accomplish this, Foucault recommends that genealogy traces and exposes the 'descent' and 'emergence' of the truth. It is important to note here that by the truth Foucault does not mean the correct idea. The truth for Foucault (1980a) is "a system of ordered procedures for the production, regulation, distribution, circulation, and operation of statements" (p. 133). In the case of this study, this system is the one that deals with the Indonesian ECE quality policy.

The descent, simply speaking, is the relationships, networks, and paths towards the truth, while the emergence is the episode and the situations that define the truth. Foucault (1984c) describes the 'descent' as the "ancient affiliation to a group" and 'emergence' as "the moment of arising" (pp. 80, 83). To look for such 'descent' or 'affiliation' is to trace the "jolts and surprises of history in terms of the effects of power" (Olssen et al., 2004, p. 48). In the context of this thesis, it is done by tracking the paths through which the Indonesian policy notions and practices of quality are descended. To trace the 'emergence' is to capture the moments and conditions, or "the battle which defines and clears the space" (Sembou, 2011, p. 7) for these notions and practices to emerge and become legitimate through the policy. In this sense, to capture the 'emergence' is to expose the "conditions of possibility" (Ailwood, 2002, p. 21), which is for the context of this study, the situation that enables the Indonesian policy adoption of particular quality notions. By tracking its 'descent' and 'emergence', the present Indonesian policy truth of quality, namely its quality beliefs and notions, will be brought to light to explore whether they are necessary, innocent, and self-evident as they appear.

Genealogy, however, does not stop at the point of mapping the 'descent' and 'emergence' of the truth. It further attempts to "emancipate historical knowledges from...subjection, to render them…capable of opposition…of struggle against the coercion of a theoretical, unitary, formal and scientific discourse" (Foucault, 1980b, p. 85). Such an endeavour is done through envisioning "the possibility of no longer being, doing or thinking what we are, do, or think"

(Tamboukou, 1999, p. 203) about the existing present being examined, which, in the case of this study is the Indonesian ECE policy and its quality recommendation. Through so doing, genealogy attains the second aim of Foucauldian critique referred to at the beginning of this section: that of offering an alternative understanding of the matter under examination.

Governmentality

While genealogy gives this study a methodological insight, governmentality provides it with a theoretical perspective. A key entry point to Foucault's notion of governmentality is his conception of 'government'. Foucault (1982) argues that government is not the exclusive affair of the formal political institutions such as parliament or other state bodies. For Foucault, government is also about the interrelationship between individuals (Doherty, 2007; Foucault, 1982; 1991; Gordon, 1991; Rabinow, 1984). He follows Guillaume de la Perriere who views government as "the right disposition of things arranged so as to lead to a convenient end" (Foucault, 1991, p. 93). The 'things' in this concept are "men in their relation to…other kind of things [such as] customs, habits, ways of acting and thinking…" (Foucault, 1991, p. 93). With this understanding, Foucault's (1982) government is also popularly understood as the 'conduct of conduct':

> government did not refer only to political structures or….management of states; rather, it designated the way in which the conduct of individuals or of groups might be directed: the government of children, of souls, of communities, of families, of the sick….To govern, in this sense, is to structure the possible field of action of others. (p. 790)

In line with Foucault's representation of government, in this thesis early childhood education is seen through a double-angled approach. On the one hand, it sees early childhood education as the government actor and realisation with young children as its targets. On the other hand, early childhood education is seen as the governed or the target of government. In other words, as an institution and program, early childhood education is one of the Indonesian government's apparatuses to govern their youngest citizens. Meanwhile, as a practice, early childhood education and all of its components are systematically governed by the GOI policies and regulations.

The activity of governing, or government, is driven by particular rationalities. This rationality is a "system of thinking about the nature of the practice of government" which defines "who can govern; what governing is; what or who is governed" (Gordon, 1991, p. 3). Moreover, this

rationality has the capability of ensuring that the governing activities are "thinkable and practicable" (Gordon, 1991, p. 3) both to those who govern and those who are governed. This network of rationality and activities is what Foucault (1991) calls governmentality. Foucault (1991), however, refers his concept of 'governmentality' to three meanings. This thesis draws on the first meaning he proposes, namely the idea of governmentality as an "ensemble" or as interconnected practices and activities. The first meaning of Foucault's (1991) notion of governmentality is:

> the ensemble formed by the institutions, procedures, analyses and reflections, the calculations and tactics that allow the exercise of this very specific albeit complex form of power, which has as its target population, as its principal form of knowledge political economy, and as its essential technical means apparatuses of security (Foucault, 1991, p. 102).

In line with the notion of governmentality as an ensemble or interconnected network, Rose (1999) suggests that the analysis of government has two objects. The first is the rationality of governing, which includes ideas such as the justifications of power exercise and the notions of what is acceptable or unacceptable. The second object is the means, or "governmental technologies" according to Rose and Miller (1992, p. 273), through which the governmental rationality is made practicable. Dean (2010) suggests a more detailed scope for Foucauldian governmentality analysis as follows:

> an analysis of the means of calculation, both qualitative and quantitative, the type of governing authority or agency, the forms of knowledge, techniques and other means employed, the entity to be governed and how it is conceived, the ends sought and the outcomes and consequences (Dean, 2010, p. 18).

A careful analysis of these elements will enable the governmentality analyst to unpack the complex realm of a policy that is seemingly taken for granted and exposes the potential risks it may pose to its targets.

The following sections address the ways in which Foucault's genealogy was applied in the methodology used for this study.

Information Sources and Generation

Foucault's (1984c) suggests that "genealogy is….patiently documentary" and needs "a vast accumulation of source material" (pp. 76-77). This suggestion was both useful and puzzling for the data collection. It was useful in the sense that it was necessary to carefully select the policy documents since the post-Reformasi period this study focuses on covers almost a decade of Indonesian history. The study's reliance on Foucault's idea of genealogy as the "history of the present" meant that documents from the previous periods had to be unearthed in order to make sense of what Garland (2014) calls "traces of the past" in today's policy. In this sense, Foucault's suggestion is more confusing than guiding, particularly, because it does not give a definite picture of what he means by "vast". Is this criterion more likely to mean a long period or the diversity of data sources?

The vagueness of Foucault's (1984c) "vast" criterion means that determining the boundaries of documents needed is difficult. It is important to note here that in an Indonesian daily context, the term 'policy' (Indonesian, *kebijakan*) connotatively means the government's rules and regulation (Indonesian, *aturan* or *peraturan*). In this sense, policy documents could simply mean the documents whose contents are mainly a set of rules. The meaning of policy as rule and/or regulation could be inferred, for example, in Gunawan's (1986) *Kebijakan-kebijakan pendidikan di Indonesia* (Education policies in Indonesia) and Tilaar's (1995) *50 tahun pembangunan pendidikan nasional 1945-1995: Suatu analisis kebijakan* (50 years of national education development 1945-1995: A policy analysis). A major part of these books is copies of laws, government regulations, presidential instructions, and ministerial regulations. The same appears in the earlier work by Poerbakawatja (1962), which has been a major reference for studies in Indonesian educational history. Accordingly, the 'rules and regulations' were meanings of policy that I learned when attending early childhood education meetings in Indonesia. The contents of a session on policy, delivered either by an academic or government representative, were normally about regulations.

Nevertheless, if the meaning of policy was relied on only in its Indonesian connotation, this thesis might not achieve Foucault's "vast" criterion. To overcome this potential limitation, a more generic meaning of policy as the government's decision, choice, and action or inaction (Howlett & Ramesh, 2003) was adopted. In practice, it takes into account the nine policy meanings that Hogwood and Gunn (1984) suggest, namely, policy as the "label for a field of activity", "expression of general purpose of desired state of affairs" "specific proposals,

decisions of government", "formal authorization", "government's program", "outputs", "outcomes", and "theory or model" (pp. 13-18). With this in mind, all post-Reformasi documents that represent these categories, or are related to the Indonesian early childhood education were considered to be relevant for this study.

The primary data for this study are the policy documents published by the post-Reformasi Indonesian government. To begin the data collection, I read numerous documents in my possession. They include speeches by the MONE's representatives (Gutama, 2006; Suprapto, 2004) and documents published from 2004 to 2008, which I obtained mainly along with my assignment as a GOI-employed early childhood educator/trainer from early 2004 and postgraduate study in 2006 to 2008.

The early documents in my possession could be grouped into three classes. The first group is the documents on education in general such as the *2003 Education law* (GOI, 2003b), the *DONE strategic plan 2005-2009* (DONE, 2005), and the *National education standard* (GOI, 2005a). The second group is the documents on early childhood education such as the *Competency standard* (Curriculum Centre, 2004), and *Beyond Center and Circle Time (BCCT) guideline* (Directorate of ECE, 2006). The third group is the documents that aim at regulating teachers, such as the *Teacher law* (GOI, 2005b) and *Teacher standard* (Department of National Education, 2007c). The documents published by Indonesian government partners were also used during the preparatory stage of data collection, including two reports by UNESCO (2005) and the World Bank (2006a). While methodologically speaking, these reports, as Putt and Springer (1989) suggest, represent the external documents in policy research. Indeed, they do offer a list of measures for the government to improve early childhood education.

In some cases, these initial documents referred and pointed to another document, group of documents, or specific body of literature. In this sense, they helped accumulate the body of documents that would be relevant to the study in a way that followed Foucault's suggestions of "patiently documentary" and "accumulation of source material" (Foucault, 1984c, pp. 76-77). This, for example, applied to the *2003 Education law* (GOI, 2003b, Article 76) that repealed the 1989 Education law (GOI, 1989), which repealed the 1950 *Education law* (GOI, 1950), and the 1960 regulation on the supervision of foreign education institutions (GOI, 1960). The same pattern applied to the external documents published by UNESCO and the World Bank. A 2005 UNESCO policy review document (UNESCO, 2005) led me to a UNESCO case study report on Indonesian early childhood education published earlier

(UNESCO, 2003). Furthermore, as I will discuss further in chapters 4, 5, and 6, identifying the publications and literature referred to in the documents helped with the drawing of initial maps of the thoughts, knowledge, and discourses their producers used to frame their policies. A number of references in the *Learning menu* (Directorate of ECE, 2002a) document, for example, led me to an initial understanding that the DONE relied mainly on developmental knowledge to approach early childhood education.

Having read and familiarised myself with documents in my possession, as Carabine (2001) suggests, I moved forward to look for the relevant policies to which they referred. For this purpose, I visited various MOEC units and places that I assumed would have them, therefore, the next steps of that data collection will be described in the following section.

Site Visits

Based on the preliminary reading explained in the last section, additional documents were collected, both from physical and virtual sites between early January and early May 2016. **Table 1** shows the list of physical and virtual sites visited.

Place/institution/virtual sources
• MOEC's main office and its units (Jakarta) - Legal and Organisation Bureau, Jakarta - Board of Research and Development's Centre for Education and Culture Policy Research, Jakarta - Centre for Data and Statistics, Jakarta - Directorate of Early Childhood Education, Jakarta - Directorate of ECE Teacher and Community Education Personnel, Jakarta - Directorate of Family Development and Education, Jakarta - Bureau of Communications and Community Service
• MOEC's Curriculum Centre, Jakarta
• MOEC's Centre for Early Childhood and Community Education Development, Semarang
• MORA office, Jakarta
• Gadjah Mada University Centre for Population Studies' library, Yogyakarta.
• Taman Siswa Library and Ki Hadjar Dewantara Museum, Yogyakarta
• National Library and its virtual Presidential collections: http://kepustakaan-presiden.perpusnas.go.id/
• The World Bank documents centre: http://documents.worldbank.org/curated/en/home • UNESCO database: http://www.unesco.org/new/en/unesco/resources/online-materials/publications/unesdoc-database/
• MOEC's virtual documentation: http://jdih.kemdikbud.go.id/new/public/produkhukum
• State Kindergarten Pembina, Semarang City

Table 1. Physical and virtual sites visited

Unless they were publicly accessible, such as the MOEC's libraries, Gadjah Mada Centre for Population Studies library, and Ki Hadjar Dewantara Museum/Library, formal requests were made to all the leaders of the physical sites to request access and permission to gather documents.

I collected the policy documents used in this thesis in four stages: request submission, follow-up, alternative source finding, and data-source expansion. These four stages are described as follows.

First of all, I submitted formal requests to the various MOEC units listed in Table 1 of copies of various documents considered as landmarks of post-Reformasi early childhood education development. By "landmarks" I refer to the documents that are frequently referred to in the documents I had already found and/or knew about. Among these documents were the 2001 ministerial decree that legalises the establishment of the Directorate of Early Childhood Education (DONE, 2001b) and the bilingual report of *Potret pengasuhan, pendidikan dan pengembangan anak usia dini di Indonesia*/*Early childhood care and development in Indonesia* (ECE Forum, 2004). On the assumption that there are various other documents that contain justifications of the Indonesian government's campaign for early childhood education, copies were also requested of study reports presumably completed by MOEC's policy research unit and used to justify the expansion of the early childhood education agenda and the creation of the Directorate of Early Childhood Education.

Along with this physical data collection as this stage, as **Table 1** shows, I collected electronic documents, mainly from the virtual databases of UNESCO (http://unesdoc.unesco.org) and the World Bank (http://documents.worldbank.org). As stated in Chapter 1, UNESCO and the World Bank have played pivotal roles in the development of post-Reformasi Indonesian early childhood education. The UNESCO website provides a number of reviews of Indonesian education, and the World Bank website presents a vast range of information that covers the World Bank's operation and projects in Indonesia since the late 1960s to the post-Reformasi. Not all documents obtained from these virtual sites are used and referred to in this thesis. However, they helped me to understand the context of the study more comprehensively. Another virtual site I visited was the MOEC's legal documents website (http://jdih.kemdikbud.go.id). This virtual site was visited especially to obtain policy documents indicated in the physical documents. The website, however, mostly publishes recent

and currently effective policy documents, therefore does not give the overall trajectory of policy development.

The second stage of my data collection was to follow up on the formal requests I initially submitted if I had not received a response. In this follow up it became clear that not all institutions had responded positively to my request for documents. Only MOEC's Directorate of Early Childhood Education and Directorate of Family Education, and MORA's Directorate of Madrasah Education had provided the policy documents requested. The Directorate of Early Childhood Education gave me the copy of the bilingual report *Potret pengasuhan, pendidikan dan pengembangan anak usia dini di Indonesia/Early childhood care and development in Indonesia* (ECE Forum, 2004), the establishment of early childhood centre regulation (MOEC, 2014b), and early childhood education standards and curriculum (MOEC, 2014c; 2014d) documents. The MORA's Directorate of Madrasah Education handed over the Islamic preschool curriculum document (DGIE, 2011) and Islamic education statistics book of the 2013/2014 academic year (DGIE, 2015). At this stage, I have not been able to obtain the copy of such documents as the 2001 ministerial decree that legalises the establishment of the Directorate of Early Childhood Education (DONE, 2001b). This led me to consider finding possible alternative places and institutions that may hold the documents.

The third stage of my data collection was alternative source finding. For this purpose, initially I decided to stay near the MOEC's headquarters, hoping that I would soon have a reply from the MOEC's units. The decision was also made in consideration that the documents I looked for could be available at the MOEC headquarters' library and MOEC's Curriculum Centre's library, which are open to the public. Later I found that the holdings of these libraries complemented each other when it came to the data being collected. The headquarters' library collections of early childhood education policy materials, however, were mainly the recent ones, while the Curriculum Centre's library collections included both the past (the 1970s) and present curriculum documents. In addition to MOEC's publications on early childhood education and education statistics in general, the key document accessed in the MOEC's headquarter library included the *Early childhood development strategy study in Indonesia* (2013), which analyses the early childhood expansion policy options. The key documents accessed in the Curriculum Centre's library were the 1976 (e.g. DOEC, 1977b), 1984 (e.g. DOEC, 1984; 1986a), and 1994 (e.g. DOEC, 1994a) curriculum documents and a number of

publications associated with the 2004 kindergarten curriculum (Curriculum Centre, 2002a; 2002b; 2002c).

In some cases, the documents obtained from MOEC's libraries were not their full versions. This happened notably to the 1984 curriculum document on the instruction of National History of Struggle Education (*Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa*) (DONE, 1984). Collecting their full version from the MOEC's units was not that promising, I decided to find additional, alternative sources. For this purpose, I visited the State Kindergarten Pembina (*Taman Kanak-Kanak Negeri Pembina*) and MOEC's Centre for Early Childhood and Community Education Development, which are located in my hometown Semarang. From my previous interaction with these institutions, I assumed they held various past curriculum documents. **Figure 3** shows various documents lent by the MOEC's Directorate of Early Childhood Education.

Figure 3. Early documents from the Reformasi and post-Reformasi periods

In my latest two visits to MOEC's headquarter library, I found a number of new collections, which I did not see in my earlier visits. Among these documents were *Peta jalan Kurikulum 2013* (Road map of Curriculum 2013) (MOEC, 2014e), and *Menyiapkan generasi emas* (Preparing a golden generation) (MOEC, 2014a). As they were newly released, I assumed that there would be some copies that MOEC might make available to the public. The MOEC's

headquarter library staff advised me to submit a request to the newly-formed public information service unit. This unit became a reliable alternative source of information. In addition to the publications requested, it generously gave various documents that I did not request which proved to be very beneficial to this research.

Figure 4. Documents published in the pre-Reformasi periods

Fourth, having mapped the core materials for the study, the collection was widened and enriched with documentary materials from the past given the assumption that the present policies and practices are influenced by the past policies, practices, and thoughts. **Figure 4** shows samples of documents collected in the fourth stage of data collection. In the past, early childhood education was part of the Family Planning (*Keluarga Berencana*) national program documents that related to that program (Program UPGK, 1982; World Bank, 1970; 1991) and were collected. Again, given that the present policy and practice of early childhood education is influenced and shaped by particular views on education, in particular, and Indonesia, in general, and that circulated across different periods and political regimes of Indonesia, documents from the relevant period were added. These included documents produced in the pre-Reformasi period, such as the 1950s, 1960s and 1980s education regulations (GOI, 1950; 1965; 1989), and in the Reformasi period such as the "blueprints" of national reform and

national education reform (Education Reform Committee, 2001a; NTRMS, 1999). In addition, as **Table 1** indicates, the Taman Siswa Library and Ki Hadjar Dewantara Museum I Yogyakarta were visited to gain information about the early formation of Indonesian early childhood education. As mentioned in Chapter 1, Ki Hadjar Dewantara is the founder of *Taman Indrya*, the first Indonesian national kindergarten (Dewantara, 1955) and his contribution to Indonesian early childhood education is notable (Harper, 2009; Suyanto, 2003).

The various documents collected provide the background from and against which the thesis focuses its analyses, and more specifically, on the post-Reformasi policy documents. The next section describes the core materials used in this study and how they were approached.

Data Set and Data Analysis

This thesis limits its analysis to that of early childhood education in post-Reformasi and focuses on three main targets of the quality governing system: children, teachers, and early learning processes and centres. Therefore, regardless of the diverse documents collected initially, their key materials are also limited mostly to those published in the post-Reformasi. More specifically, twelve documents (**Table 2**) were chosen, considering that their contents express, in line with Foucault's (1984a) idea, the Indonesian "political technology" (p. 173) of early childhood education quality.

As the earlier section stated, a basic understanding of the Foucauldian approach to policy analysis leads to accepting policy not as a plain plan, but as a political parcel (Olssen et al., 2004). Ailwood (2002) calls this position the "mistrust towards truths, particularly those deemed universal" (p. 48). To bring this approach into practice, the analysis was done in two stages. In the first stage, the analysis began with identifying and mapping the "truths" that the policy, through its language and thoughts, deployed about quality. This was done by carefully reading and rereading the documents (Carabine, 2001) to identify the words and themes that represented their "truths of quality".

In line with the literature and research on ECE quality, the thematic analysis of this study focuses on the policy statements about and/or their representation of the input/structure, process, and outcomes and aspects of quality. Since these three quality dimensions cover a wide range of aspects, this study attends more specifically to three aspects of quality addressed in and by the policy documents: children, teachers, and learning space, which it takes as the

proxy for Foucault's governmentality target population (Dean, 2010; Foucault, 1991). The analysis at this stage leads to mapping out a sketch of the Indonesian policy "truths of quality".

Document	Remarks
The guideline of early childhood education learning menu (generic menu of learning)(Directorate of ECE, 2002a)	Non-formal ECE learning and instruction guide; promoted developmentally appropriate practice; its developers intentionally used the term 'menu' to indicate that it is not a rigid curricular framework
Kindergarten curriculum 2004: Standard of Competencies for kindergarten and Raudhatul Athfal (Curriculum Centre, 2004)	Promoted developmentally appropriate practice; defined learning outcomes into; (1) positive behaviours formation through habituation; and (2) basic skills (linguistic, cognitive, physical-motor development and art/aesthetics) acquisition through instruction and play-based activities
The guideline of BCCT implementation (Directorate of ECE, 2006)	Provided information for educators about the implementation of the Beyond Centers and Circle Time (BCCT) curriculum framework. BCCT is the product of the Tallahassee-based Creative Center for Childhood Research and Training (CCRT) adopted by the DECE
National education standards (GOI, 2005a; 2013a; 2015a)	Stipulates teacher qualification of 4-year diploma and/or undergraduate degree; endorses four teacher competency domains: pedagogical, professional, personal, and social
Law on teachers and lecturers (GOI, 2005b)	Acknowledges teachers' professional status; invigorates teachers' four competency domains; mandates teacher certification
Regulation on teacher qualification and competency standard (DONE, 2007c)	Invigorates teacher minimum qualification; details teachers' four competency domains into 24 teacher core competencies and 69 ECE-teacher specific competencies
Regulations on teacher certification (DONE, 2007a; 2007d; 2007f)	Stipulates teachers' certification mechanisms; assigns higher education institutions organising teacher certification
Government regulation on teachers (GOI, 2008)	Invigorates teachers' professional status; defines general teachers' competencies
Regulations on teacher professional education (DONE, 2009c; 2010)	Regulates teachers' professional education contents, mechanisms and responsible institutions
The grand framework of the Indonesian early childhood education development 2011-2025 (Directorate of ECE, 2011a)	First national "comprehensive" ECE development plan/framework after the integration of MONE/MOEC twin-bodies responsible for ECE; introduced new narratives of: "desired Indonesian children" and "golden generation 2045"
Early childhood education standard (DONE, 2009d; MOEC, 2014c)	Regulates eight aspects of standards, namely children's developmental achievements, contents, processes, assessments, educators and personnel, facilities and infrastructure, management, and finance
Early childhood education curriculum 2013 (MOEC, 2014d) and its associated documents (Directorate of ECE, 2015a; 2015c; 2015d)	Reintroduces the 2004 curriculum concepts of 'competencies'; consists of a set of documents/concepts, namely, the 'basic curriculum framework', 'curriculum structure', 'early developmental detection guideline', 'centre-based curriculum development guides', 'assessment guides', 'guide books for teachers; uses various overlapped concepts such as 'core competencies', 'basic competencies', 'developmental indicators', and 'developmental achievement of indicators that refer to skills or learning outcomes.

Table 2. Post-Reformasi core policy materials

As indicated in Chapter 1 and further discussed in those that follow, in each of the three periods of Indonesian history there is a major discourse, a regime of truth. This truth shaped the overall education system and therefore the imaginations of the good, idealised children, teachers, and learning spaces. These imaginations and the way they should be realised, as proposed by and in the policy documents, are what here are called the "truths of quality". These "truths of quality" are used as an entry point to the critique of the Indonesian quality policy. Foucault notes that the truth serves to differentiate, classify, and disqualify, and it, therefore, determines what is right and wrong and what is acceptable or to be rejected. In other words, it harbours potential harm to the subjects in its field of operation. The way truth operates is also the case for the Indonesian policies of early childhood education quality. As the bearer, and at the same time the vehicle of the truth, these policies marginalise those deemed outside their system of truth.

Chapter Summary

This chapter demonstrates and explains how this thesis approaches the quality of Indonesian policies of early childhood education. In line with the critical perspective the thesis draws on, policy documents are viewed as political products. They are the fruits of a series of battles of voices, aspirations, and discourses through which certain voices, aspirations, and discourses were left out. In other words, as the thesis maintains, a policy is inherently problematic, reductionist, and therefore may pose, as Foucault notes, some dangers. Viewing through this lens, the next three chapters aim to sketch the problems that the policies have left behind, as their main targets: children, teachers, and early learning environments. As the later chapters will further demonstrate the discourse of nationalism, which framed the early independence education policies, for example, was a pretext used to normalise teachers' low payment. Similarly, the discourse of correction and development, which framed the New Order education policy, ended up with the reduction of the education system to being the producer of "obedient" citizens. Last, the discourse of standardization in post-Reformasi Indonesia has shown a tendency to reduce the essential quality of education into a set of formal measures and procedures.

Chapter 4. The Making of Indonesian Superkids

> Children are the potential and heirs of the ideals of the nation whose foundations have been laid down by the previous generation [and] in order for every child to assume that responsibility, s/he needs to be given the widest opportunity to grow properly and develop spiritually, physically, and socially (GOI, 1979b).
>
> Children are the trust of the One and Only God with the dignity of a whole human (GOI, 2012).

Introduction

The previous two chapters outlined the notions of quality as well as the theoretical and methodological approaches, which the thesis draws on to approach the Indonesian policy of early childhood education quality. Two opposing approaches to quality were identified – the objective versus the relative – as well as the Foucauldian critical approach to policy analysis. In this, and the following two chapters, the ideas extracted from the body of literature on quality and a critical approach to policy analysis are employed to examine the Indonesian policy notion of quality. In this chapter the analysis is focused on the notion of the good children. Good children are considered to represent the notion of quality as output and outcome of early childhood education, as suggested by Katz (1993a; 1993b) and Woodhead (1996; 1998). In addition, the good children in this chapter, whose qualities are envisioned in the policy documents, are called Superkids. The term, which I have mentioned elsewhere (Formen, 2017), is used satirically in this chapter to respond to Indonesian government portrayals of children that, as the next sections will demonstrate, are utopian in nature. The discussion in this chapter is divided into four main sections.

The first section provides the cultural traces of the Superkids in Indonesian society. Given the diversity of society, the analysis in this part is based mainly on my own ethnicity, the Javanese.

The second section provides analysis of the production of the Superkids during the pre-Reformasi eras. This section is divided further into two sub-sections. The first is about the production of the good children during early independence through the end of Sukarno's era. As indicated in Chapter 1, the major policy discourse during this period was nationalism.

Therefore, this sub-section aims to reveal the influence of the nationalist discourse on the notion of good children. The second part of the pre-Reformasi era, the New Order administration, was marked by the mobilisation of the discourse of correction and development. Accordingly, in this part the influence of that discourse is illustrated.

The third section of this chapter focuses on the notion of good children during the Reformasi era. This era is marked by the demand to distinguish itself from the previous New Order era as well as to changing and reforming the existing situation. As such, the analysis in this third section focuses on the influence of the discourse of distinction and changes in the production of the notion of Superkids.

The fourth and final section of this chapter is the production of the notion of Superkids in post-Reformasi Indonesia. This era, as touched in Chapter 1, is marked by the institutionalisation of the change-efforts initiated during the short period of Reformasi. Practices considered to be good are legislated and made into a set of standard references. In this section, analysis focuses on the contribution of post-Reformasi discourse of standardisation to the production of the good children.

The Cultural Roots of the Superkids

This section provides portrayals of the Superkids drawn from the cultural and legal aspects of the Indonesian society. The cultural aspects mean the cultural beliefs and practices in relation to children, especially in Javanese societies. The legal aspects refer to the ideas related to children in Indonesian legal documents that are not included as core policy materials in this chapter.

The idea of and desire for good children are deeply rooted in the heart of the Indonesian society. Those working in Indonesian anthropology have documented this desire at length (Geertz, 1961; Koentjaraningrat, 1985; Nourse, 1999). Koentjaraningrat (1923-1999), the Indonesian father of anthropology, points out that children are much desired and considered as the families' source of "warmth" and "peace" (Koentjaraningrat, 1985, p. 100). At first sight, this desire seems neutral, as if neither referring to, nor requiring certain attributes of children. The existing religio-cultural rituals and practices associated with children—including pregnancy—however, will show that the desire has specific reference to good, idealised children. This reference is evident, as the function of these rituals is mainly as a medium of prayer and supplication for

the foetus to be born as a normal, living, healthy baby and growing into a decent human being (Alesich, 2007; Geertz, 1961; Suryawati, 2007).

Different ethnic groups and subcultures have different names for their children-related rituals. In Java, most rituals are traditionally called *slametan* (Geertz, 1960). The word *slametan* is the noun of the adjective *slamet*, derived from Arabic and means 'peace' or 'safe' and the main goal of a *slametan* is to ask the peace from heaven. Among the common *slametan* associated for children is *mitoni*,[5] which is also called *tingkeban* in some areas of Java and *pelet kandhung* on Madura Island (Baehaqie, 2017; Murwanti, 2013; Newland, 2001; Paisun, 2010; Suryawati, 2007). The ceremony's association with familial aspiration for the birth of Superkids is made apparent in the objects used in it, namely, two young yellow-skinned coconuts (*cengkir gading*). These are painted or carved with the pictures of Javanese puppet heroes and heroines, such as Janaka and Sembadra, respectively. In Madura, under Islamic influence, these two coconuts are named Maryam and Yusuf, two important Quranic female and male figures (Fathurrosyid, 2015). As with all the prayers recited during the ceremony, this physical object is just another mode of supplication to heaven for granting of good children. The coconut itself is seen as a type of fruit with countless benefits. Indonesian society makes use of every part of the coconut—its stalk, skin, shell, flesh, and water. In this sense, its presence in the *selametan* "symbolises a hope that the would-be child is the one who benefits him/herself, parents, family members, society, religion, nation, and country" (Baehaqie, 2017, p. 214). This practice may have different names across different subcultures, but what they express remains identical.

the children-related rituals, such as tingkeban or *pelet kandung*, express specific desires for good children and are elaborated in Geertz's (1960) and Fathurrosyid's (2015) as follows.

> To have a child without a *tingkeban* is said to *ngebokné* him, i.e., make a carabao out of him, and to say this about someone's child is a serious insult, insinuating that the child's parents are mere animals and "don't know human order" (Geertz, 1960, p. 44).
>
> [The] *pelet kandung* is psychologically expected to bring a positive effect on the baby's personality when he or she is later born to the world. The personality profile of a man named Yusuf (Joseph) and a woman named Maryam (Maria) is the dream of every couple of their baby. That is why, in the *pelet kandung* ritual, the community made the

[5] Mitoni (Javanese) derived from 'pitu', which means seven.

> [Quranic chapters of] Yusuf and Maryam as a reference to build children's character and personality in order to be those of Joseph and Maria (Fathurrosyid, 2015, p. 230).

The *tingkeban* is no longer widely practiced by Indonesian families. Their orientation to a more practical life and exposure to new cultural practices may have contributed to this cultural erosion. However, the *selamatan,* to expect the birth and/or growth of a good child has found a new way and a more practical form, most commonly and simply by sharing or giving alms to the family's neighbours, especially the needy ones. Recently, collective prayers and sharing alms at the orphanages, for a purpose similar to that of the child-related *selamatan*, have become a new trend, especially in the urban areas. While there seems to be no proper academic report about this new practice, it is widely exposed and talked about in the popular and social media. In fact, after Geertz's and Koentjaraningrat's ethnographies, interest in the study of the practice of *selamatan*, or like cultural practices has declined. What is clear, however, is that even though the practice of *selamatan* has changed in form, it voices the same aspiration: the desire for the good children, the Superkids.

Later the idea and desire for the good children broke out of its cultural bounds to be adopted, formalised and legislated into the laws and regulations. In 1974, the Indonesian government published the Law of Marriage (GOI, 1974), which underlines that family is a fundament of the "procreation of good healthy descendants" (Addenda 4. b). The desire for the good children is further emphasised in the Law of Child Welfare (GOI, 1979b) and the Law of Child's Protection (GOI, 2002; GOI, 2014b). These legal frameworks, as the quotes that head this chapter show, voice the same preference for good children, stipulating that children are the "heirs of the national ideals", on whose shoulders rest the "future existence of the nation and country" (GOI, 1979b, Preamble a; 2002, Preamble c-d; 2014b, Preamble c - d). The Law of Child Prosecution (GOI, 1997) highlights a culturally notorious term "anak nakal" (delinquent children) (Article 1: 1), but at the same time, stresses the idea that children "hold a strategic role" (GOI, 1997, Preamble a) in the success of the national struggle. After the law was revoked in 2014, the phrase "delinquent children" was no longer used and the preamble of the new bill, the Law of Juvenile Justice System, stresses the idea that "children are the God trust" (GOI, 2012, Preamble a). This change, which underlines children's innocence, confirms the strong desire for the good children and denial of the fact that children have the potential to commit evils.

At a first glance, the portrayals of children in these laws appears as no more than a vision of idealised children. A deeper look, however, reveals that they emphasise attributes and qualities that even adult citizens can hardly achieve. In this sense, these portrayals appear more as the Indonesian government's, and to borrow Kraftl's (2009, p. 70) term, "textual utopias" of young children. This thesis satirically applies the term "Superkids" to such unrealistic and utopian portrayals of young children.

Pre-Reformasi Period: Manusia Susila Manusia Pancasila and Manusia Pembangunan

This section is divided into two parts. The first describes the construction of the Superkids during the period from early independence to the end of the Sukarno administration. This part, therefore, is devoted to discussing the influence of the nationalist discourse in shaping the notion of the good children. The second part discusses the construction of Superkids during the New Order administration. This part sets out to demonstrate the influence of the discourse of correction and development in shaping the notion of the good children.

The influence of the nationalist discourse on education during the period from early independence to the Sukarno administration is apparent in the general goal of education to "build a new society" (*masyarakat baru*) (Poerbakawatja, 1970, p. 38). By the "new society" the government meant the one that differed from that legated by the colonial administration. The nationalist orientation of this education ideal was evident in the following ten bases of education and teachings, derived from the national ideology Pancasila, and set by the MOE:

> devotion to God…love of the nature…love of the country… and respect for parents… love of the nation and culture…self-dedication to advance the country…self-belongingness to family and community…obedience to order…belief in equality between people…and the belief that the country requires diligent hard-working, honest, and responsible citizens (Poerbakawatja, 1970, p. 341).

Little is known, however, about the way the notions of the good children/Superkids were developed in and through the context of early childhood education during early independence. Although the 1950 Law of the Foundations of Teaching and Education for All Indonesian Schools (GOI, 1950) accommodated early childhood in the form of kindergarten programs, the government's sources of information about this matter are limited. Similarly, reports on education for this period have generally focused on primary education and above

(Poerbakawatja, 1970; Suradi Hp et al., 1986; Tilaar, 1995). This tendency is inseparable from the fact that preschool and early childhood education, in general, was not a point of attention for the government. Besides, at this time Indonesia was not fully politically and culturally free from the influence of colonialism.

Apart from the limited sources on the way the good children were seen in this era, the 1950 education law proposed an idealised by-product of education, namely *manusia susila* (the decent human) that represented today's Superkids quality.

> The aim of education and instruction is to form the capable *manusia susila* (decent human) and democratic citizens who are responsible for the welfare of the nation and the country (GOI, 1950, Article 3).

The term *manusia susila* was mentioned only once throughout the law, and what was meant by it was not explained. However, as Article 3 of the law quoted above shows, the concept of *manusia susila* is framed mainly by the nationalist discourse. The dominance of the nationalist thought in this early version of the Superkids is even more apparent, as the law did not include religiosity as a characteristic of the idealised by-product of education (*manusia susila*). The law instead emphasised individual capability, democracy, and loyalty to the country as its characteristics. While this is somewhat surprising, since "devotion to God" was initially stipulated as one of the fundamental bases of education, the omission of the religious dimension from the quality of the *manusia susila* might reflect the dominance of the nationalist thought.

The concept of *manusia susila* was maintained until the end of the Sukarno administration. Nevertheless, for a decade and a half, this concept was to be under constant redefinition, although it did not diminish its nationalistic essence, following the changes that occurred in the macro national political landscape. By the end of the Sukarno administration, in 1965, a new national education system, called the *Pancasila national education system* (GOI, 1965) was launched. While it did not revoke the 1950 education law, this presidential decree proposed another version of the *manusia susila*.

> The goal of our national education, both those provisioned by the government and the private providers, from preschool to higher education is to give birth to the socialist, *susila* Indonesian citizens, who are responsible for the realisation of the just and materially and spiritually prosperous Indonesian Socialist Society as well as hold the spirit of Pancasila (*berjiwa Pancasila*) (GOI, 1965, Article 2).

In this Article, the nationalist *manusia susila* was given a further attribute, socialism. It should be noted here that towards the end of the Sukarno administration, and in addition to nationalism, socialist and communist thoughts had gained significant reception, including in the education sector (Ricklefs, 2001; Thomas, 1981). The President himself was renowned for his preference to use words and jargon, which, in the present time, are commonly associated with socialist-communist-style vocabulary, such as "revolution", "revolutionary", "capitalist minions" and many more (Rakhmat, 1996). The President's policy on the Pancasila National Education System viewed Indonesia in the 1960s onwards as in the "stage of revolution" (*taraf revolusi*) (GOI, 1965, Article 4) towards a socialist Indonesia.

Nationalism remained significant in this redefined *manusia susila* cum Superkids. The nationalistic orientation of this later version of *manusia susila* is seen in the section that stipulated the "politics of national education" (GOI, 1965). It stated that the new education system should be able to "give birth to the complete patriots" (*melahirkan patriot-patriot komplit*)…who oppose all forms of man over man and nation over nation exploitations (GOI, 1965, Article 4). Although this final version of *manusia susila* had become characteristically revolutionary, the vision was not able to be realised. Friction between ideo-political factions impeded the government's ability to effectively provide education. Exposure to propagandist political language also triggered friction within society, not least in educational institutions (Suradi Hp et al., 1986). Following the aborted communist coup, the notion of *manusia susila* faded a month after the Pancasila National Education Decree was launched, which led to Sukarno's impeachment. The notion of *manusia susila* was suspected of being contaminated by socialism-communism and therefore was considered as a corrupted vision of Indonesian humans. Following the coup, Sukarno lost his political legitimacy, leading to his full impeachment and excommunication in 1967, whereupon a new chapter opened, in which the past was seen as full of fraud and betrayal against the nation's very soul: Pancasila, the Five Principles. This new chapter was the New Order era.

In March 1967, the PPCA swore General Soeharto into presidency. As I have put it in the beginning of Chapter 1, his government called itself the Orde Baru (New Order), a designation that aimed to distance itself from the previous administration which it described as the Orde Lama (Old Order). In the eyes of the New Order, the past administration was full of troubles and instabilities, which paralysed the country's ability to advance. The troubles, according to

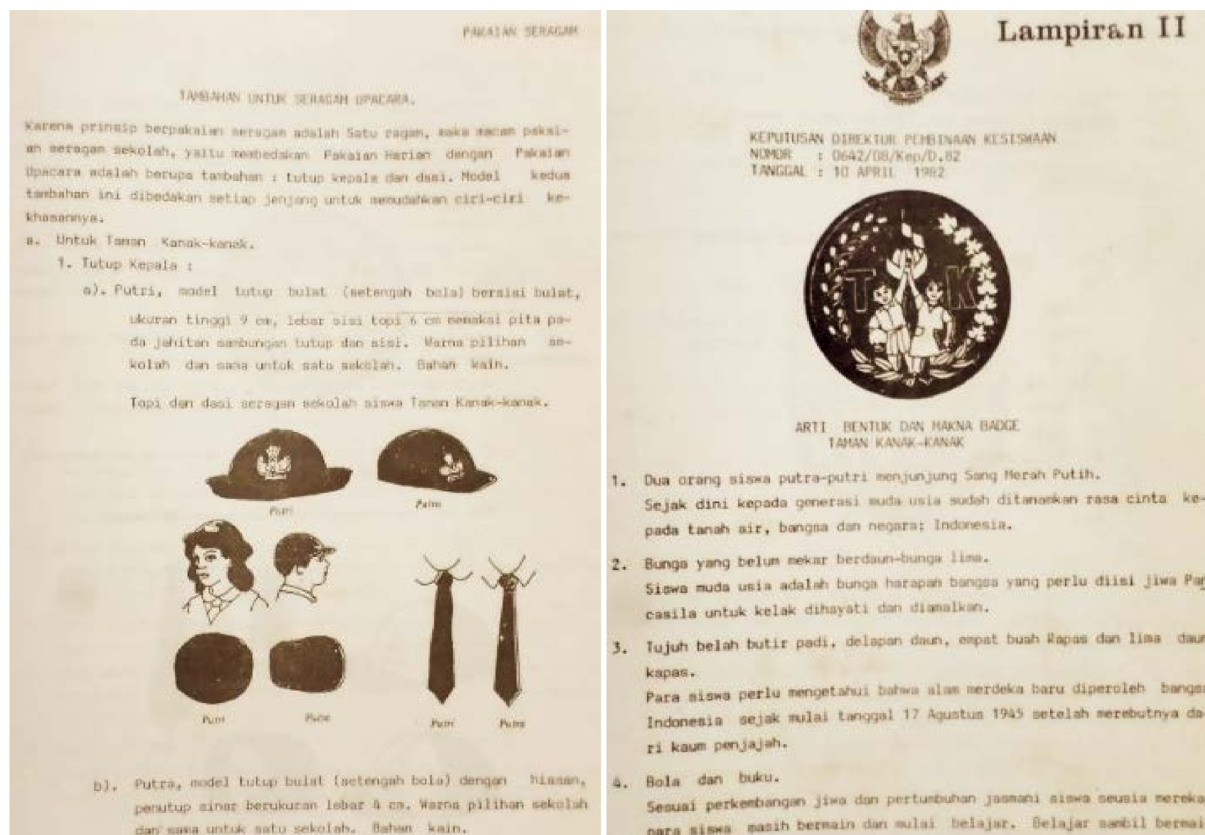
the New Order, were rooted in its corrupted implementation and then betrayal of Pancasila (Krissantono, 1977; Nishimura, 1995; Thomas, 1981).

As corrupted implementation of Pancasila was seen as the main cause of past troubles, a pure Pancasila internalisation was seen as the key to national development. The existing understanding of Pancasila was viewed as having to be corrected, so that every individual citizen would only follow the purified understanding of Pancasila as a way of life. Only if the population had a correct and true understanding of Pancasila could the nation develop and advance.

In support of its campaign to produce the Pancasila-istic citizens, the New Order government multiplied its governing tools. Initially, it borrowed the hand of the People's Consultative Assembly (PCA), which issued its decree on the *Pedoman Penghayatan dan Pengamalan Pancasila* (P-4, Guideline of the internalisation and implementation of Pancasila) (PCA, 1978). The decree was followed up by mass upgrading short-courses on Pancasila, literally for all citizens aged seven and above. In 1983, another decree, which called for the cultivation of the 1945 spirit[6] among the young generation (PCA, 1983) was launched. The decree was followed up by the introduction of a new mandatory subject, *Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa* (PSPB, Education of the national history of struggle), into the 1984 curriculum, and included its preschool version (1984; DOEC, 1983) to accompany the existing compulsory *Pendidikan Pancasila* (Pancasila education) subject. The new subject was intended to introduce the "true" Indonesian history as viewed by the New Order government. In the field of early childhood education, the way the New Order government treated Pancasila and how the national ideology should be treated can be seen, for example, in the kindergarten national uniform (DOEC, 1982).

As **Figure 5**, which was taken from DOEC's (1982) students' uniform guideline, shows the uniform served a more symbolic than functional purpose, derived from the nationalistic character of Indonesian education.

[6] The 'spirit 1945' (*semangat 1945*) refers to the proclamation of independence and to the sacrifice of the older generation for the country's freedom from colonialism.



PAKAIAN SERAGAM

TAMBAHAN UNTUK SERAGAM UPACARA.

Karena prinsip berpakaian seragam adalah Satu ragam, maka macam pakaian seragam sekolah, yaitu membedakan Pakaian Harian dengan Pakaian Upacara adalah berupa tambahan : tutup kepala dan dasi. Model kedua tambahan ini dibedakan setiap jenjang untuk memudahkan ciri-ciri kekhasannya.

a. Untuk Taman Kanak-kanak.

1. Tutup Kepala :

a). Putri, model tutup bulat (setengah bola) bersisi bulat, ukuran tinggi 9 cm, lebar sisi topi 6 cm memakai pita pada jahitan sambungan tutup dan sisi. Warna pilihan sekolah dan sama untuk satu sekolah. Bahan kain.

Topi dan dasi seragam sekolah siswa Taman Kanak-kanak.

b). Putra, model tutup bulat (setengah bola) dengan hiasan, penutup sinar berukuran lebar 4 cm. Warna pilihan sekolah dan sama untuk satu sekolah. Bahan kain.

Lampiran II

KEPUTUSAN DIREKTUR PEMBINAAN KESISWAAN
NOMOR : 0642/08/Kep/D.82
TANGGAL : 10 APRIL 1982

ARTI BENTUK DAN MAKNA BADGE
TAMAN KANAK-KANAK

1. Dua orang siswa putra-putri menjunjung Sang Merah Putih.
Sejak dini kepada generasi muda usia sudah ditanamkan rasa cinta kepada tanah air, bangsa dan negara: Indonesia.
2. Bunga yang belum mekar berdaun-bunga lima.
Siswa muda usia adalah bunga harapan bangsa yang perlu diisi jiwa Pancasila untuk kelak dihayati dan diamalkan.
3. Tujuh belah butir padi, delapan daun, empat buah Kapas dan lima daun kapas.
Para siswa perlu mengetahui bahwa alam merdeka baru diperoleh bangsa Indonesia sejak mulai tanggal 17 Agustus 1945 setelah merebutnya dari kaum penjajah.
4. Bola dan buku.
Sesuai perkembangan jiwa dan pertumbuhan jasmani siswa seusia mereka, para siswa masih bermain dan mulai belajar. Belajar sambil bermain

Figure 5. Regulation on kindergarten uniform

The kindergarten badge on the right consists of four main symbols—namely a boy and a girl upholding the Indonesian flag, flower buds with their five leaves, seven pairs of rice grains, eight leaves, four cotton buds with their five leaves, and a ball and a book—which have the following meanings:

> Two students a boy and a girl uphold *Sang Merah Putih* (The Red and White national Flag) [means that] since early ages, the young generation should be inculcated with the sense of love of the motherland, nation and country…Flower buds with their five leaves [means that] young students are the flower of hope of the nation who need to be filled with the Pancasila spirit for their later internalisation and implementation…Seven pairs of rice grains, eight leaves, four cotton buds with their five leaves [means that] the students need to know that the free life was just gained by the nation…since 17 August 1945…A ball and a book [means] that in line with their psychological development and physical growth…[kindergarten] students are to play and start to learn (DOEC, 1982, p. 142).

In the same period, as perfecting the two mind-shaping tools, the government produced the *Pengkhianatan G30S/PKI* (the treason of G30S/PKI), a four-and-half hour movie about the 1965 communist-attempted coup and its suppression by Soeharto-led army troops. Before 1998, the movie was screened nationally every night in September. In the early days of its launching school students from primary schools and above were even obliged to watch it at nearby cinemas (Heryanto, 1999), even though it featured harsh political agitation, blood, killings, not to mention offensive language.

Figure 6. Serial books on national history

Prior to the production of the movie, and since the late 1970s, the State Secretariat had published serial books on national history. The first series was the *30 tahun Indonesia merdeka* (30 years of the free Indonesia) (**Figure 6**). The other two series were about the 40 and 50 years of Indonesian independence. The series were distributed throughout all Indonesian education institutions and became one of the major sources of the compulsory subject of *National history of struggle education*. As with the movie, these picture-books were used to propagate the New Order's version of national history, and Pancasila, and its developmental agenda. They presented numerous photos and documentation with limited narrative. In contrast to the contents of the books about past national history, the final pages in all volumes had a picture representing a visionary image of a developed Indonesia (**Figure 6**, above), where children live cheerfully, and where technological advance, natural beauty, and tradition and progress go side by side in harmony. No caption or narrative accompanies this picture. Readers were seemingly expected to interpret and comment on the picture themselves, although during this period there was no comment other than praise of the New Order *Orde Pembangunan* (Development Order) and that the need for "human of development" (*manusia pembangunan*) was truly an unavoidable necessity. Sudharmono, the then Minister of the State Secretariat, explains that the picture portrays what the New Order government had achieved through its five-year development plans (State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 1986). Further, in his endorsement in the beginning of the book, Soeharto states,

> from the series of events presented in these books, it will be more obvious to us all how powerful and vigorous is Pancasila, which becomes the foundation of and animate the life of the country and nation of Indonesia. So great the obstacles and challenges we have faced, but Pancasila remains upright and firmly in the 30 years and, God is willing, until the end of time (State Secretariat of the Republic of Indonesia, 1986, p. 7).

The 1980s marked the maturity of the New Order power and ideological consolidation. Having enacted various instruments of Pancasila enforcement, in 1985, the laws regulating the obligations for all social and political institutions to make Pancasila as the sole and only ethical basis and reference (GOI, 1985a; 1985b; Ismail, 1996) were passed. Consequently, social organisations and associations that were reluctant and/or even resistant were alleged to be subversive and deviant. These regulations directly affected the landscape of national education at the time, since many mass organizations in Indonesia, especially the religious-affiliated ones, were at the same time education providers. On completing its ideological consolidation, in

1989, Law No. 2 of 1989 on the National Education System (GOI, 1989) was launched. The law was the ultimate embodiment and deepest intrusion of the New Order Pancasila-istic cum developmentalistic government into the realm of education. The law called for the goal of education to foster the production of the "manusia seutuhnya" (the full Indonesian human) (GOI, 1989, Article 3), then later defined as both "manusia Pancasila" (Pancasila human) and "manusia pembangunan" (human of development) (GOI, 1989, Addenda general).

> national education strives for, firstly, the formation of Pancasila human (*manusia Pancasila*) as the human of development (*manusia Pembangunan*), who is of high quality and of self-reliance, and secondly, the provision of support for the Indonesian people, societies, and nation advancement, materialised in strong national resilience, that is, the nation's ability to preclude doctrine, thought, and ideologies that discord Pancasila (GOI, 1989, Addenda: General)—emphases added.

Hence, a new notion of the good Indonesian, and therefore of the Superkids, was born: *manusia Pancasila*, whose creation was tasked to the national education system. Later, the system, which assigned mainly to produce ideologically-disciplined, obedient, development-supportive citizens (*manusia pembangunan*), was criticised as being reductionist. A number of Indonesia's education intelligentsia (e.g. Buchori, 1994; 1995; Mangunwijaya, 1980; Surakhmad, 1999; Tilaar, 1998) argued that in order for it to advance, Indonesia needed more than a mere obedient population. In May 1998, the New Order government was toppled by none other than the supposedly obedient by-products of its education system. Along with the sinking of the New Order political ark, the *manusia Pancasila* (Pancasila-istic human) was slowly drowned by the changes in political streams.

In this section, I have portrayed the formation of the notions of the good children in the Old Order and New Order of Indonesia. During the Old Order era the notion of the good children was not as clear as the one circulated during the era of the New Order. However, it could be inferred that it had to do with the nationalistic idea of the *manusia susila* (the decent human), a notion that was formalised as the goal of a national education system of the era. The decent human was portrayed as the new human, who was unlike the colonised ones, and had the freedom of thought and freedom of action (GOI, 1950). Thus, the notion of good children was able to emerge—celebrated as imagined truth of and quality of Indonesian humans—due to the early post-colonial conditions and subjectivities of that era.

In the New Order era, the *manusia Indonesia seutuhnya* (full Indonesian human) who was both the *manusia Pancasila* (Pancasila-istic human) and the *manusisa pembangunan* (human of development) were the central ideas of good citizens and good children. Those notions and conceptualisations emerged, on the one hand, amid the fears and trauma of the past political instability, communism, and betrayals against the national philosophy of Pancasila, and on the other hand, the need for the country to step towards economic development (*pembangunan ekonomi*). The New Order government saw that economic development required political stability, for which a stable and obedient population was therefore required. In this sense, Pancasila was used as its basic ingredient, and the concept of *manusia Pancasila* was introduced as a new notion of the good Indonesian human as well as an antithesis of the past *manusia susila*, which was proven to fail the nation.

The New Order government produced various, interconnected governmental technologies to make its version of the good human thinkable and practicable. As I have suggested earlier this included the creation of compulsory subjects for all levels of education to propagate the government's official interpretation of Pancasila; compulsory Pancasila indoctrination short-courses; and the production of a movie about the supposedly "unforgiven danger" of communism that Indonesian citizens were required to watch. Last, but not least, the New Order government added another compulsory subject to promote its version on national history. With the break of the Reformasi era, as I will explain in the next section, all of these governing tools were deconstructed.

The Reformasi Period: the Developmental Children

As discussed in Chapter 1, the Reformasi period (second half of 1998 to 2003) was a transitional period for Indonesia. It had certain elements of the past, yet at the same time a strong drive to progress and change, and can consequently be viewed as an era steered by the discourse of distinction and change. This section aims to provide an analysis of the operation of this discourse in the formation of the Reformasi era's ideas of quality children: the developmental children.

Despite public cynicism against the New Order government and its legacies, the notion of "manusia Pancasila" (Pancasila-istic human) was maintained during the early days of Reformasi. It happened somehow that recruited in the first Reformasi government were those who had not only been involved in the past regime, but also had been among the very founders

of the New Order regime. Until the end of the first Reformasi administration (Habibie's presidency, May 1998-October 1999), there were no specific or significant changes in the Indonesian early childhood education landscape. However, a number of decisions the Habibie government made on its education sector can be taken as influencing the country's early childhood education and vision of children. Habibie's national reform think-tank , for example, claimed that the New Order education had systematically reduced the true meaning of education (NTRMS, 1999). The Reformasi government therefore aimed to restore the true meaning of education and deconstruct the reductionist orientation and stunted role of education. The NTRMS (1999) envisioned that the new education system should "provide the learners and citizens wider opportunity to develop their comprehensive potentials" (p. 295) and not merely make them, as during the New Order era, humans obedient to development. In other words, the Reformasi government envisaged an education system where learners are given more freedom.

At approximately the same time, as I have mentioned in the section on international players' contribution to Indonesian early childhood education in Chapter 1, there had been a demand from international communities for the education sector to embrace children's rights to quality education. This is evident, for example, in the Dakar Framework for Action of Education for All (World Education Forum, 2000), where Indonesia was one of the signatory parties. Even though it did not mention in specific way a definition of quality early education, the Framework did recommend that early childhood education "should be developmentally appropriate and responsive to the needs and interests of children" (World Education Forum, 2000, p. 58).

In 2001, the second Reformasi government (Wahid's presidency, October 1999-July 2001) created the *Komite Reformasi Pendidikan* (KRP, Education Reform Committee, ERC) (DONE, 2001a). The Committee was tasked to prepare the amendment of the existing 1989 education law, thereby bringing the discourse of distinction and change into operation. To further operate the discourse the Indonesian education authorities adopted children's developmental knowledge, or developmentalism as my colleague and I argued elsewhere (Formen & Nuttall, 2014). The use of developmental knowledge is found among others in the ERC's academic paper of the education law's draft statements about preschool education. The statements utilised a number of terminologies familiarly used in the field of developmental psychology such as "growth" (*pertumbuhan*), "development" (*perkembangan*), and "learners' stages of

growth and development" (*tahap-tahap perkembangan*) (ERC, 2001a, p. 23). Hence, the good children were portrayed as those who develop in accordance with the stages of development.

> Preschool education is an education [programme] delivered for children under the age of six, which has an important role to lay the foundations of the growth and development of their overall potentials. Therefore, in the implementation of preschool education it is necessary to apply the education principles that refers to the needs of children, which must be met in order for their growth and development occurs optimally….[for that purpose] the activities in the preschool education need to be adjusted to children's stages of development (Education Reform Committee, 2001a, p. 23).

The introduction of developmental knowledge by the ERC, however, did not completely remove the old vision of the quality human and Superkids. This is evident in the Learning Menu document published in 2002 (Directorate of ECE, 2002a). While relying on the developmentalist approach to children the document at the same time employed the New Order notion of "manusia seutuhnya" (fully Indonesian human) (Directorate of ECE, 2002a, p. 2), which was another designation used to define "manusia Pancasila". The new, developmental notion of good children was further reiterated in the Indonesian government's *Education For All plan of action* (National Coordination Forum, 2003). This document will be examined in more detail in Chapter 6, and emphasises the centrality of developmental knowledge to deal with children. The introduction of the notion of the developmental children, as the Indonesian official image of the good children, culminated in July 2003, following the legislation of the ERC's draft as the new education law. The notion appears in the law's definition of early childhood education and provision on kindergartens.

> Early childhood education is educational efforts since birth to six years of age, which is done through the provision of educational stimulus to facilitate physical and emotional growth and development in order for children to have readiness for entering further education (GOI, 2003b, Article 1: 14).

> Kindergarten organises the education programme, which aims to enhance the learners' potentials and personality in accordance to their stages of development (GOI, 2003b, Article 28: 3 Addenda).

As these two provisions show, early childhood education is taken as functioning to facilitate children's transition from one stage of development to another. With this definition, new education law brought to an end, on the one hand, the function of early childhood education as an ideological correction tool and, on the other hand, the nationalistic image of the good children. As the function of the early childhood education changed, so a new notion of the good children entered the discourse: the developmental children.

As this section has portrayed, the developmental idea of good children emerged at the intersection between Indonesia's internal need to reform its education system and a global push for a new approach to education, in general, and early childhood education, in general. From an internal point of view, the reception of the developmental notion of children was triggered by public dissatisfaction and boredom of the New Order legacy of indoctrinating the education system. In this sense, the developmental discourse was seen as an alternative, as well as a window of opportunity to pave the way towards a new education system. Combined with its promotion by international bodies, public sentiment was in a ripe condition for acceptance of the new notion of the good children.

Given the short period of Reformasi, as it was with the Old Order era, the way this notion was made practicable was not clear. However, at least there were four interconnected measures that the Reformasi government had taken and activated to promote its notion of developmental children. The first one was the expansion of new types of early childhood learning centres outside kindergartens, partially funded by the World Bank loan. Second, the ministry created a new directorate that would be responsible to supervise and proliferate new centres. Third, the new directorate published the *Generic learning menu* (Directorate of ECE, 2002a), which was characteristically developmentalistic, to guide the practice of early childhood education. Last, but not least, and to pull these three measures together, the government passed the new education bill that embraced the notion of early childhood education as a program for children's developmental stimulation. Approaching the end of the Reformasi period, there had been a demand to strengthen the application of these instruments. As I will portray in the next section, the demand was materialised in the following years through their institutionalisation in the form of a national standard.

The post-Reformasi Period: the Standard Superkids

As discussed in Chapter 1, in the post-Reformasi, the unfinished transformation initiated during the short Reformasi period was continued, formalised, and institutionalised. The Reformasi period paved the way for the emergence of developmentalism as the new rationality to define the good children, the Superkids. Developmentalism's emphasis on individuality in its approach to children and to early childhood education was seen by the education reformer as compatible with the Reformasi spirit's demand for more freedom. In post-Reformasi, and under the discourse of standardisation, the general and new developmental image of the good children was formalised via the use of regulations and standards.

This section aims to problematise the use of the post-Reformasi discourse of standardisation to frame the Superkids. In it documents are analysed: the *Curriculum 2004* (Curriculum Centre, 2004), *2009 Early childhood education national standard* (DONE, 2009d), *the ECE development grand framework 2011-2025* (Directorate of ECE, 2011a), the 2014 *Early childhood education national standard* (MOEC, 2014c), and *Curriculum 2013* (MOEC, 2014d). Before further problematising these documents constructing the Superkids, the genealogical ingredients that make up the Superkids will first be detailed.

The Genealogical Ingredients of the Superkids

In the previous section on the Reformasi images of the good children, it was argued that developmentalism was used by the Reformasi government to operate its discourse of distinction and change in its approach to children. In post-Reformasi, developmentalism was used to standardise children's learning and education in general. Initially, this was done through the publication of the kindergarten *Curriculum 2004* (Curriculum Centre, 2004), which introduced the concept of "competency standard" (p. 10).

> The standard of competence that is expected from the kindergarten…is the optimum achievement of developmental tasks in accordance with the standard that have been formulated. The developmental aspects that are expected to be achieved include the moral and religious values, social, emotional, and self-independence, language, cognitive, physical/motor, and art (Curriculum Centre, 2004, p. 10).

In 2009, children's development was further standardised through the publication of the first early childhood standard. This document introduced the concept of "Standar Tingkat

Pencapaian Perkembangan Anak" (STPPA, Standard of children developmental achievement) (DONE, 2009d). Unlike the Curriculum 2004, which only standardised the development of children aged 4 to 6, the 2009 curriculum also standardised the younger group (0 – 3). This was also the case when the education ministry published the 2014 *ECE standards* (MOEC, 2014c) and *Curriculum 2013* (MOEC, 2014d).

Apart from its dominance, developmentalism was not the sole channel through which the post-Reformasi discourse of standardisation operated. In addition to developmental knowledge, the six documents reviewed in this section show the use of different knowledge to frame the good children: religio-spiritual thoughts, nationalist/citizenship perspective, child's protection and welfare, education, and economics. The use of these multiple forms of knowledge is presented in the *ECE grand framework* statement about its version of Superkids, *Anak Indonesia Harapan* (Expected Indonesian Children) and about the role of early childhood education to raise them.

> The *Anak Indonesia Harapan* (Expected Indonesian Children) have ten main attributes (*dasa citra anak Indonesia*), namely 1) faithful and 2) pious in the One and Only God, 3) good character, 4) healthy, 5) smart, 6) honest, 7) responsible, 8) creative, 9) strong self-confidence, 10) loving of the country…ECE development efforts [should be] aimed at the realisation of these ten attributes in every individual Indonesian child. The acquisition of *dasa citra* is the foundation to facilitate children promptitude for further education and participation in the wider environment…[as well as] the fundament of…quality human resources and… investment component of national development (Directorate of ECE, 2011a, p. 11).

As this passage shows, different words that represent religion (faithful, pious, God) nationalism (loving of the country), and economy (investment) are used in concert to envisage the Superkids' ten attributes. Given this combination, it is not always easy to clearly describe the post-Reformasi notion of the good children, or the Superkids. However, when considering the words and topics through which the policy documents frame young children (Paltridge, 2006; Taylor, 2004) in this chapter, two main characterisations of Superkid children are presented: children as future productive citizens and children as moral-spiritual-religious subjects.

Children as Potentially Productive Citizens in the Future

How children are shaped into specific subjects in relation to their future role as citizens and economically productive subjects is apparent since their birth. It is evident, for example, in the fact that among the common prayers for the newborn in Indonesia, and in addition to a wish for the baby to be a healthy, religious man or woman is "semoga menjadi anak yang berguna bagi nusa dan bangsa" (literally, '[we] hope the baby will be useful for the nation and country), as well as expressions such as "diberikan kemudahan rizki" (be given good, easy living). In some cases, such a prayer even becomes the name of the newborn. Unlike the adage 'what's in a name', and long before the UN's Convention on the Rights of the Child was ratified (GOI, 2002; 2014b), culturally speaking, especially people in Java, believe in the notion of 'asma mengku japa' (name carries the prayer). How these expectations on children's future roles in relation to the nation, country or state are expressed through the practice of baby naming. They are evident in names for boys such as Adinegara (strong country) or Natanegara (to lead/manage the country), and for girls Pertiwi and its variations Pratiwi and Prativi (Motherland). In the case of economic prosperity, such expectations are expressed in names such as, Sugiharto and Sugiharti (rich or wealthy) for boys and girls, respectively. The Child Protection Law (GOI, 2002; 2014b) itself stipulates that "every child has the right to a name as [his/her] identity and citizenship status" (Article 5). Even though the 'name' in this regulation looks "neutral", its day-to-day understanding is, in fact, that it implies a 'good name' and that nationalism, citizenship, and economic prosperity are among the parameters used to select the words to be the parts of that name.

In the policy documents, the characterisation of children as both future potential citizens and economic subjects is even more subtle. In addition to the projection and preparation of the present-day children, as the 2045 golden generation as highlighted in the earlier sections, at the language level, the nationalist and economistic characterisation of children is indicated in a wide range of terms representing the national interest, such as 'nation', 'country', 'human resources', 'development', 'economy' and 'investment'. Moreover, at the conceptual, theoretical level, the economistic characterisation of young children is also made through the policy reference to findings in the economic studies of ECE such as those of Heckman's (Directorate of ECE, 2011a; 2015a). The same mode of characterisation, furthermore, is presented through the logic the policy documents developed to portray the role of children in, and the contribution of ECE to the achievement of national interest or to overcoming national challenges. The *ECE grand framework* document, for instance, begins with an assumption that

ECE is a prerequisite of national progress and prosperity, saying that "to be a great, competitive and respected country before the world's eyes needs…whole-hearted implementation of early childhood education" (Directorate of ECE, 2011a, p. 3).

The *ECE grand framework* is not the first policy document that frames young children and ECE within nationalist and economistic thinking. Long before this document, the same vision was projected in the inter-ministerial policy document of Indonesia's Education For All Plan of Action (National Coordination Forum, 2003). Addressing children's future potential and the promise of ECE, on the one hand, and the threats that resulted from the lack of ECE intervention the Plan states:

> early childhood is a period of development and growth for individuals that can influence their future contribution to national development….[for] children are the essential capital for the development of a nation's human resources….Human resources development is the engine for sustained economic development and an essential investment that must be made if a country has made the strategic decision to improve its position among other nations—emphases added (National Coordination Forum, 2003, pp. II.3-II.4).

As this passage shows, today's children are seen as the pillars of a successful future, and ECE as their foundation. As the pillars of the nation, children are expected not only to be productive, economically speaking, but also to save the face of the nation before the world. This subjectivity can be interpreted as a further expansion of parental and familial expectation of children to a wider, state-scope aspiration. Among the key cultural teachings about children-family relationships, is the principle that Sarsito (2006) notes of "mikul dhuwur mendhem jero" (to carry highly, to bury deeply) (p. 451), meaning that children should be the source of pride and at the same time a cloak of disgrace. Moreover, in line with the idea of a "source of pride" the policy documents use self-identification and comparison against other countries and nations (Directorate of ECE, 2011a; MOEC, 2013c; MONE, 2010) in order to further endorse the nationalistis and economistic concepts of children. The following excerpt taken from the *ECE grand framework* clearly shows the Indonesian government's admiration of early childhood education, as on investment for nationalist and economically productive children:

> …countries that have harvested ECE positive impacts include Japan, the United States, Singapore and even gigantic countries such as China. Japan booked itself as the world's

> most welfare country and with the longest life expectancy (*release UN, 2010*). The US has led its citizens to be the world's competitive nation as the impact of the head-start program implementation…Singapore…a country with very limited natural recourses…has extraordinary excellences, as it has focused on its human resources development since early childhood….China has also campaigned early childhood education and now become a country whose achievement is highly respected…even by the super-power countries (Directorate of ECE, 2011a, p. 3).

Children as Religious-spiritual-moral Subjects

As discussed in the section on the cultural roots of the Superkids, religion and spirituality play an important role in the life of children in Indonesia. Children's encounters with religion and spirituality begin even before they are born. This context is a fertile ground for policy religious-spiritual construction of the good children.

The policy documents' identification of children as religious subjects is apparent through the use of religious-affiliated terms to frame children and early childhood education. These include the terms such as 'iman' (faith), 'takwa' (piety), 'moral', 'character', and of course 'God' (DONE, 2009d; Directorate of ECE, 2011a). Accordingly, by law, children are seen not solely as a biological entity per se; they are a religious-spiritual being too. The Child Protection Law, for example, states "that a child is a trust and gift of the Almighty God" (GOI, 2002, Preamble; 2014b, Preamble).

Believed to be the gift of Heaven, children's relation to God should therefore be fostered. Early childhood education is there to facilitate children's development of their spiritual and religious sense. The 2003 Education law stipulates that one of the aims of education is to "develop learners' potentials so that they become persons…who are faithful and pious to one and only God [and] possess morals and noble character (GOI, 2003b, Article 3). In support of this goal, and by law, a child is entitled to religious instruction taught by a teacher of his or her religious belief (GOI, 2003b, Article 12). **Table 3** shows a set of religious indicators taken from the 2014 *ECE Standards* (MOEC, 2014c, Attachment 1) and *Curriculum 2013* (MOEC, 2014d, Attachment 1).

It is somewhat surprising, considering the religious nature of Indonesian society and the emphasis on religion as one of the fundamental bases of education, that the policy portrayals of children as religious beings are not as strong as, and much less jargonistic than those in the

nationalist-economistic policy. When dealing with religion, all six documents reviewed tended to portray children in seemingly normative, flat language. Moreover, as **Table 3** indicates, religions and religious teachings are presented in a way that represents more their ritual dimension than their fundamental role as the way of life. This is in contrast with the more sloganistic religious characterisation of children by religious authorities and in popular media. It is common nowadays among religious authorities to call children, for example, as the "investasi akhirat" (children are the investment for our life in the hereafter).

Development area: religious/spiritual				
2014 ECE Standards Developmental achievement		ECE Curriculum 2013		
4 – 5 year group	5 – 6 year group	Basic Competency	Indicators	
			4 – 5	5 – 6
• Knowing his/her own religion • Imitating prayer movements correctly • Uttering prayer before and after activities • Knowing good and poor manners • Being well-behaved • Offering and responding to greetings (verbally)	• Recognizing his/her own religion • Performing prayers • Being honest, helpful, polite, respectful, and fair • Knowing religious holidays • Respecting (being tolerant) to religiously different others	• Knowing of religious daily rituals [daily prayers] • Performing daily religious rituals [daily prayers] with adults' guidance and supports	Uttering the short prayers and performing religious rituals in accordance to his/her religion	• Naming religious holidays • Naming the venues of worship of other's religion. • Telling of the story of religious figures (e.g. the prophets)

Table 3. Sample of children's religious development/learning indicators

The non-sloganistic, normative religious representation of children in the policy documents may also be due to the plurality of religious groups in Indonesia. Different religious groups may have different representations of children and this drives the policy authors, as Shore and Wright (1997) suggest, to frame their documents in a seemingly more neutral language and perspective. This tendency is found, for example, in the *ECE grand framework*'s simplified generalisation of religious perspectives on children and early childhood education. However, as the following passage shows, it could not easily avoid religious bias, namely by quoting Islamic, Quranic terms of 'umat' (nation, community) and 'rahmatan lil alamin' (a mercy to all creation).

> Albeit different in terms of their beliefs, each of religions exists in Indonesia is in harmony in the way it sees children's education. Firstly, each religion basically emphasises the importance of the best generation (*umat*) able of living a quality life and of being given a mandate to manage the world or development (*rahmatan lil alamin*); secondly, each religion invites and encourages that the preparation of [future] generation should be done as early as possible…and thirdly, each religion obligates the teaching of faiths and noble character [originally, 'akhlak mulia'] as the first and foremost foundation education for every individual child (Directorate of ECE, 2011a, p. 30).

As this passage shows, the *ECE grand framework* authors tend to unite and seek for the common platforms the diverse religions share with regard to children and early childhood education. This way of approaching religious diversity, however, differs from the religious-based division of early childhood education service, as acknowledged by the 2003 Education Law (GOI, 2003b, Article 28) and from the MOE's initiation of religious ECE services, such as the Quranic Learning Centre-based ECE service or Faith-Development ECE Program attached to Catholic churches (Directorate of ECE, 2011a; 2011b; MOEC, 2014d, Article 2: 2). Through the creation of these institutions, children's identities have become even more specified, previously from a mere religious and spiritual being and the Heaven gift, to Muslim, Catholic, Christian, Hindu, Buddhist identities.

The Making of the Superkids

The sections above have sketched out how children are standardised under the religio-spiritual and economic rationalities. The discussion will now introduce the Foucauldian idea of governing technologies, or the ways or set of practices used to realise the rationalities of government at more material and mundane levels. Foucault (1984b) argues that governmental technologies are used to produce a "docile body that may be subjected, used, transformed, and improved" (p. 180). In other words, and in line with his notion of the convenient end of the acts of governing, technologies are any means used to achieve the goals of government. At least two interconnected technologies were used to lead young children in achieving these qualities: developmental standardisation and screening, and behaviour formation and habituation have been identified here.

Development area: physical-motor development (gross)				
ECE Standards 2014 Developmental achievement/standard of contents		ECE Curriculum 2013		
2 – 3 year group	4 – 5 year group	Basic Competency	Indicators	
			2 – 3	4 – 5
• Walking on tiptoes • Jumping forward and backward on two legs • Throwing and catching the ball • Dancing to the rhythm	• Imitate the movement of animals, wind-blown trees, aeroplanes • Hanging on a bar • Jumping and running in a bodily coordinated manner • Throwing an object to a specific direction	• Using limbs for gross and fine motor development	• Performing activities that show the ability to throw and catch a large light ball • Performing activities that encourages children's ability to dance to the rhythm	• Performing movements that show the ability to jump and run in a coordinated manner

Table 4. Sample of specified developmental criteria

In line with the developmental portrayals of children the use of developmental knowledge as a technology of government aims to maximise children's potential and at the same time minimises risk. For this purpose a set of criteria representing normal, idealised growth and development have been developed, specific to six areas of development: namely, moral and religious values, socio-emotional and self-independence, language, cognition, physical and motor skills, and aesthetics (Curriculum Centre, 2004; DONE, 2009d; Directorate of ECE, 2002a; MOEC, 2014c; 2014d). **Table 4** shows a sample of developmental achievement that children should master through their participation in early childhood education programs.

Table 4 also shows the specific developmental criteria that are used as the benchmark against which children's development is aligned and measured. In other words, they are the "official skills" which children are encouraged to learn and acquire. By learning these skills, they are gradually normalised and nurtured to become the standardised Superkids.

To ensure their progression towards the predetermined end the education ministry provided another tool: accreditation. This mechanism uses approximately the same list of developmental achievement listed in **Table 4** (NAB, 2009b; NABNFE, 2009b).What makes this mechanism different is that it measures children as an aggregate at the centre's level. With this mechanism, the more children in a centre who are in line with the standardised developmental achievement level the better the status of accreditation that is given to the centre.

The tendency to produce developmentally standardised children became even stronger following the introduction of the 2014 *ECE standards* and the *ECE Curriculum 2013*. Using 'tailor' and 'tailoring' as metaphors, education and early childhood education are seen as a process of making a neatly pre-sized shirt. **Figure 7**, taken from the Minister of Education's presentation (MOEC, 2013a, pp. 31-32) shows this process of producing "pre-sized" children. As the figure shows, this neat, pre-sized shirt represents the desired Superkids, metaphorically portrayed as a sleek, neat shirt (right) instead of a rough patchwork (left)**.**

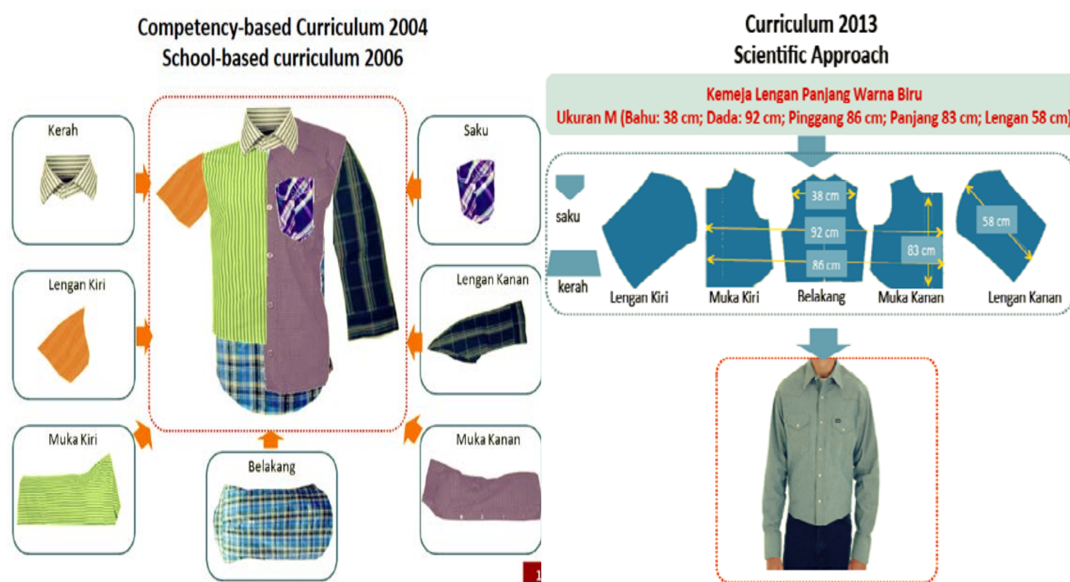


Figure 7. Education as a production site of pre-sized and standardised children

In support of this process, the *ECE Curriculum 2013* furthermore endorses the developmental monitoring system: "growth and development early detection" (MOEC, 2014d, Attachment 2). This mechanism is used to identify elements in children's potential that may accelerate their development or otherwise be obstacles that may impede their developmental progress. Through so doing, children's developmental alignment to the standard is monitored and ensured.

Development Area: social & emotion				
ECE Standards 2014 Developmental achievement/standard of contents		*ECE Curriculum 2013*		
2 – 3 year group	*4 – 5 year group*	*Basic Competency*	*Indicators*	
			2 – 3	*4 – 5*
[A child can] • Greet others whenever s/he wants to leave • Show trust in adults • Express feelings to other children	[A child can] • Show self-independent attitude in choosing activities • Control feelingS • Demonstrate self-confidence	[A child] • Knows how to solve daily problems and behave creatively	[A child] • Solves simple problems by actively asking others close to him/her	[A child] • Is able to solve simple problems with adult assistance

Table 5.. Sample of specified desired behaviours

The next approach used in concert with developmental standardisation to govern children is behaviour formation and habituation. As with the developmental standardisation, this technology is used to standardise children's desired behaviour through habit formation and rituals. In the earlier post-Reformasi curriculum and standard, this technique was mainly applied to the religious-moral, social, and emotional areas of development (Curriculum Centre; DONE, 2009d). **Table 5** shows samples of social skills, which serve as children's behavioural reference and against which their children's behaviours are normalised.

The introduction of the *ECE Curriculum 2013*, moreover, has added a new component into the practice of developmental standardisation. This new component is the "scientific approach" (MOEC, 2014d) to learning. Within this framework as describes on **Figure 8** (Directorate of ECE, 2015a), not only are children's behaviours shaped into traditionally good and positive ones, but most importantly, in line with the scientific process, of "observing, questioning, information gathering, reasoning, and communicating" (Directorate of ECE, 2015a, pp. 18-19). In line with this idea, the formation of behaviour should also follow a systematic process derived from character education scholarship (knowing, thinking, feeling, acting, and habituating the good), as discussed, for example, in the works of Lickona (1999) and Berkowitz (1999).

pertanyaan-pertanyaan yang muncul sebelumnya. Proses menalar merupakan bagian penting dalam rangka membangun pengetahuan baru yang dihubungkan dengan pengetahuan yang sudah dimiliki sebelumnya. Hasil proses menalar anak memiliki pemahaman baru tentang suatu konsep. Tahap berikutnya (5) **mengomunikasikan** gagasan dan pemahaman tentang pengetahuan tentang konsep baru yang dituangkan ke dalam berbagai hasil karya berupa lisan, seni, balok, dan lainnya.

Gambar 10 Proses pendekatan saintifik

Dapat disimpulkan secara sederhana bahwa Kurikulum 2013 PAUD mengembangkan kemampuan sikap, pengetahuan, dan keterampilan sebagai satu komponen yang saling terkait dan tidak dapat terpisahkan. Setiap subkomponen tersebut memiliki fokus arahan dan bila disatukan membangun kompetensi lulusan PAUD yang memiliki kesiapan mengikuti pendidikan lebih lanjut. Pembentukan sikap diarahkan membangun kemampuan **fungsi eksekutif (*executive function*)** yang ditenggarai dengan (1) kemampuan **memori kerja otak** dalam mengatur

"...kurikulum 2013 PAUD mengembangkan kemampuan sikap, pengetahuan dan keterampilan seba

"...keterampilan untuk mendukung kemampuan sikap di terapkan melalui proses pembiasaan (habituasi) yang di awali dengan mengenalkan suatu sikap yang akan di bangun..."

Kemampuan keterampilan dikembangkan untuk mendukung kemampuan sikap dan kemampuan pengetahuan. Keterampil an untuk mendukung kemampuan sikap diterapkan melalui proses pembiasaan yang diawali dengan mengenalkan suatu sikap yang akan dibangun agar anak: (1) **mengetahui** hal-hal yang baik (*knowing the good*), kemudian anak diajak untuk (2) **memikirkan** apa untungnya jika sikap baik tersebut diterapkan dan kerugian bila sikap baik tersebut ditinggalkan (*thinking the good*), langkah berikutnya anak diajak (3) **merasakan** manfaat bila perilaku baik itu diterapkan (*feeling the good*), dan guru bersama anak (4) **melakukan** perilaku yang baik (*acting the good.*) sebagai contoh baik, dan akhirnya anak (5) **dibiasakan** untuk menerapkan sikap baik dalam setiap kesempatan (*habituating the good*).

Gambar 9.
PROSES PEMBIASAAN (HABITUASI) SIKAP PADA ANAK

Figure 8. Recommended behaviour formation and scientific learning process

Thus far, this section has demonstrated the post-Reformasi notion of the good children, which is the developmentally standardised children, as well as the way this notion has been applied to meet the goal of the production of Superkids. This notion—the officially recognised way of being good children—has been heralded nationwide in order to ensure that no single child is left behind.

As I have described in the previous parts of this section, in the post-Reformasi period there have been two main approaches activated for the production of the Superkids. They are, namely, the standardisation of children's development and behaviour formation through habituation. These approaches assume that there is a single way of children's development and a single list of appropriate behaviours for children to learn and acquire. These two approaches, ironically, seem to repeat the long-established way of producing the good Indonesian human, activated during the New Order era. What makes them different is possibly the fact that the New Order approach was taken mainly from the local, Pancasila-aligned knowledge, while the post-Reformasi approach was built mainly on developmental knowledge. The fact that in some ways, the post-Reformasi government produces its idealised children is identical with those of the New Order's is not surprising. In the case of the New Order, the government was perceived as the locomotor of development, therefore, what it needed was the "manusia pembangunan"

(human of development). The post-Reformasi government takes a seemingly subtle and fine way, perceiving itself not as the locomotor of development. Therefore, as I have put it in the previous parts of this section, it aims for the realisation of children as future productive citizens.

Despite their official nature, it is crucial to ask whether or not the post-Reformasi notion of developmentally standardised children, and the developmental standardisation and behaviour formation that accompanies it are sufficient to embrace the vision of the Superkids or the golden generation 2045 according to the *Grand framework* (Directorate of ECE, 2011a). As this section has further demonstrated, that notion tends to reduce children's quality into five to six developmental aspects—religion and moral values, cognitive, physical, emotional, social, and art/aesthetic. This reductionism seems to go against the jargonistic visions of children as the golden generation, or the gift for the centennial anniversary of Indonesian independence. Unfortunately, this reductionism is buried, if not denied, under the thick layers of a frenzied series of early childhood campaigns and the attractiveness of the phrase 'golden generation' or 'golden Indonesia'.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has demonstrated that the notion of the good children has changed in Indonesia along with the change in the political regimes. The Reformasi 1998 provided a rupture and disjuncture between the present and the past, and therefore, cleared a space for rethinking the past and reimagining the future. This rupture has paved the way for the emergence of the new ideas of the projected desired children, the Superkids. As this chapter has shown, the images of Indonesian Superkids are linked to the cultural beliefs and practices, on the one hand, and on the other hand, to the political imagination of the future Indonesia.

Two main constructions of the good children have been identified in this chapter: children as potentially future productive citizens; and children as religious-moral beings. To ensure that these visionary constructions are achievable, the post-Reformasi policy documents endorse the use of two main governing technologies: developmental standardisation and behavioural habituation. Ideally, if education is seen as a linear system, these two technologies should be well-mastered by their own operators, who are early childhood educators, and thereby the transformation of today's young into the Superkids ensured. But as the next chapter, which discusses teachers, will further demonstrate, such is not the case. Teachers also have their own problems, ranging from their identity, status, to their knowledge and skills.

Chapter 5. From a "Hero without a Medal" to a Professional Teacher: the Production of Good Teachers

Terpujilah wahai engkau Ibu Bapak guru—Blessed you, O my dearest teacher
Namamu akan selalu hidup dalam sanubariku—Your name will always live in my soul
Semua baktimu akan kuukir di dalam hatiku—All you served, I will carve them in my heart
S'bagai prasasti t'rima kasihku 'tuk pengabdianmu—As an epigraph of my gratitude of your devotion and sacrifice
Engkau sebagai pelita dalam kegelapan—You are the lantern in the darkness
Engkau laksana embun penyejuk dalam kehausan—You are the dew for my depleting thirst
Engkau patriot pahlawan bangsa tanpa tanda jasa—You are the nation's patriot and hero, but without a medal

A hero without a medal, Indonesian Teachers hymn (Sartono, n.d.),

Is it realistic to demand our teachers to teach in a high professional manner while their financial remuneration remains low? And is the future professionalisation of our teachers sufficiently achieved through certification? We cannot and should not impose a format of professionalism on our teachers, yet we should not let our teachers wander in search for that format by themselves without being equipped with a standard or a model. What is important in this case is that the [teacher] professionalism is formulated in line with the reality of this era. This can be done only by the generation of the era. The older generation cannot formulate teacher professionalism for the future, for they are not part of the future. Generally, the members of the old generation remain locked in their own time, a time that in the eyes of the future generations is the passing past (Buchori, 2007, p. 8).

A legally qualified teacher and a well-qualified teacher are not necessarily synonymous (Blyler, 1945, p. 578).

Introduction

This chapter looks at the genealogy and development of good teachers. It presents three portrayals of good teachers from three different periods of Indonesia—the pre-Reformasi, Reformasi, and post-Reformasi. By 'good teachers' here is meant teachers with characteristics

as expected and regulated by the policy documents of the three periods. The aim here is to demonstrate how the prevalent discourses that circulated within each of these periods shaped and contributed to the policy notions of the good teachers.

The chapter is divided into three main sections. The first section discusses the production of good teachers in the pre-Reformasi era. This section is divided into two parts. The first part analyses the good teachers during the period of early independence to the end of the Sukarno administration. In this period, teachers' quality was mainly shaped by the nationalist discourse. The second part discusses teachers' quality during the New Order administration, when teachers were mainly influenced by the discourse of correction and development. The second section discusses the influence of the discourse of distinction and change on teachers' quality, during the short period of Reformasi. The last section presents analysis of the production of the good and professional teachers in the post-Reformasi era and under the discourse of standardisation. It is in this era that the term 'teacher' specifically refers to early childhood educators. The use of the term in the Reformasi era, New Order, and Old Order analysed in this chapter refers to the meaning of teacher in general. However, given the nature of teacher governance in those eras, I consider that the same characterisation by the Indonesian government in the past is applied to all types of teachers.

Pre-Reformasi Period: the Nationalist Teachers

The dominant discourse circulated during the early independence of Indonesia was nationalism. As freedom from colonialism was within the grasp of the nation, the next step to take was to ensure that the sense of unity among the diverse elements of the new-born nation would not fade. Teachers were seen as the channel through whom the spirit of nationhood would reach the whole population. President Sukarno (1964a) hinted in his essay that "teachers are the prophets of [national] resurgence (*rasoel kebangoenan*)" (pp. 611, 613).

The influence of nationalism on early independence was expressed in the first post-independence education bill, the *Law No. 4 of 1950 on the Foundations of Education and Teaching for all Indonesian Schools* (GOI, 1950). The law generally aimed to change the education system left by the colonial government into one built on its own "ideals of the Indonesian nation" (GOI, 1950, Preamble). The nationalistic character of the law is seen, for example, in its call for the removal of the Dutch language and the promotion of *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian language) as the instructional language in schools. A section in the law's

addenda reminded people that "language is the tool to express the fruit of thoughts, above all it is a tool to thicken nationalism" (GOI, 1950, Addenda 10).

The nationalistic nature of education, in general, and this law, in particular, shaped the characteristics of the desired teacher. The 1950 education law, however, did not stipulate detailed characteristics of the desired teacher. The lack of stipulation on good teachers' characteristics, indicators, and rights and obligations meant more freedom and independence for teachers. It is important to note here that during this period another idea of freedom was widely circulated. Freedom during this period, as Sukarno stated before the Investigating Committee for Preparatory Work for Indonesian Independence (ICPWII, *Badan Penyelidik Usaha Persiapan Kemerdekaan Indonesia*, BPUPKI), meant not only the freedom from colonialism, but more importantly, individual political freedom.

Thomas (1990) suggests, that the 1950 education law was itself limited given that it was the first education law and that it takes time for a new nation to bring its conception of education to maturity. It had only two articles on teachers (GOI, 1950, Addenda 15; Article 16), which respectively stipulated general teacher requirements and a short description of teacher obligations.

> The main requirements to become a teacher, in addition to diploma and requirements concerning physical and mental health, are the qualities necessary to provide education and teaching as defined in Article 3, Article 4, and Article 5 of this law (GOI, 1950, Article 15).
>
> At the schools, teachers must respect each religious school of thoughts or way of life (GOI, 1950, Article 16).

At a glance, these two articles have nothing to do with nationalism and national unity, but when they are set alongside the three articles referred to in Article 15 the nationalistic portrayal of teachers is apparent. Article 3 of the law stipulated the goal of education, and emphasised the spirit of patriotism. It says that the aim of education is to "mould the capable *manusia susila* (decent human) and democratic citizens who are responsible for the welfare of the societies and homeland" (GOI, 1950, Article 3). Article 4 regulated the three foundations of education and teaching, namely the state ideology of Pancasila, Constitution 1945 and Indonesian culture. Article 5 established the compulsory use of the Indonesian language as the instructional

language, except in kindergartens and early grades whose students might only speak the local languages.

Another nationalistic portrayal of teachers is found in the law's addenda to its Article 16, which requires teachers to behave inclusively towards others and towards those with differences.

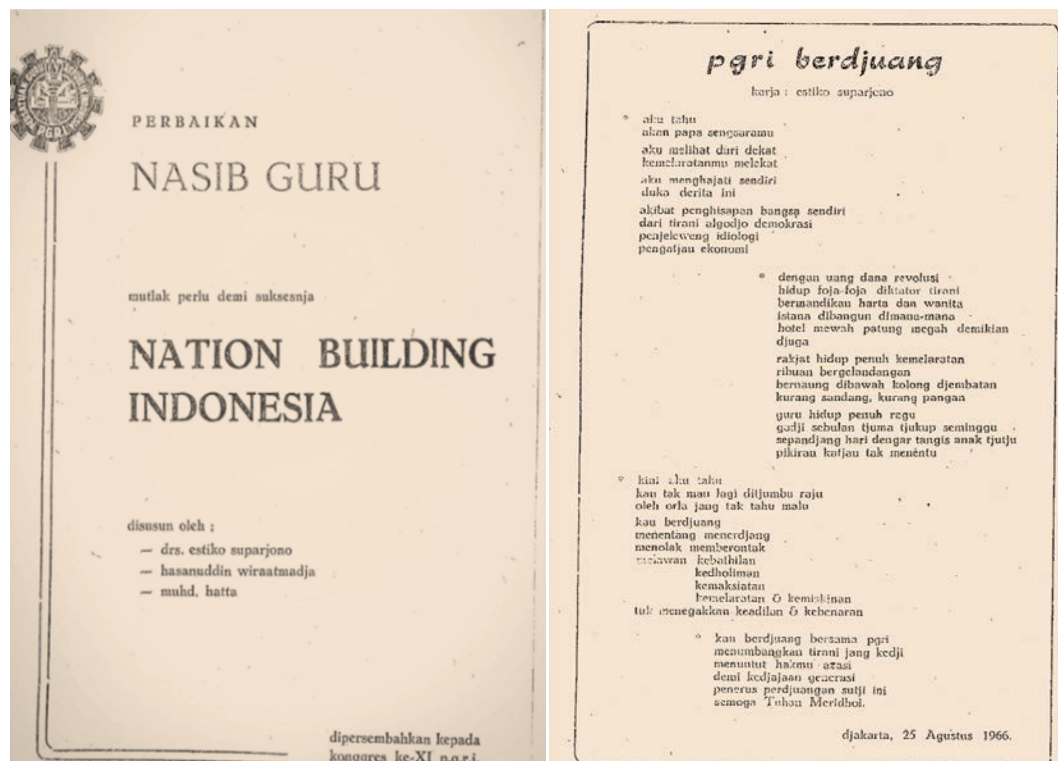
> At the schools, teachers should not reproach, insult, or do other acts that may offend a religious school of thought or way of life. Inclusive to the phrase 'way of life' is political belief (GOI, 1950, Addenda Article 16).

These regulations affirmed the nationalistic character of education. Apart from their orientation towards social cohesion and collectiveness, these regulations provided protection for individual freedom and independence. Teachers' obligation to respect differences and diversities, including the differences in political beliefs, show this era's commitment to inclusiveness and respect of individual rights.

The nationalist discourse continued to colour the policy documents despite the changing political landscape. The communist party made significant showing in the 1955 election (Ricklefs, 2001; Thomas, 1981) and installed its enthusiastic supporter, as the minister of education. In 1965, President Sukarno issued the Pancasila National Education System (*Sistem Pendidikan Nasional Pancasila*) (GOI, 1965). The decree's nationalistic orientation was seen, for example, in the way it called education an "absolute element of national and character building" (GOI, 1965, Preamble; Article 4). To strengthen its message, the decree mixed nationalism and some elements of socialism-communism, as seen in its use of such terms as 'revolusi' (revolution), 'sosialis' (socialist), and 'pergerakan massa' (mass mobilisation) (Latif & Ibrahim, 1996; Rakhmat, 1996).

In line with the Presidential decree of the Pancasila National Education System in 1966, the parliament issued a decree on religion, education, and culture. In this document, teachers were called "pendidik bangsa" (educators of the nation) (PPCA, 1966, Article 6), referring to their role in national and character building. The decree itself did not have a section that dealt with teachers. In fact, teachers warmly welcomed its conception of education as nation and character building, as shown in a publication by the *Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia* (PGRI, Indonesian Teacher Association) (Suparjono, Wiraatmadja, & Hatta, 1967). Nonetheless, it was also their belief in education as a tool of nation and character building that teachers would later use to fight against the Sukarno regime (**Figure 9**).

The Sukarno government's educational reliance on nationalistic thoughts, however, was not accompanied by clear provisions on teachers' rights, for example, on salary or other welfare benefits. Indeed, no provisions on teachers' rights was made in the 1950 education law (Thomas, 1990). As a result, in the late 1950s to mid-1960s, along with heated friction between political factions and the increasing public distrust, teachers began to feel that their important designation as the nation's educators and agents of nation and character building was not recognised in the remuneration they gained.



PERBAIKAN

NASIB GURU

mutlak perlu demi suksesnja

NATION BUILDING INDONESIA

disusun oleh :
— drs. estiko suparjono
— hasanuddin wiraatmadja
— muhd. hatta

dipersembahkan kepada
konggres ke-XI p.g.r.i.

pgri berdjuang

karja : estiko suparjono

aku tahu
akan papa sengsaramu
aku melihat dari dekat
kemelaratanmu melekat
aku menghajati sendiri
duka derita ini
akibat penghisapan bangsa sendiri
dari tirani algodjo demokrasi
penjeleweng idiologi
pengatjau ekonomi

dengan uang dana revolusi
hidup foja-foja diktator tirani
bermandikan harta dan wanita
istana dibangun dimana-mana
hotel mewah patung megah demikian
djuga
rakjat hidup penuh kemelaratan
ribuan bergelandangan
bernaung dibawah kolong djembatan
kurang sandang, kurang pangan
guru hidup penuh ragu
gadji sebulan tjuma tjukup seminggu
sepandjang hari dengar tangis anak tjutju
pikiran katjau tak menentu

kini aku tahu
kau tak mau lagi ditjumbu raju
oleh orla jang tak tahu malu
kau berdjuang
menentang menerdjang
menolak memberontak
melawan kebathilan
kedholiman
kemaksiatan
kemelaratan & kemiskinan
tuk menegakkan keadilan & kebenaran

kau berdjuang bersama pgri
menumbangkan tirani jang kedji
menuntut hakmu atasi
demi kedjajaan generasi
penerus perdjuangan sutji ini
semoga Tuhan Meridhoi.

djakarta, 25 Agustus 1966.

Figure 9. A booklet by the teachers' association demanding teacher life improvement

Following the communist-abortive coup in September 1965, the military took over the national leadership. The Indonesian Teachers' Association, which in the early 1960s (Yunus et al., 2003) was almost taken over by the communist party, took the advantage of this political momentum. As **Figure 9** (Suparjono et al., 1967) shows, relying on the nationalist discourse and their identity as the nation's educators (left), teachers began to show their support for the new government, to condemn the past regime, and demand that the new government improve teachers and living standards in general (right). In 1966, the association created a committee for rescuing the parliamentary decree on religion, education, and culture (Suparjono et al.,

1967), which called teachers the "educators of the nation", a designation that in fact resonated Sukarno's (1964a) earlier praise of teachers, as the "prophets of resurgence (*rasoel kebangoenan*)" (pp. 611, 613). Armed with this title and seasoned with condemnation of Sukarno's political remnants, the association lobbied national leaders and organised protests to demand improvement in their salary. Expressing their anger, a group of teacher association members wrote:

> It has been for years we live in…freedom, yet what [we] felt is only political freedom…in economy…indeed we are faced with multiple difficulties…Every day we are overshadowed by the fear whether tomorrow we can or cannot eat…teachers' daily life of is a crisis...On the one hand, teachers have to stay at their post, to take care and teach their students to become morally human. On the other hand they are always in an anxious situation, for the reward they receive for their…noble service does not suffice to cover their needs…they work very hard…but their salary …is not enough even just to compensate their hunger (Suparjono et al., 1967, pp. 8, 11).

In March 1967, Sukarno's political power was officially and almost completely disarmed. A new regime, the New Order, emerged. Hoping that the new regime would improve their lives, the teachers who were disappointed by the Old Order government soon became among the main proponents of the new-born regime. Later, as the next section will describe, it was also through their support that the new regime perpetuated its power for more than three decades.

Pre-Reformasi period: the Corrective Teachers

As in Chapter 1 and Chapter 4, Soeharto's New Order government was of the view that the past administration was marked by its violation against Pancasila. Accordingly, it saw the education sector as tainted and polluted by communist thoughts. As a solution, the nation's deviated understanding of Pancasila had to be corrected and purified from the communist contamination, while at the same time national development had to be accelerated. Soeharto himself defined his New Order government as the "total correction (*koreksi total*) of all the deviations" (Soeharto, 1969b, p. 4) that occurred in and were inherited from the past era. Once the aims of total correction were achieved, the country would move forward and develop. Hence, the New Order would gradually be the "Orde Pembangunan" (Development Order) (Soeharto, 1968, p. 86). For this reason, as discussed in Chapter 1, the main policy discourse

circulated during the New Order government is referred to here as the discourse of correction and development.

Initially, the New Order government was highly calculative in executing its politics of correction. This appeared in their decision to not directly revoke the 1950 education law, legislated by the previous regime. Instead, the New Order government took a rather roundabout approach, by using the parliament's hands. As a result, in 1978, the parliament issued a decree on the Pancasila-based behavioural standard (PCA, 1978) followed by a series of compulsory Pancasila upgrading short-courses (GOI, 1979a) for all school-age and above citizens. Teachers, regardless of their formal academic background and expertise, were both the targets and executors of these two correctional technologies.

In 1989, the New Order launched Law No. 2 of 1989 on the National System of Education (GOI, 1989) and revoked the 1950 bill. The law was the peak embodiment of the New Order's discourse of correction and development. It, for example, stipulated that the goal of education was to foster the development of the "manusia seutuhnya" (the full Indonesian human being) (GOI, 1989, Article 3), who was also called the "manusia Pancasila" (Pancasila-istic human) and "manusia pembangunan" (human of development) (GOI, 1989, Addenda general).

Since teachers are seen as the agents of correction, consequently, the good teachers are those who deserve to be real examples and embodiments of the so-called "manusia pembangunan" (human of development) and "manusia Pancasila" (Pancasila-istic human). These portrayals of teachers were reflected in the 1989 education law provision on teacher requirements, which prioritised their commitment to Pancasila over their academic qualifications.

> To be assigned as a teaching workforce, an educating workforce[7] must be faithful in and devoted to the One And Only God, *berwawasan* (committed to) Pancasila and the Constitution 1945 as well as hold a qualification as a teaching workforce (GOI, 1989, Article 28: 2).

[7] The 1989 education law does not directly use the term *guru* to refer to a teacher; it used the phrases 'tenaga pendidik' (education workforce) and 'tenaga pengajar' (teaching workforce). The former includes both the present-day teacher and non-teaching staff, the latter refers mostly to the present-day meaning of teachers.

The nature of teachers as correctional agents was reiterated in the 1989 law's provision on teachers' obligations, to "foster personal and learners' loyalty towards the ideology of Pancasila and the Constitution 1945" (GOI, 1989, Article 31: 1).

The 1989 education law also portrayed teachers as figures committed to continuous self-learning and ethical self-reflection, thereby representing the embodiment of the *manusia pembangunan* (human of development). It stated that teachers should be committed to "improve [their]…skills in line with the development in science and technology…[and] maintain personal integrity and trust granted by the public, the nation, and the country" (GOI, 1989, Article 31). Later, the same attributes were detailed in the 1992 Government Regulation on Education Personnel (GOI, 1992, Article 1; Article 31). These aspirational teacher characteristics, however, were not well-materialised, most probably due to the following reasons. First, the New Order interest in corrective politics and political stability was too dominant. This has led to the practice of governance where teachers, as Bjork's (2005) study found "educators were valued for their ability to loyally follow directives, not for their capacity for independent thought" (p. 59). Governed in this way, professional development and self-reflection becomes less meaningful, if not even pointless, for teachers. Second, teachers' poor payment limited their access to professional learning. Earlier studies have reported (Supriadi & Hoogenboom, 2003; Tilaar, 1998) that teachers were poorly paid, a situation that led them to take side jobs rather than undertake professional development. Surprisingly, this conduct was tolerated by the 1992 education personnel regulation (GOI, 1992, Article 35), as if it was to compensate the existing teachers' poor remuneration. During the New Order era, as the *Teacher hymn* that heads this chapter shows, teachers were glorified notoriously as "pahlawan bangsa tanpa tanda jasa" (a hero without a medal).[8] Initially used to honour teachers, the designation eventually became an ironic satire of teachers as "cheap workers ready to be underpaid and treated undeservedly" (Supriadi & Hoogenboom, 2003, p. 39).

In summary, the two periods of the pre-Reformasi period left a bitter inheritance for teachers. During the Sukarno government, under the nationalist pretext, teachers were regarded as the agents of nation and of character building. Under the caveat of correctional politics and development, the New Order government glorified teachers as the producers of the *manusia*

[8] 'A hero without a medal' was taken from the Indonesian *Teacher hymn*, composed by Sartono, a long life non-permanent teacher in the 1980s. It was not clear what he really meant by this phrase. However, the common understanding of this phrase associates it with teachers' high cultural position on the one hand and their poor payment and financial struggle on the other.

pembangunan (human of development) yet at the same time ironically as "a hero without a medal", due to their poor payment. However, both the Sukarno administration's and the New Order regime's reliance on these governing discourses neglected the mundane and humane, yet central aspect of the teachers' life: proper income and decent living. Contextualised within this situation, it is not a surprise, therefore, as the next section will discuss, that income and living have been a dominant issue in Indonesian teacher reform.

The Reformasi Period: Teachers as Agents of Change

The Reformasi period can be defined as a movement against the manipulations and corrupted practices of the New Order administration. However, as a social and political movement, *reformasi* is often simplified as the getting rid of everything "with the New Order smells" (Surakhmad, 2009, p. 219). Based on the general and popular feature of the Reformasi, the dominant discourse that circulated during this short period can be identified as the discourse of distinction and change.

At the policy level, the emergence of the discourse of distinction and change was marked by two policy milestones. They were the creation of the *Tim Nasional Reformasi Menuju Masyarakat Madani* (National Team for the Reform towards the *Madani* Society, NTRMS) (GOI, 1998b; NTRMS,1999) and the appointment of the Komite Reformasi Pendidikan (KRP, Education Reform Committee, ERC). The NTRMS, as mentioned in Chapter 1 was a think-tank group assigned to formulate the Reformasi blueprint. The ERC was a task force assigned to prepare the new education bill (DONE, 2001a; ERC, 2001a; 2001b) to replace the 1950 education law.

The Reformasi government operated their discourse of distinction to build a clear demarcation from the past New Order, for example, by highlighting its deviance. A section in the NTRMS (1999) report, states that the past's "fascination with 'unity and collectiveness'…has given birth to the obsessive and oppressive attitudes among the leaders" (p. 28). The NTRMS view of the past, as deviant, also applied to the education sector, arguing that the past education was highly reductionist in its orientation,

> …there has been a…reduction of the education meaning as identical to schooling. The schools are then reduced to merely…as curriculum and GBPP [mandatory syllabus], which are further squeezed…into an even drier meaning, the *Satuan Pelajaran* (lesson

> units)…Such a depletion…is an indicator of the silted vision and mission of education and human resources [development] (NTRMS,1999, p. 284).

Having established the distinction, the Reformasi government moved on to operating their discourse of change. Education and teachers were seen as both targets and actors of the imagined change. A generic set of characteristics of the good, desirable teachers is stated as follows:

> Education personnel…should be the symbol and living example of the civilised, democratic (*madani*) society and carry their tasks based on the essence, goals, and principles of the vision of national education reform…[and for that purpose therefore] (NTRMS, 1999, pp. 287, 291).

Approaching the third year of the Reformasi period, the portrayal of the good teachers had become more systematic. Through the ERC (ERC, 2001a), the new portrayal of the good teachers was introduced. The ERC proposed two core components of the good teachers: "qualifications" and "professionalism" (ERC, 2001a, p. 20; 2001b, p. 17). By qualification the ERC proposed that teachers should have a minimum qualification of an undergraduate degree; and by professionalism it meant both the acknowledgement of teachers' professional status and the provision of teacher specific professional training (ERC, 2001a; 2001b).

In July 2003, the ERC's draft was passed into law as the new education bill. The new law views teachers according to their teaching role and function and not from their status as government apparatus, as they were in the 1989 education law.

> Educators…are obliged to creating a meaningful, fun, creative, dynamic, and dialogical education atmosphere; have a professional commitment to improve the quality of education; and be a model and maintain the reputation of the institution, profession, and position in accordance with the trust given to it (GOI, 2003b, Article 40).

> Educators must hold a minimum qualifications and certification relevant to the level of education they teach, be physically and mentally healthy, and have the ability to realise the goals of national education (GOI, 2003b, Article 42).

As these two articles show, the desired characteristics of teachers lie more in their position as learning agents, their academic qualification, and professional competencies. This new notion

of the good teachers marked the end of the nationalistic image of teachers, propagated since the early independence period. This left a discursive crack, through which new portrayal and notions of the good teachers emerged.

Post-Reformasi Administration: the Professionally Standardised Teachers

The aim in this final part of the chapter is to demonstrate the way the discourse of standardisation influenced the production of the new image of the good teachers: the professional teachers. This part is divided into two sections. The first section discusses the general characteristics of the professional teachers. The second section analyses the procedures the Indonesian government has taken to produce their so-called professional teachers.

The use of the discourse of standardisation aims to homogenise diverse teacher population. Initially, the discourse was operated through a procedure of recognition: the recognition of teaching as a profession (GOI, 2003b, Article 39). The recognition was further enforced as a status in the Teachers' law.

> Teachers are professional educators whose main duties include to educating, teaching, guiding, directing, training, assessing, and evaluating the participants of the formal line early childhood education, of the elementary education, and of the intermediate education (GOI, 2005b, Article 1: 1).

Following this recognition, the public portrayal of good teachers also gradually shifted from the previous "a hero without a medal" to a professional teacher: a good teacher is a professional teacher. Various policy documents published between 2005 and 2015 regulated a number of features of the professional teachers. These features can be summarised in three categories: an academically qualified and professionally certified worker, pedagogue with developmental knowledge, and pedagogue with multiple incomes.

Qualified and Competency-certified Workers

The first feature of the professional teachers is related to qualification and competencies. The portrayal of teachers as academically qualified and competent learning agents is much emphasised in the National education standard (GOI, 2005a), Teachers law (GOI, 2005b), Teacher standard (DONE, 2007c), and Teacher regulation (GOI, 2008). It is stated that to be a teacher one must have, in addition to physical and mental health, at least a bachelor or four year-diploma degree and teaching professional certificate (GOI, 2005a; 2005b). Recalling the

2003 education law's provision on teachers' minimum requirements (GOI, 2003b, Article 43), the National education standard stipulates teachers' minimum qualification as follows.

> an educator must have a qualification and competency as a learning agent, physical and mental health, as well as the ability to realise the goals of national education…The academic qualification as stipulated in section (1) is the minimum education level that must be met by an educator proven in [the form of] relevant diploma and/or certificate of expertise (GOI, 2005a, Article 28)

As this article shows, the idea of competency differs from the idea of qualification. The former refers to teachers' professional training and the latter refers to the academic training of a teacher candidate. In other words, an academically qualified teacher candidate, legally speaking, is not necessarily a competent one.

To be recognised as a competent teacher, one must be proficient in the four domains of teacher competencies: "pedagogical competency, personal competency, professional competency, and social competency" (DONE, 2007c; GOI, 2005a; 2005b). Proficiency in these four competency domains must be obtained through professional education and proven by the possession of a professional certificate (GOI, 2005b, Article 1: 11; Article 9; Article 10). Without this certificate someone who is in fact capable in all four competency domains would not be recognised as a competent teacher, and legally speaking should not teach.

At a glance, the policy emphasis on a teacher's formal qualification is reasonable. Indonesian education, for example, has suffered from a high rate of mismatched and underqualified teachers (DONE, 2005; Jalal et al., 2009). When teacher professionalisation was launched in 2006, it was reported that out of 174,429 kindergarten teachers nationwide 110,742 were reported to hold a senior high-school background and under (Jalal et al., 2009, p. 7). In this sense, improving teachers' minimum qualifications to that of an undergraduate degree, on the one hand, and stipulating teachers needing to hold a professional certificate, on the other hand, means that only those with early childhood qualification can teach at the centres. A deeper look, however, will soon reveal that this policy is elitist in the sense that it would marginalise a majority of the early childhood educator population. To lean solely on formal qualification means that the policy makers assumed that the majority of teachers were not capable of teaching young children. It is true that this group of teachers were not formally qualified, but to assume that they were not capable of offering quality learning is misleading.

A study by the MONE's research institutes, referred to by the Curriculum Centre (2004), states that children who repeated at the primary level are indicatively those who did not attend preschool. Consequently, if children are the ultimate goal of preschool quality, and indeed they have no problem in their later education apart from their preschool teachers' low formal qualification, then it is misleading to assume that their teachers were incompetent. In short, to define teacher quality solely on the basis of formal qualification is problematic. It fundamentally contradicts what Blyler (1945), whose quote heads this chapter, pointed out a long time ago: a "legally qualified teacher and a well-qualified teacher are not necessarily synonymous" (p. 578). Equally, a formally low-qualified teacher may not necessarily be a poor-quality teacher.

Pedagogue with Developmental Knowledge

Having published the National education standard (GOI, 2005a), which defined teachers' four competency domains, in 2007 the Ministry of Education launched the *Teachers standard* (DONE, 2007c). The *Teacher standard* document breaks down the four teachers' grand competencies into specified indicators. There are 24 items of teacher core competencies and 69 ECE teacher-specific competencies stipulated in this document. **Table 6** presents a sample of these core and ECE specific competencies.

Domain/core Competencies	**ECE Teacher Competencies**
• Pedagogic domain • Good mastery of learners' characteristics, including their physical, moral, social, cultural, emotional, and intellectual aspects	• Understanding learners' characteristics related to their physical, intellectual, socio-emotional, moral, and socio-cultural background • Capable of identifying leaners' potentials of various developmental areas • Capable of identifying learners' early abilities in various developmental areas • Capable of identifying learners' learning difficulties in various developmental areas
• Good mastery learning theory and educative learning principles	• Understanding various learning theories and the principle of learning through play and its application in various developmental domains • Applying various approaches, strategies, methods, and play-based techniques in a way that is meaningful, authentic, and holistic in various developmental domains
• Professional domain • Good mastery of structure, concepts, and scientific framework that support the subjects to be taught	• Good mastery of basic concepts of mathematics, natural science, language, social science, religion, physical education, and health and nutrition as a means of fostering each domain of child development • Good mastery of various toys that facilitate children's development of physical, cognitive, social-emotional, moral, cultural, and linguistic aspects • Good mastery of various children's games and play
• Developing learning materials creatively	• Selecting developmental stimulation materials in a way that corresponds to children's stage of development

	• Preparing (*mengolah*) developmental stimulation materials in a way that corresponds to children's stage of development

Table 6. Sample of teacher standard

As **Table 6** shows, the pedagogic competency domain is about teachers' knowledge of children and the professional competency domin is about teachers' mastery of instructional knowledge and skills. As the table further shows, both these competency domains equally stress the developmental approach to children as indicated not only by mentioning the term "development" (*pengembangan* and *perkembangan*) but also by the emphasis on the use of play as the vehicle of learning. Accordingly, in terms of their pedagogic skills, good teachers are defined as the ones with a solid knowledge of children's physical, moral, social, cultural, emotional, and intellectual development. Likewise, in terms of their professional competency, good teachers are those who are able to design and implement learning and instructional activities that match with childrens' stages of development.

At a glance, the use of developmental knowledge to approach early childhood education and early childhood teaching looks normal and acceptable. Developmentalism has been the dominant, global discourse of early childhood education (Blaise, 2005; Charlesworth, 1998; MacNaughton, 2005; Soto & Swadener, 2002). Indeed, as discussed in the section on international players in Chapter 1, Indonesia received significant international financial support through which developmentalist ideas were channelled into the country's early childhood education policy and practice. A closer look at this developmentalist orientation, however, will leave a big question around the role and function of teachers. Constructed as developmentally sensitive or stimulating, a good teacher therefore functions no more widely than to foster children's development in its limited sense as developmental tasks. Reliance on developmentalism, as I have discussed elsewhere (Formen & Nuttall, 2014) is understandable, since it came as part of the aid the Indonesian education sector received from its global partners. However, to make it a core ingredient of the construction of the good teachers is undoubtedly dangerous. Over-reliance on the narrow, uncritical, developmentalist thoughts potentially excludes openness and sensitivity to such issues as social equality, social justice, and democracy (Soto & Swadener, 2002). The omnipresence of developmentalism has been proven to discard such issues as national identity and national unity from the image and roles of the good teachers. They are not even present in the *Teacher standard* section on early childhood educators.

Pedagogue with Multiple Incomes

The third feature of professional teachers is related to their remuneration. Since the initial driving force for the post-Reformasi teacher professionalisation was teachers' poor financial welfare, the issue of income occupies much room across policy documents.

Four different terms are used to refer to teachers' wages: 'income' (*penghasilan* and *pendapatan*), 'allowance' (*tunjangan*), 'salary' (*gaji*), and 'additional benefits' (*maslahat tambahan*). The centrality of the issue of income is also apparent through its consistent mentions in the policy documents, despite the fact that various policy documents are specifically published to regulate teacher income (DONE, 2007e; 2008b; GOI, 2009). The *Teachers' law* uses the term 'income' (*pendapatan* or *penghasilan*) in 17 places, 'allowance' in 53 places 'salary' in 23 places, and 'additional benefits' in 13 places. Further, the *Teacher regulation* mentions the term 'income' in four places, 'allowance' in 69 places, 'salary' in 5 places, and 'benefit' in 31 places . This fact goes far beyond the use of similar terms, for example, in the education law where 'income' and 'salary' appear only once and twice, respectively (GOI, 2003b, Article 40; Article 49).

> Income is the right given to teachers…in the form of financial remuneration for the performance of their professional duties…and reflects the dignity of the teacher…as a professional educator (GOI, 2005b, Article 1: 16).

> Income above the minimum living requirement…shall cover [1] the base salary, [2] the allowance attached to salary, and other income in the forms of [3] professional allowances, [4] functional allowances, [5] special allowances, and [6] additional benefits related to teacher duties (GOI, 2005b, Article 15: 1).

Professionally certified teachers deserve a professional allowance (*tunjangan profesi*). By regulation, its amount is equal to the monthly base salary for the government-employed teachers and IDR 1,500,000.00 for the private ones (DONE, 2007e; DONE, 2008b; GOI, 2009; MOF, 2010). The *Teachers' law* defines it as an "allowance given to teachers who has a [professional] educator certificate (*sertifikat pendidik*) in appreciation of their professionalism (*profesionalitas*)" (GOI, 2005b, Addenda Article 15: 1). Thus, the allowance is given as an appreciation of teachers' professional performance (*profesionalitas*, professionalism). In practice, it is given to teachers with professional certificates, thereby blurring its essence as a tool to govern teachers' professional behaviours and performance. Another potential danger of

this system is that it provokes social jealousy between those who have not been certified and those who have. Further, this system will sooner or later scale down the meaning of professional certification, from the original quality improvement tool to merely steps on a ladder towards a better income.

As these three portrayals of the good and professional teachers have shown, the post-Reformasi standardisation discourse has enabled teachers' status improvement. Yet, the introduction of this new notion of the good teachers is not without risk. The image of the professional teachers, which tends to be simplified into teachers with formal qualifications, potentially reduces the essence of professionalism. Although teacher standardisation is propagated to improve teacher quality (Jalal et al., 2009), an initial study found no significant correlation between the two (Fahmi, Maulana, & Yusuf, 2011). This happened, as will be discussed in the next sections, because of the unreliable, reductionist teacher preparation and development system.

The Making of the Professional Teachers: Qualification Acquisition

This final section is devoted to discussing the paths through which Indonesian teachers are made professional. As discussed in the section above, by law, professional teachers are characterised mainly by their academic qualification and professional certification.

By regulation, a minimum academic qualification for a teacher is either a four-year diploma or an undergraduate degree (GOI, 2005a). Therefore, a teacher candidate must enrol in a university-based early childhood teacher course. There are two enrolment paths into the course: national university entry examination and university independent entry examination. **Table 7** presents a list of academic loads of an undergraduate early childhood teacher education (DONE, Department of National Education, 2007c; GOI, 2005a). With a minimum 144 credits, by regulation a teacher candidate can complete the degree from four to seven years.

The academic year in Indonesia is divided into two semesters, each with 16 effective, face-to-face weekly meetings plus midterm and final examinations. Thus, putting aside the excellent student inputs, it goes without saying that, with this study load and duration, the production of academically qualified teachers is not a short process.

Units and Credits		Units and Credits	
1. Foundations of ECE[*]	2	32. ECE instructional strategies[*]	3
2. Drawing and paintings[*]	3	33. Educational psychology[***]	3
3. Early childhood development-1[*]	3	34. School management[***]	2
4. Introduction to music[*]	2	35. Indonesian language[***]	2
5. Statistics[***]	3	36. Character education[***]	2
6. Early childhood physical education[*]	2	37. EC music composition[**]	2
7. Anthropobiology[*]	2	38. EC mathematics and science instruction[**]	2
8. English[***]	2	39. Foreign language instruction[*]	2
9. Introduction to educational sciences[***]	2	40. EC instructional planning[*]	3
10. Religious education (based on student's belief) [***]	2	41. ECE management[*]	2
11. Early childhood dance instruction[*]	3	42. Young children behaviour modification[*]	3
12. Forming and shaping instruction[*]	3	43. Play and learning media[*]	3
13. Early childhood development-2[*]	3	44. EC learning evaluation[*]	3
14. Learning media[*]	2	45. Quantitative research methods[*]	3
15. Early childhood music and songs[*]	3	46. ECE curriculum development[*]	2
16. Health and nutrition[*]	2	47. Social studies for young children[*]	2
17. Education studies[***]	2	48. Educational toys production[*]	2
18. Pancasila (state philosophy) education[***]	2	49. Inclusion in ECE[*]	3
19. Cognitive and language stimulation[*]	3	50. Qualitative research methods[*]	3
20. Social and emotional stimulation[*]	2	51. ECE Seminar[*]	3
21. English for EC studies[*]	2	52. Family-based ECE[*]	2
22. ECE professional development[*]	2	53. Group-project exhibition[*]	3
23. Academic writing[***]	2	54. ECE specialization (based on student's interest in one of EC programs) [*]	3
24. Models of early childhood instruction[*]	2		
25. Information and communication technology[***]	2	55. Entrepreneurship education[***]	2
26. Guidance and counselling[***]	2	56. Children's rights and protection[*]	2
27. Environmental education[***]	2	57. Young children's fashions and apparels[*]	2
28. Civic education[***]	2	58. Centre-based health service & promotion[*]	2
29. Children growth detection and analysis[*]	3	59. Internship-1 (centre observation)[*]/[***]	2
30. Moral and religious stimulation[*]	3	60. Internship 2 (teaching practice)[*]/[***]	4
31. Physical-motor development stimulation[*]	2	61. Community service[***]	4
		62. Final project (undergraduate thesis) [*]/[***]	6

Total credits: 154 [*]: ECE-focused, [**]: elective units, [***]: compulsory units required by national/university policy

Source: My undergraduate program curriculum, available with authorized access on akademik.unnes.ac.id

Table 7. ECE teacher education undergraduate program curriculum

In 2008, MONE released a shortcut for under-qualified teachers to enhance their qualifications. The policy was the "recognition of job experience and prior learning" (*pengakuan terhadap pengalaman kerja dan hasil belajar sebelumnya*) (DONE, 2008a), which was developed based on the practice of recognition of prior learning (RPL) (Harris, Van Kleef, & Wihak, 2014). Under this shortcut mechanism, teachers' prior experience and learning can be recognised as equivalent to a maximum 65% of the total credits (approximately 93 credits) of the undergraduate course, with the remaining 35% to be done through the regular path. The logic of this scheme can be summarised as follows: as the normal study-loads are reduced the duration needed to obtain the degree is shortened, thereby increasing the qualified teacher numbers (Asosiasi LPTK Indonesia, 2009). In this procedure, in-service teachers are required to prepare a portfolio document reflecting their prior work experience and formal learning and to submit it to the assigned teacher education providers. In 2009, MONE appointed at least 28 institutes (DONE, 2009a) as the hubs of this scheme. Under the assessment of the teacher

training provider, each individual or set of individual experiences and prior learnings are converted into and equalised with particular unit-courses of the undergraduate program, scored, and rated.

Based on my observation when I was involved in the creation of the RPL scheme, at least three critical issues were identified. First, the absence of a common platform of equalisation and conversion of teachers' prior experience and learning with the existing unit-course. With the lack of common platform, prior experiences of different teachers might be rated and converted differently. Second, the scheme is often incompatible with the training provider's internal academic regulation. Ideally, the participants in this program are admitted as full-time students of the training provider in order to take the remaining, un-converted courses. Nonetheless, in most cases, the training provider has no regulation that enables their admission. Third, the scheme potentially downgrades the essence of quality improvement. This mechanism undoubtedly increases qualified teacher statistics. Its shortcut nature, however, potentially could lead to it ignoring the quality academic process, which is indeed the very essence of qualification improvement.

To further accelerate the meeting of minimum qualification targets, MONE created new undergraduate educational courses specifically devoted for in-service teachers (DONE, 2008a). At least 15 teacher education institutions in 12 provinces were assigned to deliver the program (DONE, 2009a). This scheme partially adopted the recognition of a prior learning (RPL) system. However, unlike the pure RPL system, which does not necessarily guarantee in-service teachers' enrolment into the course, this path is more promising. Within this path, and before the RPL process, in-service teachers are registered as students. Nonetheless, the implementation of this model might run the risk of decreasing the assigned teacher education institute's internal quality standard. The opening of new courses, for example, would increase lecturers' teaching loads, while decreasing their research commitment, on the one hand, and increasing the student-lecturer ratio on the other hand. It is assumed that smaller the ratio the better the lecturer-student academic interaction, and therefore, the more likely it is for a course to be accredited and/or given operational permit extension. MONE was seemingly aware of these trade-offs, and therefore, the DGHE (2010) released a letter of dispensation which confirmed that the new courses and their students would be excluded from the "requirement of the course permit extension and accreditation" in order to make student-lecturer ratio look acceptable.

The multiple paths to teacher qualification presented above may represent the Indonesian government's ambition of creating as many, and as quick as possible, formally qualified teachers. These paths, however, do not offer to the teacher candidates a clear message about what is going to make them a professional other than an academic degree-certificate at the end of the course. To put it more frankly, in the light of Englund's (1996) differentiation of 'professionalisation' and 'professionalism', what values, knowledge, and skills does the undergraduate program truly offer to foster teachers' professionalism?

Table 7 presents the unit-courses that teacher candidates take during their academic training. In line with the developmental image of the professional teachers, the unit courses at the undergraduate training are also oriented towards developmental knowledge. Of the 62 unit-courses, about one-third (22) represent the developmental approach to children and some clearly mirror the traditional areas of developmental psychology—physical-motor, cognitive, social, emotional, and linguistic developmental domains.

Since its inception in 2007, no formal, comprehensive assessment was seemingly made about whether or not the existing undergraduate program curriculum corresponded with the *Teacher standard* (DONE, 2007c), and most critically, with the goals of teacher reform and early childhood sector development in general. What seems clear however, as **Table 8** shows, that a number of units such as *EC mathematics and science instruction* and *Social studies for young children*, which represent some points of teacher professional competencies (DONE, 2007c), are in fact offered as elective units. This situation indicates a mismatch and disjuncture between the expected teacher quality and the contents of their academic preparation. The same happens to other elective units: *Early childhood centre-based health promotion* and *Children's rights and protection* units. These units are supposed to convey the national vision for holistic-integrative early childhood education and development (Directorate of ECE, 2011; GOI, 2013b; MONDP, 2013). In short, there is a disconnection between teacher minimum competency as mandated by the regulation and the competencies that are taught in their academic preparation program.

The Making of Professional Teachers: Professional Certification

The second element that defines teacher professional status is professional competency, proven by the ownership of a teaching professional certificate (*Sertifikat Pendidik*) (GOI, 2005a, Article 29). The process toward the granting of this certificate is called *sertifikasi*

(certification). Introduced initially in the 2003 Education law (GOI, 2003b, Article 42: 1; Article 43: 2), the first teacher certification was carried out in 2007 when the certification mechanism had undergone various, complex changes. This section provides an overview of these mechanisms and, with respect to the goal of certification to improve teacher quality, the developmental experience they offer to teachers. Given its complexity, the review of teacher professional certification in this section is limited to three mechanisms, namely teachers' portfolio assessment, professional remedial training, and professional education.

Teacher's Portfolio Assessment

The first certification mechanism is portfolio assessment. The teachers' portfolio is a document that reflects the highest academic qualification, education and training experience, teaching experience, instructional planning and its implementation, peer assessment by the principal and supervisor, academic achievement, professional development works, participation in scientific forums, engagement in educational or social organizations, and relevant awards (DONE, 2007d). The passing grade of the assessment is set at 850 (57%) of the maximum score of 1500 (DGHE & DGQITEP, 2007, p. 6). **Table 8** shows the scoring distribution of each of the portfolio components, with academic qualification as the highest score.

Components	Score
Qualification and main duties	
Academic qualification	525
Training & courses	200
Teaching experience	160
Professional development	
Lesson plans and its delivery	160
Peer assessment	50
Academic achievement	160
Professional development works	85
Supporting component	
Participation in scientific forum	62
Membership of education/social organisation	48
Award relevant to education	50
Total	1500

Table 8. Portfolio score of component distribution

The portfolio assessment is the quickest certification path, developed mainly for in-service teachers with many long years of experience and undergraduate background. In this mechanism, the candidates are only required to prepare the documents representing the ten

elements listed in **Table 9**, and then submit them to the assigned LPTK to the assigned universities (DONE, 2007a; DGHE, 2007) through the district education office. No formal, face-to-face improvement courses—on professional knowledge, skills, and attitude as the *Teacher standard*'s (DONE, 2007c) term 'kompetensi' indicates—are carried out. The better and more relevant the documents that are prepared the higher the score obtained, and therefore, the greater the likelihood of achieving the passing grade. The candidates, however, cannot themselves simply prepare and submit their documents. Their participation in certification, including in which of the available paths, is determined by district education, which is responsible for setting the local "priority list of certification participants" (*daftar urut peserta sertifikasi*) based on MONE's predetermined criteria (DGHE, 2007, p. 8).

At a glance, the portfolio mechanism is highly practical, yet many have failed in this assessment mode. The candidates might not be able to find such components in their portfolio as qualifications, lesson plans, and peer assessments, and face a significant challenge in proving and providing supporting physical documents. A number of requirements, however, given limited opportunity and access in the past for teachers to participate in areas such as training, courses, scientific forums, and professional development, are not easy to have been met. The nature of the portfolio-path, which relies solely on physical documents, however, makes every single document matter either a success or failure of the candidates. For this reason, teacher certification was often mocked as a "certificate parade", as if the more certificates the better the candidates. The decisive role of documentary proof in the portfolio-path triggered the production of fake documentation. Mismatched documents, such as a certificate of seminar attendance of a male teacher with a female photograph and vice versa, were among the "funny findings" reported in conversations between university assessors during the portfolio seasons. Rumours about fake portfolio production houses were great, albeit no deeper investigation seems to have been carried out. Of course, there should be more honest and truly professional teachers. Yet, what has been clear, according even to MONE's report, is that "fifty percent failed their first portfolio attempt" (Jalal et al., 2009, p. 77) in the first batch of portfolio-certification.

Professional Remedial Training

Those who failed in their portfolio assessment were allowed to revise and resubmit their documents for re-assessment. Once their portfolios reach the passing grade, a professional certificate is granted. In case of failure, one of the following alternatives is given:

> [1] to carry out activities relevant for professional development to complement the missing/underscored portfolio components…[2] to sit in [Remedial] Teacher Professional Education and Training (*Pendidikan dan Latihan Profesi Guru*, PLPG) concluded with [competency] test....[3] to take two remedial tests [if the candidate failed in the training]…[4] to be returned to district education office [if the candidate failed remedial tests][9] (DGQITEP, 2007, p. 4; DGHE, 2007, p. 4).

Mandated in multiple regulatory frameworks, teacher certification is not an option for the Indonesian government, but rather an obligation. Since the birth of the *National education standard* (GOI, 2005a) and *Teachers' law* (GOI, 2005b) the proportion of certified teachers has been a new national education key performance indicator, from the ministry office to the school (DONE, 2005; MONE, 2010). Thus, any presence of non-certified teachers is a statistical disgrace. The PLPG training is created to certify those who failed in their portfolio assessment. The PLPG training is a 90-hour short course that combines lectures and tutorials, workshops, teaching simulation, and a paper-based competency test. As described on **Figure 10** (DGHE, 2009, pp. 8-9) and summarised in **Table** 9, the contents of the training are developed from the undergraduate program curriculum.

LAMPIRAN 1

RAMBU-RAMBU STRUKTUR KURIKULUM
PENDIDIKAN DAN LATIHAN PROFESI GURU (PLPG)
TAMAN KANAK-KANAK

Standar Kompetensi Lulusan:

1. Memahami karakteristik peserta didik dan mampu merancang, melaksanakan, dan mengevaluasi pembelajaran yang mendidik.
2. Memiliki kepribadian yang mantap, stabil, dewasa, arif, berwibawa, dan berakhlak mulia.
3. Menguasai keilmuan dan kajian kritis pendalaman isi bidang pengembangan peserta didik (keimanan, ketaqwaan dan ahlak mulia; sosial dan kepribadian; pengetahuan dan teknologi; estetika; jasmani, olahraga dan kesehatan).
4. Mampu berkomunikasi dan bergaul dengan peserta didik, kolega dan masyarakat

No	MATERI	Teori	Praktik	Keterangan
A	UMUM			
1	*Prestest*	1		
2	Pengembangan Profesionalitas Guru	3		• Pembinaan guru profesional yang meliputi: 1. Wawasan pengembangan profesionalitas guru 2. Modeling kinerja mengajar guru yang profesional, • Proporsi waktu 2 wawasan dan 1 modeling
B	POKOK			
1	Pendalaman aspek perkembangan anak yang sesuai dengan karakteristik peserta didik (PAUD Jalur Formal) dan dapat digunakan untuk mengembangkan: • keimanan, ketaqwaan dan ahlak mulia; • sosial dan kepribadian; • pengetahuan dan teknologi; • estetika; • jasmani, olahraga dan kesehatan	8	12	Proporsi antara teori dan praktik disesuaikan dengan karakteristik aspek perkembangan peserta didik PAUD Jalur Formal
2	Model-model pembelajaran inovatif, asesmen, dan pemanfaatan media disesuaikan dengan karakteristik perkembangan peserta didik PAUD Jalur Formal yang mengacu pada rencana pelaksanaan pembelajaran (RPP)	10	12	Proporsi antara teori dan praktik disesuaikan dengan karakteristik program pembelajaran
3	Penelitian Tindakan Kelas (PTK) dan Penulisan Karya Ilmiah lainnya.	4	6	Praktik penyusunan rancangan PTK untuk perbaikkan pembelajaran berdasarkan hasil refleksi pembelajaran
4	Pelaksanaan pembelajaran (*peer teaching*)		30	• Satu kelas (lebih kurang 30 peserta), dibuat 3 kelompok dan dilaksanakan secara paralel • Tiap peserta tampil 3 kali @ 1 JP • Tampilan ke-3 merupakan ujian praktik
C	UJIAN			
1	Tulis	4		
2	Praktik		*)	
	Jumlah JP	30	60	

Catatan:
- Pembinaan dan pengembangan kompetensi kepribadian dan sosial guru terintegrasi dalam kegiatan PLPG
- *) Sudah terintegrasi di B.4
- Ujian akhir harus dapat memastikan bahwa peserta telah memenuhi standar kompetensi sebagaimana yang dimaksud dalam Undang-undang Nomor 14 Tahun 2005 tentang Guru dan Dosen serta Permendiknas Nomor 16 Tahun 2007 tentang Standar Kualifikasi Akademik dan Kompetensi Guru.

8 Rambu-rambu Pelaksanaan Pendidikan dan Latihan Profesi Guru (PLPG)

Rambu-rambu Pelaksanaan Pendidikan dan Latihan Profesi Guru (PLPG) 9

Figure 10. The PLPG training menu

[9] The district education office would resend unsuccessful candidates to the later batch of certification. It was common to find a cohort of certification whose participants were mostly those who had failed at least once in the previous assessment. With this situation, as an assessor I often heard from the early sessions of the training that participants requested to be helped to pass (*mohon dibantu lulus*) the final competency test.

Since 2009, PLPG has been the main path of teacher certification, especially for the preschool level. Training contents have changed several times since then (**Table 9**), although the proportion of 30:60 or 40:50 of theory-practicum ratio is maintained. These changes reflect content development from being initially generic to more specific, a change which may reflect improvement in the providers' readiness.

Unit-courses/duration		
2007	**2010**	**2013***
• Pre-test (1) • Teacher professional development policy (1) • Enrichment-tutorials on children's developmental areas that lay the base to foster the development of religious faith, piety and good character, social and personality, knowledge and technology, aesthetics, physical, sports and health (T:P= 8:12) • Models of innovative instruction, learning assessment, and learning media, adapted to the characteristic of kindergarten learners based on lesson plans (T:P=10:12) • Classroom action research and/or other scientific writing (T:P=4:6) • Peer teaching (30) • Final exam (4)	• Teacher professionalisation policy (4) • Basic concept of ECE (3) • Young children's development (7) • Young children's basic abilities stimulation (9) • Methods of behaviour stimulation (5) • Innovative teaching and learning (7) • Media and learning resources (6) • Young children's development evaluation (5) • Classroom action research (CAR) tutorial (5) • CAR proposal writing (5) • Lesson planning & peer teaching (30) • Paper-based post-test (4)	• Paper-based pre-test (4) • Teacher professionalisation policy (4) • Information on Curriculum 2013 (4) • Basic concept of ECE (5) • Physical-motor development stimulation (3) • Cognitive-linguistic development stimulation (4) • Moral-religious development stimulation (4) • Plays and toys (6) • Curriculum 2013 teaching strategies (3) • Curriculum analysis (3) • Curriculum 2013 learning assessment (2) • Classroom action research (CAR) tutorial (2) • CAR proposal writing (6) • Curriculum 2013 lesson plans workshop (20) • Peer teaching (20)

Total time slots: 90 hours @ 50 minutes, number in bracket indicates each session duration. *: Final exam was excluded from the 90 hours. T: theory, P: practice/practicum

Table 9. PLPG curriculum structure and contents

The PLPG training by design aims to improve teachers' existing competencies and abilities in a way that would enable them to meet the minimum-normal requirements mandated by the teacher regulations (DGHE & DGQITEP, 2007). The following are the expected competency outputs of the training.

> [at the end of the training teachers are able to] (1) understand learners' characteristics, and prepare, implement, and evaluate meaningful instructional design; (2) show stable, mature, and wise personality and good character; (3) master scientific/theoretical bases of the contents of student developmental stimulation domains (religious belief, piety,

> and good character, social and personality, knowledge and technology, aesthetics, physical, sports and health); and, (4) communicate and relate effectively with learners, colleagues and community[10] (DGHE, 2009, p. 8; 2010, p. 13).

In all sessions of the training, participants are closely observed, especially during workshops and peer teaching. In peer teaching, they are expected to perform 24 pedagogical behaviours, ranging from 'giving adequate apperception' in the pre-instruction stage, 'stimulating student engagement' throughout the instruction to 'providing instruction follow-up alternatives' at the end of instruction. Each of these 24 behaviours is ranked from 1 (very low) to 5 (excellent). Observation and surveillance play an even more pivotal role, as no special training course is allocated to foster teachers' personal and social competency domains. **Figure 11**, taken from (DGHE, 2009), portrays teachers' behaviours that must be observed and scored.

Figure 11. Observation sheets (*above*), habituation and peer judgement sheet (*below*)

[10] Regardless of this competency, the PLPG training does not provide the candidates opportunities to communicate with "real" learners, work-partners, and communities.

As **Table 9** illustrates, the training unit-courses represent mainly the pedagogical and professional teacher competencies. This raises a question in relation to the other two required teacher competencies, namely personal and social competencies, which are part of the four expected training outputs quoted above (DGHE, 2009; 2010). The PLPG training guides suggest that the social and personal competency development is integrated into the overall training administration and interaction between the participants and the assessors/training provider and among participants (DGHE, 2009; 2010; 2012). A well-organised training, as these guides illustrate, will enable the participants to observe and therefore absorb the ideas of order, teamwork, and commitment of the training provider and the staff. More specifically, the training manuals suggest two ways of stimulation: habituation and peer judgement (**Figure 11**).

Teachers' behaviour habituation and formation are performed in various ways, which involve direct instruction, control, and reinforcement. This habituation includes not only their behaviour towards others but also their self-physical presentation and appearance. On this matter, a PLPG manual book suggests:

> The behaviour habituation [in order to make] the teachers [a subject] imbued with personal and social competencies is conducted by the participants constantly being reminded orally or through written media placed in the training venue that they must dress neatly, behave politely, as well as be able to cooperate [with other participants]. In addition, the participants are informed that they would be assessed too by their fellow participants, of their personal and social competencies (DGHE, 2010, p. 22).

The above quote describes how teachers' expected attitudes and behaviours should be formed during the training. In practice, however, only oral reminders are used during the training, as most of them are held outside university venues, such as hotels. Written, printed media placed in the training venues consists mainly of information on training schedules and participants' grouping. With this situation, and since no special session on personal and social competencies is provided for, the development of these two competencies, and therefore their assessment, falls entirely to the training provider, and more specifically, to the assessors on duty. The following notes might give a snapshot of the training.

> *2010 PLPG Season, Central Java Regional Board of Human Resources Development centre.*
>
> In the classroom, a set of chair and desk was allocated for me. About thirty participants

> are seated neatly on their chair with their hands folded on the table. All wore black and white outfits, a typical attire to signal newbies in Indonesia. In fact, some of them were old teachers.
>
> A participant stood up when I was about to hand over the attendance list to the candidate sitting close to my desk. She signalled, 'Raise! Greet!' A loud choir filed the entire class. This ritual was typically performed simply for the participants to say 'good morning' or 'good afternoon' to assessor.
>
> The next few minutes, the class was noisy. Some participants asked me to introduce myself, asked me many things—name, phone number, marital status, and numbers of children. I heard some of them laughed and asked how many wives I have and was I still "available". I had delivered numerous trainings, some with hundreds of participants. But those questions kept puzzling me. I was told that with those questions, participants wanted the "SERSAN"—'*SERrius tapi SANtai*' (serious but relaxing)—atmosphere.
>
> In the later PLPG trainings, when possible, I played short movies during the icebreaking stage. Of which, my favourite was Ferdinand Dimadura's *Chicken a la carte*, a story about a family's fight against hunger. Some parts of the movie represent multiple aspects of a child's life and development considerably relevant for the training-units I lectured.
>
> I found this strategy was effective to make the class more "serious" than *santai*.
>
> Having presented some slides, I asked the participants if they had questions or comments. This part of the lecture was the most critical ritual, both for me and for the participants, as it is the time for me to observe and score them. Whenever a participant raised her or his hand, I asked his or her name. Later I knew that they were briefed to sit in sequence, based on their registration number—a classroom management that would ease the assessors to score them quickly. After some questions and answer, I ticked some names on my sheets. A number of faces in front of me looked relieved; I guessed they knew what my gesture meant for them.
>
> **My personal notes**

As last **Figure 11** shows, each candidate should assess his/herself and their fellow participants. The 2009 PLPG manual book for example suggests the self-evaluation and peer judgement mechanism as follows:

> To assess teacher [personal and social] competencies, the class could be divided into groups, each with 10 participants (peer group). Each participant is asked to rank these participants. Each rank could be occupied only by a participant. Participants are assessed based on the following items: discipline (obedience to follow the rule),

> appearance (neatness and appropriateness), good manner, ability to cooperate, ability to communicate, commitment, role-model worthiness, spirit, empathy, [and] responsibility…Rank your colleagues based on their performance [as you had observed] while participated in this PLPG. [If you put your colleague in] Rank-1, it means that this participant is the best in the aspect you are assessing [and therefore]…give a score of 100 [to this participant]; rank-2 is to be given a score of 90 and so on…(DGHE, 2009, pp. 22-23).

To succeed in the PLPG training, participants have to pass the minimum score. The minimum passing grade (*skor akhir kelulusan*, SAK) of the training is 70, yet with two additional conditions where the written and practicum examination scores cannot be lower than 60 (DGHE, 2009, p. 27; 2010, p. 33). **Figure 12** shows the 2009 and 2010 remedial training scoring formula, which combined the portfolio assessment score (SPF) and PLPG score (SAP), as PLPG was initially designed to accommodate those who had failed in the portfolio assessment (DGHE, 2009; 2010). The final training score consists of four main score components taken from written test, practicum examination, engagement in tutorial and practicum, and peer judgement. The maximum score of each of these four is 100. This scoring formula, however, has changed several times, from 2011 onwards, with the exclusion of the portfolio component and/or addition of new score components (BECHRD-EQA, 2014; DGHE, 2012).

a. Skor Akhir Kelulusan (SAK) dirumuskan sebagai berikut.

$$SAK = \frac{80SAP + 20SPF}{100} \quad \text{......... (1)}$$

Keterangan

SAK : Skor Akhir Kelulusan
SAP : Skor Akhir PLPG
SPF : Skor Portofolio, diperoleh dari skor hasil penilaian portofolio dibagi 10.

$$SAP = \frac{35SUT + 40SUP + 10SP + 15SS}{100} \quad \text{......... (2)}$$

Keterangan

SAP : Skor Akhir PLPG
SUT : Skor Ujian Tulis (Skor maks 100)
SUP : Skor Ujian Praktik Pembelajaran (skor maks 100)
SP : Skor Partisipasi dalam teori dan praktik pembelajaran (maks 100)
SS : Jumlah Skor dari sejawat (skor maks 100)

b. Peserta dinyatakan Lulus apabila SAK ≥ 70,00 dengan SUT tidak boleh kurang dari 60,00 dan SUP tidak boleh kurang dari 70,00.

c. Apabila SAK belum mencapai skor 70,00 dikarenakan SPF rendah, maka peserta dapat mengikuti ujian tulis dan/atau ujian praktik ulang untuk meningkatkan SAP.

Figure 12. The 2009/2010 remedial training scoring formula

Teachers who are certified through PLPG training have equal entitlement to the professional allowance. Seen through this lens, both certification lines are naturally high-stake, as they determine the fate of the teachers' future careers. Given teachers' poor payment as mentioned in the earlier section, the high-stake nature of certification has created pressure on the side of teachers, a situation that essentially contradicts the goal of remedial training being a space for professional learning.

My involvement in the training from 2008 to 2014 has allowed me to directly observe the PLPG training process. Given the high-stake nature of the training, as with the portfolio-path, it was not difficult to find the fraudulent practice in its sessions. If in the portfolio-path the candidates submitted the fake supporting documents, in the PLPG training, the candidates often brought their pre-developed lesson plans and research plan documents, which actually should be produced while they are in the training. Occasionally, teachers were found to have disguised their fraud by bringing their pre-developed products written in pencil, which they would then overwrite in pen during the training sessions.[11] This cheating behaviour may well be due to the nature and design of the training itself. The PLPG training is designed as a uniform training for all teachers. Therefore, it denies the complexity and diversity of teachers' individual needs for professional learning. Some of the participants, due to their age or health, for example, suffered from severe hand-tremors that made it impossible for them to write properly. Others suffered from diabetes, which they admitted made them fall asleep easily in the sessions and even in the final test. Yet, in spite of all this, they were required to produce a set of hand-written lesson plans, not to mention a set of classroom action research proposals. To complicate the situation, this group of teachers often had to compete with the younger, healthier, and not necessarily well-experienced teachers. Entrapped in such an unjust and emotionally insecure environment, it is not surprising that cheating behaviour emerged. In fact, the *Teachers law* (GOI, 2005b) mandates that teacher development must be carried out in a way which is "democratic, just, non-discriminatory and highly respects the human rights" (Article 7: 2).

With these poor conditions for carrying out the training, it was quite understandable if the public queried the impact of the PLPG training and certification, in general, on teachers and education quality. There is no specific, large-scale study about the program impacts among early childhood educators. A study by Fahmi, Maulana, and Yusuf (2011), which focused its

[11] In the latter trainings, I was equipped with the training ink-seal, with which I moved from one participant to another to stamp and legalise the papers they used during the practicum sessions.

analysis on the primary level, did however, find that professional certification and a salary increase that followed did not make significant changes, overall, in teachers and education quality. A report from the World Bank (Ree, Al-Samarrai, & Iskandar, 2012) highlights the same findings. The ministry was seemingly aware of the fact that such criticisms might emerge. In response, the MONE launched a new regulation that added a new pre-requirement of teacher certification: Teachers Competency Examination (TCE, *Uji Kompetensi Guru*, UKG) (MOEC, 2012b). The test is defined as "the cognitive domain assessment of teachers' mastery of professional and pedagogical competencies [used]…to determine…professional development activities (MOEC, 2012b, Article 1: 1) and was introduced as a new requirement on a changed path to certification" (**Figure 13**).

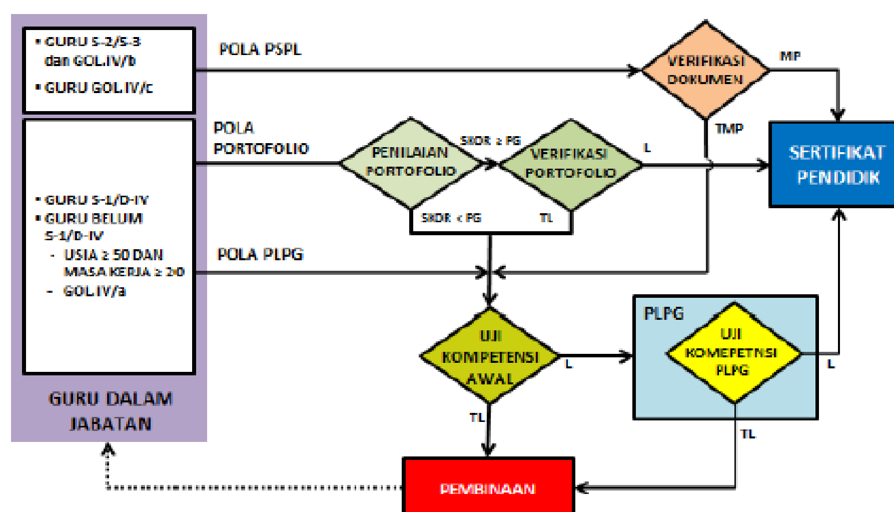


Figure 13. New remedial training certification mechanism with TCE component

As **Figure 13** shows according to the new mechanism (DGHE, 2012), teachers have to pass through two diagnosing tools in order to be certified, one prior to the training and the other as the post-test of the PLPG training. The addition of the new component makes the training even more high-stake, considering that all activities in the remedial training, as the previous sections have shown, are essentially diagnostic in nature. MONE, however, did not clearly specify the reasons that justified the introduction of the TCE test as well as its use as a prerequisite of participation in the PLPG remedial training. Nor did it establish the passing grade teachers had to achieve in order for them to be assigned to the training. In 2013, MONE clarified the "philosophical, theoretical-pedagogical, and social-empirical" reasons of TCE.

…teachers receive special appreciation and allowance. Consequently, there must be

> balance between their competencies and the appreciation and allowance they receive. Teachers professional development can only be done effectively if it is based on teacher competency map…A teacher professional development without empirical evidence of teachers competencies would make the efforts for continuous professional development, in the form of teacher trainings, losing its focus (BECHRD-EQA, 2013, pp. 5-7).

The TCE introduction in 2012 indicates that after half a decade of its implementation, teacher certification/professionalisation has not developed a robust and reliable model. MONE's arguments, which at first sight seem to underline the value of teacher's individual maps of competency quoted above, actually undermine the previous certification programs, by indicating that they were empirically baseless. In fact, after the introduction of TCE and the capturing of individual teacher's competency maps, PLPG trainings continued to be delivered through a one-size-fits-all manner. No single PLPG training manual that was published after the introduction of the TCE test (DGHE, 2014; 2015; 2012) suggested that the professional learning and development approach should be customised based on each of the individual in-service teacher's characteristics and needs.

It has been more than a decade since the 2005 Teachers law was launched. The Law stipulates that by ten-years after its enactment, all underqualified and uncertified in-service teachers should hold the minimum qualification and own a professional certificate. Had the Law been effectively enforced by 2015, there would not be any uncertified in-service teachers and no more PLPG trainings allocated for them. MOEC (2015b), however, calculated that at least 300,000 in-service teachers, who had started their teaching jobs in 2006 and beyond, do not hold a professional certificate. In response, MOEC has undertaken to give the PLPG training a longer future. A recent MOEC regulation states that the PLPG training will be available until 2019 and the post-TCE training until 2021 (MOEC, 2016, Article 2).

As this section has shown, the PLPG training has run for a decade. Throughout its implementation it has undergone a number of changes. This raises the question of whose interests the PLPG trainings have truly served: those of the teachers, as it should be and has been loudly publicised, or those of others. Over the same period, the training has been delivered as an additional, yet unavoidable assignment attached to teacher education institutes, which in turn, doubled their academic teaching loads. While it did come with financial benefits for the institutions, such as an extra burden limiting their opportunity for quality preparation of both

their basic teaching assignment at their home department and their additional assignment as an assessor. Extra teaching loads could also limit the time for meaningful reflection on their academic and professional practice in general. As a rough calculation, a batch of PLPG training consists of at least four classes of participants. On average, this would give the assessor an additional five teaching hours per day during the weekdays of the PLPG seasons[12]. What is exacerbating the situation is that most trainings are delivered off-campus, and therefore, require another extra travel time.

When combined, all these situations—continuously changing training procedures, part-time if not even half-hearted university-based professional developers, exhausting training sessions—lead to a question as to whether or not this ten-day and ninety-hour training is sufficient and reliable enough to produce professional teachers. The TCE should help answer this question. However, as the Directorate General of Teachers and Education Personnel (DGTEP) (2015), reported, from 2012 to 2014, the average national TCE score was only 46.55 of 100. More specifically, of the 170,844 preschool teachers examined only 67,847 (39.71%) teachers were scored at 50 and below and only 455 (0.26%) were scored at 80 and above.

Teachers' Professional Education

This section provides an overview of the development of Teachers' Professional Education (TPE). Generally speaking, and based on their inputs, the TPE programs can be classified into two major groups: those for the in-service teachers and those for the pre-service ones. This section begins with a general overview of the TPE policy then proceeds to describe the three aspects of TPE: inputs, contents and curriculum, and learning system.

From the inception of teacher professionalisation in 2007, the government introduced the idea of TPE. The Teachers' law's (GOI, 2005b) provided a definition of "profession". It states that profession is a "work or activity undertaken by a person…that requires expertise, skill, or capability…and…professional education" (Article 1: 4).

It seems there was no definite legal definition available when the demand for teachers' professional status and the consequent need for a specific professional emerged around the early 2000s. Informal and formal conversations about professional education tended to

[12] Rough calculation based on my own 2013 PLPG training schedule. The training involved 26 assessors and 616 session hours. The extra five teaching hours were obtained by excluding the 240-hour peer teaching sessions and their 12 responsible assessors, as they were held in the weekend.

associate this with the existing medical doctor and/or lawyer professional training. The only legal reference available was a descriptive provision in the 2003 *Education law*'s on higher education, which state that "higher education can organise academic, professional, and/or vocational [education] program" (GOI, 2003b, Article 20: 3). A decade later, the provision was reconfirmed and detailed in the *Higher education law* (GOI, 2012). It defines professional education as a line of "higher education above the undergraduate program that prepares its participants for job that requires special expertise" (Article 17: 1).

From 2007 to 2016, MONE published four regulations on TPE. Two documents regulating in-service TPE were published in 2007 and 2010 and another two for the pre-service TPE were published in 2009 and 2013. The later documents revoked the older documents. **Table 10** summarises the general features of each of these regulations.

Inputs Criterion			
2007 MER 40/2007*)	**2010 MER 9/2010***	**MER 8/2009**)**	**MER 87/2013**)**
• Teachers with undergraduate and/or four-year diploma background • Achievement and excellence (award) • Passed the selection test	• Teachers with bachelor/ 4-year diploma • Teachers with mismatched bachelor/4-year diploma (e.g. a teacher with civil engineering major)	• Bachelor degree ECE • Bachelor degree in non-EC educational studies • Non-educational bachelor/4-year relevant disciplines • Non-educational bachelor/4-year diploma holders in cognate disciplines • Bachelor degree holders in psychology	
Curriculum Structure and Assessment			
• Two semesters maximum • LPTKs to develop curriculum	• Subject specific pedagogy (SSP) including competency standard, contents and materials, strategy, method, media, and evaluation and field practice		
	• Study loads determined based on participant academic qualification: bachelor in ECE (18 to 20 credits); bachelor in non-ECE (36 to 40 credits); bachelor in psychology (36 to 40) credits • Competency test, written and performance-based, executed by TPE provider after successful completion of SSP workshops and field practice • Performance test carried out in collaboration with professional association • LPTK grants educator certificate to successful participants		
			Professional title Gr. (Guru) granted to successful participants, placed behind their names

MER: Minister of National Education regulation
*): Regulation on in-service teachers
**): Regulation on pre-service teachers

Table 10. General features of TPE across policy documents

MONE introduced its first TPE policy in 2007. As for the teacher professionalisation framework, the TPE policy was aimed at fulfilling the government's political commitment to teachers. Its preamble states that the government shall not halt the teacher certification program amid the absence of the legal framework mandated in the Teachers' law (DONE, 2007f, Preamble a). This regulation highlighted TPE as one of the certification paths, in addition to portfolio assessment and remedial training. MONE defines TPE as:

> education program offered to prepare [in-service] teachers in order for them to master comprehensive teacher competencies as required by national education standard and thereby they could obtain educator certificate (DONE, 2007f, Article 1).

To support this new mechanism, MONE assigned 34 teacher education institutes to open the new professional courses (DONE, 2007b). None, however, offered early childhood and/or preschool TPE, even though the regulation clearly mentioned early childhood teachers among the prospective participants in the proposed TPE. This was presumably due to the fact that until 2007 only one undergraduate program in early childhood education was available, that of the Jakarta State University. In addition, by regulation, only teacher education providers with an undergraduate program identical with the proposed TPE were eligible to do so.

As an alternative certification path, the first TPE was seemingly more challenging, both in terms of its requirements and duration (**Table 10**). The regulation stipulates (DONE, 2007f, Article 2) that only teachers with excellent achievement could participate in this path, and even if they met that requirement, they had to face two screenings by the regional education office and the LPTK. No less challenging were the two semesters they had to go through in order to be certified, of course with the risk of failure, as compared with the 10-day and 90-hour PLPG training.

As the number of undergraduate programs in early childhood education increased by the end of 2008, the first TPE regulation for the pre-service teachers was launched in 2009 (DONE, 2009c). Unlike the 2007 in-service TPE regulation, the new regulation included early childhood education as part of the proposed-TPE. It defines TPE as:

> education program offered to prepare the graduates of educational and non-educational undergraduate or four-year diploma programs with aptitude and interest in becoming a teacher in order for them to master comprehensive teacher competencies as required by national education standard and thereby they could obtain educator professional

certificate in early childhood education, primary education, or intermediate education (DONE, 2009c, Article 1: 2)

In addition to including early childhood education in its definition of TPE, the new regulation provided a special clause for the inputs of the proposed early childhood TPE. Unlike the other proposed TPE programs, one of the input-sources of the prospective early childhood TPE was people with degrees in psychology (DONE, 2009c, Article 6). This exception was possibly related to the limited number of holders of bachelor's degrees in early childhood education. In spite of this regulation including early childhood education, early childhood TPE was not quickly made available. A month after the pre-service TPE was released, MONE appointed 12 teacher education institutes that would organise the new TPE courses (DONE, 2009b) but no early childhood TPE was accommodated.

In 2010, MONE revoked its 2007 regulation and published a new version of its in-service TPE. This regulation was developed mainly based on the *Teachers' law* (GOI, 2005b) and *Teachers' regulation* (GOI, 2008) that stipulate the necessity of professional education in the profession. As **Table 10** shows, the 2010 regulation features a number of changes. In terms of inputs, for example, it specified its participant inputs among the mismatched teachers. By doing so, the new regulation was seemingly trying to dismiss the doubt around the value of teacher certification for its participants. Moreover, it offered a more systematic curriculum structure, similar to that regulated in the 2009 pre-service TPE regulation. The same inputs criteria and curriculum structure were later adopted in the 2013 in-service TPE regulation (MOEC, 2013b, Article 6), which also revoked the 2008 pre-service TPE regulation. A new feature of the 2013 TPE regulation is the professional title to be accorded to teachers. Under this regulation, those who are certified through the pre-service TPE mechanism would be granted the professional title Gr. (stands for Guru), which could be placed after their name (MOEC, 2013b, Article 14).

MONE/MOEC regulations, including the current 2013 version, stipulate that the TPE study loads for those with bachelor's degrees in early childhood education and between 18-20 credits. In practice currently the total study loads of the TPE programs are between 36-38 credits (**Table 11**). These total study loads are for those with a non-early childhood education background. The TPE manual published by the MORTHE, does not explain this study load expansion clearly (Directorate of Learning, 2016). Presumably, it is due to the inclusion of units on Classroom Action Research and not required in MONE/MOEC regulations. Moreover, as **Table 10** and **Table 11** show, the existing TPE curriculum, both for the in- and pre-service

teachers, does not include units that represent teachers' personal and social competencies. All units focus on the development of the pedagogical and professional teachers' competencies. There are literally no regulations on TPE that require the inclusion of social and personal competency domains.

Activities	**Credits**
Subject Specific Pedagogy/ SSP	
Semester 1	
• Preparation of lesson plan documents based on 2013 Curriculum with scientific approach and holistic-authentic assessment tool and their application in peer teaching activities of Group-approach learning	4
• Preparation of assessment tools and learning media and their application to it in Group-approach learning	3
• Preparation of lesson plan documents based on 2013 Curriculum with scientific approach and holistic-authentic assessment tools and their application in peer teaching of Area-approach	4
• Preparation of assessment tools and learning media and their application in Area-approach learning	3
• Preparation of lesson plan documents based on 2013 Curriculum with scientific approach and holistic-authentic assessment tools and their implementation in peer teaching of Centre-approach learning	4
• Preparation of assessment tools and learning media and their implementation in Centre-approach learning	3
• Class Action Research proposal development	2
Enrichment of field-practice experience	
Semester 2	
Implementation of learning tools in Kindergarten, CAR, and CAR finding seminar	15
Total credits	**38**
Group-, Area-, Centre- approaches are the three common early childhood learning sequencing in Indonesia	

Table 11. Existing TPE curriculum

In addition to the four policies presented in Table 11, MONE has also adopted a number of critical measures in support of its TPE agenda. Of these measures, two programs, namely the SM3T (*Sarjana Mendidik Daerah Terdepan, Terluar dan Tertinggal*, Pre-Service Teachers Teach in the Frontiers, Outer, and Underdeveloped Regions) and PPGT (*Pendidikan Profesi Guru Terintegrasi*, Integrated Teacher Professional Education) (DGTEP, 2015; MOEC, 2013d), are relevant for this study, since from the beginning they included early childhood TPE. MONE launched these programs for the first time in 2011 as part of the campaign of *Maju Bersama Mencerdaskan Indonesia* (Advance together educate Indonesia) (DEEP, 2011). This campaign's main concern is to help the frontier, outer, and underdeveloped areas of Indonesia improve their education performance by sending (through SM3T) and seeding

(through PPGT) prospective professional teachers. **Table 12** summarises the general features of these programs.

Program	PPGT	PPG-SM3T
General description	• Aims to overcome professional teacher shortage in the 3T areas by recruiting local prospective students to study in teacher training in the assigned institutes • This program combines academic education, leading to qualification, and professional education, leading to professional competency certification	• Aims to overcome the 3T regions' problem of qualified teacher shortage, by sending (mostly fresh) graduates of bachelor of education programs to targeted 3T regions • Program combines one-year teaching service in the 3T regions followed by TPE in the assigned institutes
Inputs	• High school graduates from the targeted 3T regions • Additional requirements include: willingness to follow education in accordance with existing regulations; willingness to be assigned in origin region that has been determined, after completion of the program; being recommended by the local government of the region of origin	• Graduates of bachelor in education program (maximum four-year after graduation) • Additional requirements include: GPA 2.75, physically healthy with no disability, proven by medical certificate; free of narcotics, psychotropic substances, and addictive substances (drugs) proven by authorized officials; good credit and well-behaved, proven by police certificate, no marital relationship and willingness not to marry during service in 3T region; able to adjust and adapt with the community of the targeted area; preferably with adequate experience of student organizations
Pre-requisite prior to TPE	• Academic undergraduate training 144-160 credits (9 semesters), candidates have to live at institutes • Dormitory as part of the personal and social competency development	• 120-hour (12-day) pre-departure training, with five main contents/activities (a) workshops on lesson planning and learning evaluation; (b) workshops on teaching and learning in specific/disadvantaged contexts; (c) mental coaching, survival and resilience; (d) community development; and (e) scouting. • Service in 3T • Post-service training prior to TPE commencement
TPE curriculum and learning system	• 36 – 38 credits (2 semesters) consisted of 60% Subject specific pedagogy workshop and 40 field practice and Classroom Action research • Candidates have to live in institutes dormitory as part of the personal and social competency development (character development) • Professional competency certification at the end of the program	

Table 12. Overview of PPGT and PPG-SM3T programs

Overall, both SM3T and PPGT focus more on attitude and behaviour formation of the prospective teachers, to which their life in the teacher education institutes' dormitory contributes a lot. In support of the function of dormitory life, as the site for teacher candidate attitude and behaviour formation, the PPGT manuals, for example, recommend a number of principles and activities (DEEP, 2012). Among the principles of the dormitory life are role-

modelling, habituation of good manners, discipline, self-reliance, and a sense of togetherness and unity. The recommended activities include mental coaching, morning briefing, dormitory common aerobics, and dormitory discipline taskforce. In this sense, the participants' dormitory-life compensates for the absence in the TPE curriculum of components focusing on the development of the candidates' personal and social competency domains.

Throughout the previous sections, I have demonstrated different views and notions of the good teacher across four historical periods of Indonesia. It is not until post-Reformasi that the notion of the good teachers with a specific reference to early childhood educators emerges. I have argued elsewhere in this thesis that this emergence occurred due to the government's increased focus on the importance of early childhood education.

The notions of the good teachers in each of the four periods analysed in this chapter have been framed through different discourses. There has been a tendency by the Indonesian government to produce good teachers through the technologies of formal training and qualification. This tendency has been variably emphasised in the policy documents of the four periods. Nevertheless, formal training and qualification is perpetuated as the core ingredient of teacher quality. In the post-Reformasi period, this has been strengthened further through the introduction of teachers' standards.

It is clear that since early independence to the early days of Reformasi, the governmental focus on formal qualification operated in conjunction with nationalism. This is apparent in the glorification of teachers as the educators of the nation during the Old Order era, which then evolved in the New Order to the "pahlawan tanpa tanda jasa" (a hero without a medal). In the light of nationalism, a teacher's role is to serve the nation; and the rule of service is the rule of sacrifice, not the rule of rewards. Throughout the Reformasi nationalism was reinterpreted, accordingly the roles of teachers and what emerged was an understanding of the teacher as a professional. Under the new status, reliance on formal qualification is maintained, however there is a shift away from the nationalistic focus on teachers as servants of the nation. While traces of the Old Order of nationalism remain, the emergence of post-Reformasi imagination of teachers as multi-paid professional workers has superseded and the emergence of professional teachers, as those who are qualified and multi-paid has become possible.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter demonstrates Indonesia's efforts to produce good and professional teachers and the ways in which teachers' quality has been governed. While the country has inherited numerous values and images that represent its nationally idealised view of teachers, its government ultimately chose professional status to characterise good teachers. In doing so, the government has taken numerous initiatives and adopted multiple ways of ensuring all of its existing and future teachers obtain a professional status. These range from the quickest and most practical portfolio assessments and remedial training to the longer, nation-building oriented PPGT and SM3T. Through these initiatives, Indonesia has, over a decade, witnessed a fundamental transformation in its idea of good teachers. Good teachers are certified teachers, and, even though a large body of teachers has not yet been certified,[13] more and more good, certified teachers are now available.

In 2015, Sartono, the creator of *A hero without a medal* hymn that heads this chapter, died. As a teacher, he was neither certified nor government-employed. After his death, and as teachers are professionally certified, Indonesian people might still remember him and the song he wrote. In 2007, almost a decade before his death, Sartono revised the last line of his song, and the new line read "pembangun insan cendekia" (builder of the intelligent human)". No definite information was found about his compromise to revise the song. There have been unverifiable rumours, however, that he did so after an agreement with the MONE.

Having professionalised their teachers, what the Indonesian government recommends to ensure is that the country's young would receive the best education. In the light of the process and dimensions of quality preschools, the next chapter seeks to discuss the issue.

[13] Different document refers to different numbers. MOEC strategic document does not mention the exact number; it says that the number of non-certified teachers who started their job in 2006 is around 300,000. The DGTEP *Strategic plan* however refers the number to 547,154 teachers (DGTEP, 2015)

Chapter 6. Today's *Taman* is Tomorrow's Golden Indonesia: the Production of Good Learning Space

> *Taman yang paling indah, hanya taman kami*—the most beautiful garden, is only our garden
> *Taman yang paling indah, taman kanak-kanak*—the most beautiful garden is a kindergarten
> *Tempat bermain, berteman banyak* —[it is] a place for playing [and] for making friends
> *Itulah taman kami, taman kanak-kanak*—our garden is a kindergarten
>
> (*Taman yang paling indah*, a kindergarten song)[14]

> In the period of 2010-2035 the nation of Indonesia will be endowed with an enormous productive age-group population that it has never experienced since the independence. If they are of a [high] quality, they will be a demographic bonus (*demographic dividend*), yet if not of [a high] quality [they will be] indeed a demographic calamity (*demographic disaster*). Therefore, the task of all of us is to ensure that momentum and opportunity to become a demographic bonus (MOEC, 2014a, p. 7).

Introduction

The last two chapters sketched how the outcomes and structural aspects of quality early childhood education are governed by focusing their analysis on children and teachers. This chapter aims to expose the genealogy of the present construction of the good learning space and of the way children's learning is governed within this space. Space in this chapter means both the physical and social settings and environments as indicated in the works of Moss (2001), Woodrow and Press (2007), and Vuorisalo, Rutanen and Raittila (2015). In its first meaning, space refers to early childhood institutions' physical, observable, and tangible environment, and therefore, resonates the structural dimension of quality. In its second meaning, the space refers to human interaction within the centre, and therefore, resonates the process dimension of quality. Inclusive to the second meaning, are the early childhood learning

[14] This is my own translation of the song. Despite popularity, I do not have exact information about its composer. The following English lines accompanying the Indonesian lines of the song are now also popular.

The most beautiful garden is our kindergarten
The most beautiful garden is our kindergarten
There we are playing, there we are learning
The most beautiful garden is our kindergarten

contents. The anchoring questions that frame this chapter are: according to the policy documents, what does a good learning environment look like and how can it be made?

To unpack the policy characterisation of the good learning space is critical to the overall understanding of the nature of Indonesian preschools across different historical stages. More importantly, problematising the policy criteria of the early learning settings is important for making sense of whether or not they are aligned and compatible with, and sufficient to achieve, the very policy vision of the Superkids, good teachers, good preschools and good education, in general. As noted in Chapter 4, today's preschools are perceived to be the cradle for today's children projected to be the golden generation (Directorate of ECE, 2011) in 2045, when Indonesia will celebrate the centennial of its independence.

This chapter is divided into two main parts. The first part traces the genealogy of the present idea of good learning space in the pre-Reformasi and Reformasi policy documents. For this purpose, a number of documents have been chosen that, in a Foucauldian sense, can be considered as the technologies of power by which the government aims to shape and normalise the preschool environment. They include, the pre-Reformasi period, the documents that accompanied the 1976 (DOEC, 1980), 1984 (DOEC, 1984; 1986b; 1986c), and 1994 *Kindergarten curriculum* (DOEC, 1994b), the non-formal early childhood education *Learning menu* (Directorate of ECE, 2002a), and the implementation guide of *Beyond Centers and Circle Time* (BCCT) (Directorate of ECE, 2006). The second part demonstrates the post-Reformasi ideas of good learning space and how they are governed. To support this, three post-Reformasi documents have been chosen as the core materials: the 2009 and 2014 *Early childhood education standards* (DONE, 2009d; MOEC, 2014c), and the early childhood education *Curriculum 2013* (MOEC, 2014d).

In this chapter, as in the previous two chapters, it is argued that different historical stages and discourses will determine the idealised learning environment of the child differently. The following sections describe how the discourses of nationalism, correction and development, distinction and change, and standardisation, respectively shape what the early independence, New Order, Reformasi and post-Reformasi periods were imagined as the good characteristics of early learning settings.

Taman: The Origin of the Good Learning Space

The idealised early learning space in Indonesia originates in the metaphorical idea of 'taman' (garden), as portrayed in the song that heads this chapter. The idea of 'taman' originates from Froebel's kindergarten, brought to the country by the Dutch colonial government. It was "nationalised" in 1922 by Dewantara as "Taman Indrya" (Dewantara, 1955). Dewantara admits his "Taman Indrya" adopted some aspects of Froebel and Montessori preschools and Rabindranath Tagore education, and assembled them with the local culture (Dewantara, 1959; Harper, 2009). As a 'taman', a preschool learning environment is imagined as the most beautiful garden (*taman yang paling indah*) for young children. The garden is characterised as the place where children can happily play and build friendships. Play and friendship, or in other words, children's happiness and social liveliness, so the song goes, are what renders kindergarten as the most beautiful garden for young children. Initially restricted to kindergarten (*Taman Kanak-Kanak*), the idea of 'taman' is now applied to name most early learning institutions, such as *Taman Pendidikan Al-Qur'an* (Qur'anic early learning centre), *Taman/Kelompok Bermain* (Playgroup), and *Taman Pengasuhan Anak* (Childcare).

The *Taman* in Early Independence

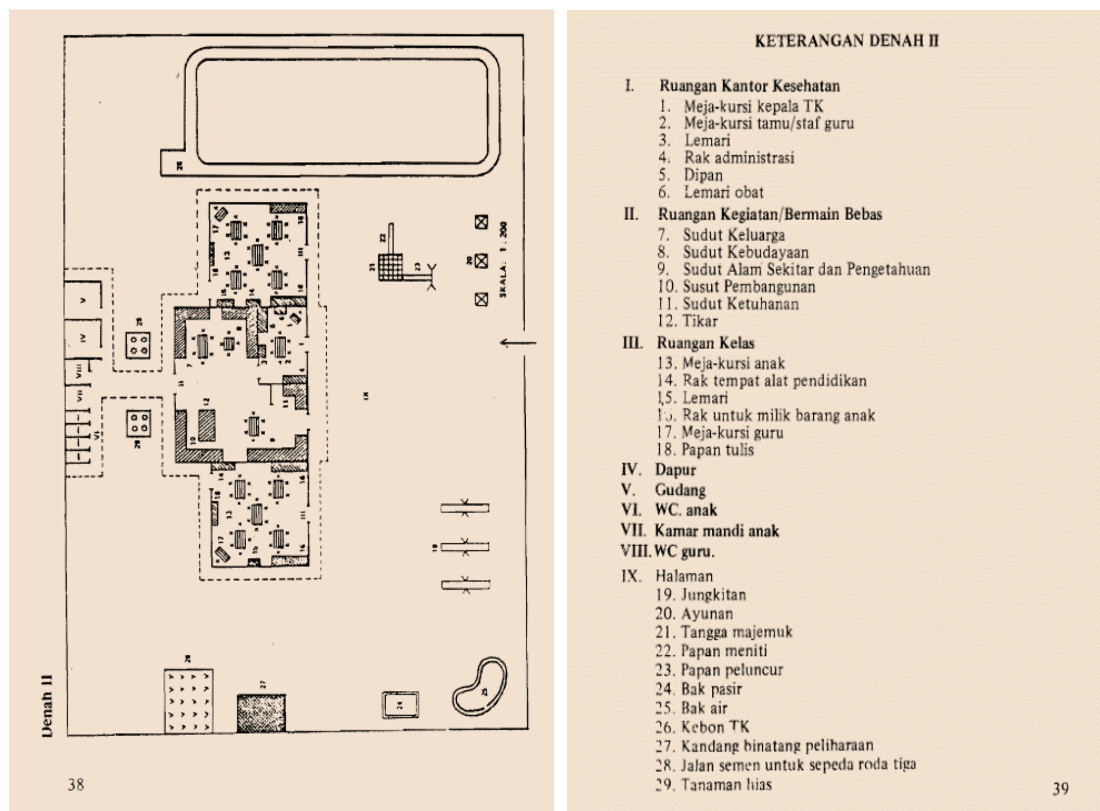
Little is known about the Indonesian government's vision of early childhood education during the early days of independence. A possible reason for this is the fact that almost all preschool institutions were privately operated, a situation that has continued to the present day. In reference to the government's statistics, Poerbakawatja reported that until 1955 there were 587 preschool institutions nationwide, of which only four were government-owned. A report by the Ministry of Education (Suradi Hp et al., 1986) has different statistics but, nevertheless, generally shows the same situation: in the early days of independence most preschools belonged to the private sector and therefore the government did not tightly regulate them.

As with other educational levels, which at this time were also shaped by the dominant discourse of nationalism, preschool education at this time also emphasised nationalistic local contents. The vision of education of this time to nurture the development of "manusia susila" (the decent human) (GOI, 1950), was translated as a call for the preschools' sector to become an educational system that was respectful of foreign cultures, including Froebelian and Montessorian thoughts, while at the same time also faithfully believed in its own, national culture. This is evident for example in Dewantara's (1959) treatise of *Taman indrya*, where he

calls for Indonesian kindergartens to consider the world's cultures, yet to make the national culture as their basis. In addition to its nationalist orientation, unlike the other levels where government ownership was significant, the preschool system was also shaped by strong religious orientation. This was inseparable from the roles of private religious agencies in establishing kindergartens. Yet, as Thomas (1992) indicated, there was no tension between these two orientations.

The *Taman* in New Order Administration

As explained in Chapter 1, the dominant discourse of the New Order period was correction and development. This discourse also contributed to the notion of the good preschool learning environment. As part of the New Order correction project the kindergarten curriculum underwent a series of changes in 1976, 1984, and 1994 (Herlina & Indrati, 2010). For the same purpose the government founded reference-kindergartens at the provincial and district level (Suradi Hp et al., 1986). The role of the preschool as a site for correction and development is reflected in the preschool infrastructure and contents guide that was published, and accompanied each of the curriculums. In terms of infrastructure, a ministry guidebook of the 1984 curriculum published in 1986, for example, provided a list of the facilities and equipment with which a preschool should be equipped and recommended various preschool site plans. **Figure 14** taken from the 1984 curriculum guide (DOEC, 1986c, pp. 38-39) shows the recommended preschool site plan. It shows that a preschool should have a wider outdoor space than its indoor space where space should be allocated for office, classrooms, toilets and kitchen. The outdoor facilities should include slides, swings, and climbing nets. This site plan was an ideal life imagination for children, whose needs to play should be fulfilled and who should live in a healthy physical environment, with provision of decent toilets and plenty of space for their physical movement. Above all, the hidden message of the site plan, to which the child would be exposed, was that every single aspect of the preschool precinct had its own function and purpose. Consistent, continuous exposure to the site organisation would allow children to make sense of, learn about and internalise the ideas of order and regularity. As its name self-evidently proclaimed, 'order' is the very goal of the New Order government.



KETERANGAN DENAH II

I. **Ruangan Kantor Kesehatan**
1. Meja-kursi kepala TK
2. Meja-kursi tamu/staf guru
3. Lemari
4. Rak administrasi
5. Dipan
6. Lemari obat

II. **Ruangan Kegiatan/Bermain Bebas**
7. Sudut Keluarga
8. Sudut Kebudayaan
9. Sudut Alam Sekitar dan Pengetahuan
10. Susut Pembangunan
11. Sudut Ketuhanan
12. Tikar

III. **Ruangan Kelas**
13. Meja-kursi anak
14. Rak tempat alat pendidikan
15. Lemari
16. Rak untuk milik barang anak
17. Meja-kursi guru
18. Papan tulis

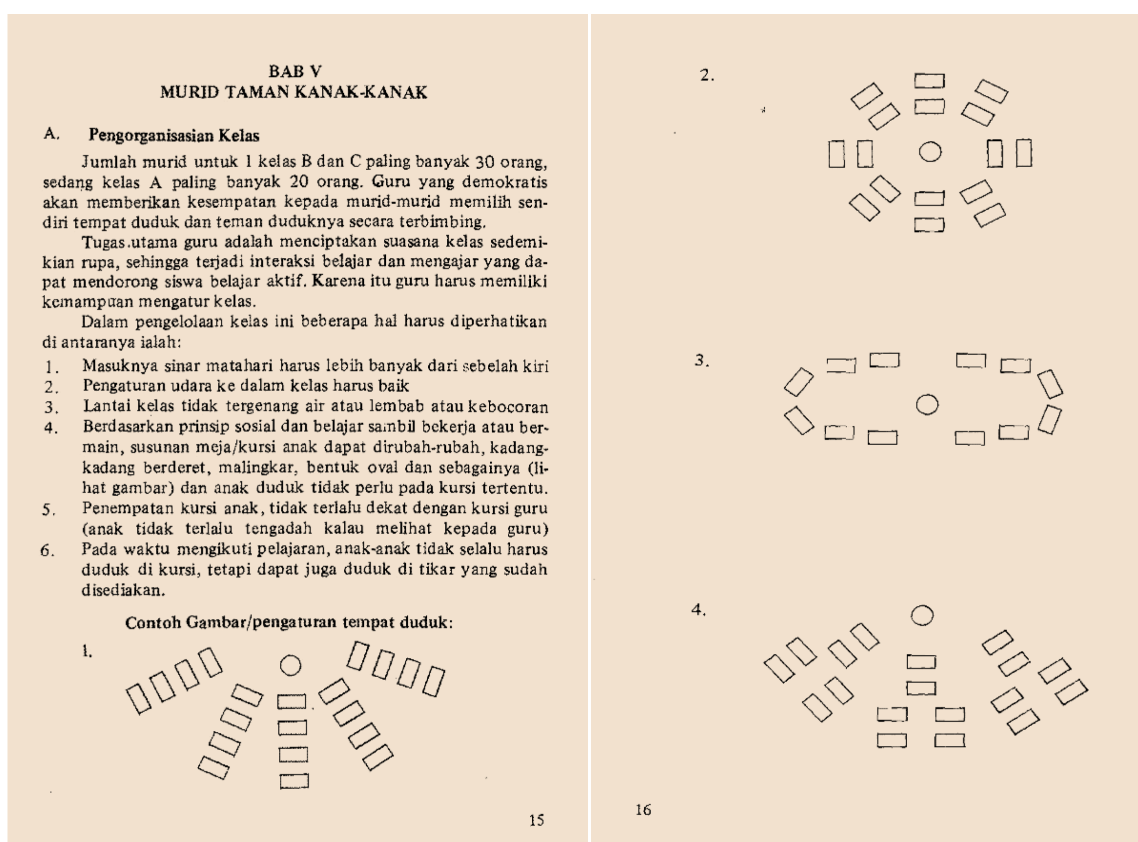
IV. **Dapur**
V. **Gudang**
VI. **WC. anak**
VII. **Kamar mandi anak**
VIII. **WC guru.**
IX. Halaman
19. Jungkitan
20. Ayunan
21. Tangga majemuk
22. Papan meniti
23. Papan peluncur
24. Bak pasir
25. Bak air
26. Kebon TK
27. Kandang binatang peliharaan
28. Jalan semen untuk sepeda roda tiga
29. Tanaman hias

39

Figure 14. **Recommended preschool site plan and physical environment**

Orientation towards order and authority, furthermore is suggested in the way preschool learning should be organised. The state ideology, Pancasila, was included as a mandatory subject of preschool learning (DOEC, 1980; 1986c). Following the publication of the 1984 curriculum, a new mandatory subject, "National History of Struggle Education" (*Pendidikan Sejarah Perjuangan Bangsa*, PSPB) was introduced (DOEC, 1984; 1983; Gunawan, 1986). The new content was to ensure that every child would store in their memory, only the "true" version of national history, the history that was written by the New Order administration. The new content itself was mandated by parliament's 1983 decree on the Broad Guideline of the State Policy (*Garis-Garis Besar Haluan Negara*, GBHN) whose section on education called for the "preservation and development of the 1945 spirit" (PCA, 1983, p. XVI/4). To ensure the efficient delivery of the contents, the preschool classroom should also be arranged in a way that fostered children's understanding of authority and of themselves as part of the collective group. **Figure 15,** taken from a DOEC's (1986b, pp. 15-16) kindergarten guideline document, shows six aspects of classroom organisation (left) and four patterns of sitting arrangements (left-right). Of the six aspects, two are to ensure that the biggest portions of the incoming

sunlight should come from the left side of the room (No. 1) and that children's seats should be placed at a distance that is "not too close to the teacher's chair" (No. 5). While the document encourages teachers to be democratic, it also stresses that children are to be allowed to sit wherever they want and to choose their sitting partner in a "guided manner" (*secara terbimbing*). Thus, apart from the requirement to be a democratic adult, which can be interpreted as giving full freedom to their pupils, the pictures indicate that teachers in this case should position themselves as the leaders, the centre of authority and point of attention of their students.



BAB V
MURID TAMAN KANAK-KANAK

A. **Pengorganisasian Kelas**

Jumlah murid untuk 1 kelas B dan C paling banyak 30 orang, sedang kelas A paling banyak 20 orang. Guru yang demokratis akan memberikan kesempatan kepada murid-murid memilih sendiri tempat duduk dan teman duduknya secara terbimbing.

Tugas utama guru adalah menciptakan suasana kelas sedemikian rupa, sehingga terjadi interaksi belajar dan mengajar yang dapat mendorong siswa belajar aktif. Karena itu guru harus memiliki kemampuan mengatur kelas.

Dalam pengelolaan kelas ini beberapa hal harus diperhatikan di antaranya ialah:

1. Masuknya sinar matahari harus lebih banyak dari sebelah kiri
2. Pengaturan udara ke dalam kelas harus baik
3. Lantai kelas tidak tergenang air atau lembab atau kebocoran
4. Berdasarkan prinsip sosial dan belajar sambil bekerja atau bermain, susunan meja/kursi anak dapat dirubah-rubah, kadang-kadang berderet, malingkar, bentuk oval dan sebagainya (lihat gambar) dan anak duduk tidak perlu pada kursi tertentu.
5. Penempatan kursi anak, tidak terlalu dekat dengan kursi guru (anak tidak terlalu tengadah kalau melihat kepada guru)
6. Pada waktu mengikuti pelajaran, anak-anak tidak selalu harus duduk di kursi, tetapi dapat juga duduk di tikar yang sudah disediakan.

Contoh Gambar/pengaturan tempat duduk:

1.

15

2.

3.

4.

16

Figure 15. Classroom management and sitting arrangement

In 1989, the government amended its education law to provide a new, stronger, reliable legal basis for the education sector. The new law was followed by the publication of the 1990 regulation on preschool education, which provided for the revision of the existing curriculum and contents (GOI, 1990a). While maintaining the compulsory content of *Pancasila Education*, the regulation removed the contents of national history. A new domain was introduced in the 1994 curriculum, namely the positive behaviour formation through habituation (DOEC,

1994b). The removal of the old compulsory content and the introduction of the new ones were to respond to the 1993 GBHN's (PCA, 1993) call for a science-and-technology-imbued curriculum. As **Table 13** shows, these new mandated components were represented through the addition of contents, namely the "cognitive skills, creativity, and craft/manual skills" (DOEC, 1994b, p. 2), contents traditionally considered as prerequisites for the acquisition of knowledge and skills in science and technology.

Three New Order's Preschool Curriculums		
Curriculum 1976	***Curriculum 1984***	***Curriculum 1994***
• Pancasila moral education • Free play • Language education • Social life orientation • Environmental awareness • Creative expression • Physical education • Health education • Scholastic skills	• Pancasila Moral Education • History of national struggle education • Language skills • Affective and social skills and community/environmental awareness • Knowledge • Cognition • Health and physical education	• Behaviour formation through habituation covering Pancasila, religion, discipline, affection/emotion, and social skills • Language skills • Cognitive skills • Creativity • Craft/manual skills • Physical

Table 13. Contents of three New Order preschool curriculum

As seen in **Table 13**, as part of the New Order correction project, Pancasila was included in all curriculum versions. In addition, scholastic skills were also introduced at the preschool level. These skills were introduced commonly with the teaching of reading, writing, and simple mathematical skills. Even though during the New Order administrative scholastic skills were formally offered only in the 1976 curriculum, its influence, however, has lasted right through to the present day, due to the common assumption of the function of early childhood education as the preparatory step towards primary education. Following the collapse of the New Order government, the preschools' function as a means of ideological correction and their tendency to be teacher-centred and scholastic, were later deemed inappropriate for children. The children's world, as the *taman* metaphor embodies, is the world of play where they should be growing and developing freely and naturally. Excessive exposure of children to order and regularity was considered to fringe on obliterating their potentials.

Reformasi and the Birth of the Developmental *Taman*

As noted in Chapter 1, the Reformasi government viewed the New Order government's education legacy as reductionist, emphasising mainly social collectiveness and children's

compliance and copying what was demonstrated by their teachers (NTRMS, 1999). More specifically for the preschool context, the Reformasi government saw the system as highly academic, as evidenced, for example, by the presence of the compulsory subjects of Pancasila moral education and history of national struggle education (**Table 13**). This tendency in New Order preschool education was considered as tarnishing the nature of preschool institutions and practice as *taman*. Under the discourse of distinction and change, the Reformasi government tried to restore the existing preschool service and institutions to their original nature as *taman*. In doing so, and as the following sections will demonstrate, the Reformasi government relied on the discourse of developmentalism, the thoughts and knowledge of children derived from developmental psychology (Blaise, 2005; Edwards, Blaise, & Hammer, 2009). The Reformasi government's efforts to change the existing preschool practice and their reliance on developmentalism can be tracked in the following three milestones: the inception of the new early childhood education system; the introduction of the learning menu; and the adoption of the BCCT curriculum.

The Inception of the New Early Childhood Education System

Following the collapse of the New Order and the emergence of the Reformasi government, the public were concerned that the new government would be no more than a reincarnation of the fallen regime. The new government, as the Reformasi government leader President Habibie (2006) later acknowledged, was aware of the public dismay and distrust. Therefore, there seemed no choice for it other than to mark the difference from its predecessor in the way it defined and delivered preschool education and early childhood education development in general.

As detailed in the section on Indonesian early childhood education in Chapter 1, during the New Order era, preschool education was delivered in a limited way through kindergartens (GOI, 1989; 1990b). During this era, kindergartens were designed to lay the foundations for children's school readiness and national identity. The preschool service thus tended to focus on fostering children's scholastic skills, although its curricular frameworks covered relatively comprehensive aspects of children's development (**Table 13**). Complementing the kindergarten line were the programs managed by the Ministry of Health (MOH) and the National Family Planning Coordination Board (NFPCB), which combined parenting education and children's health and nutrition services (Program UPGK, 1982; UNESCO, 2005). The Reformasi government considered that such a partial approach was inadequate to achieve

children's maximum development. At the same time, the public was overtly critical of the New Order legacies, including services associated with the family planning campaign. In response, the Reformasi government advocated a more comprehensive approach to preschools by integrating into it the health and nutrition improvement services previously delivered under the family planning projects.

With the World Bank's assistance, the Indonesian Ministry of Education started its campaign for a new, comprehensive preschool and early childhood education. Initially, the campaign was aimed at responding to the impacts on young children of the 1997 economic crisis. Later, however, the campaign appeared as a bridge that connected the existing preschool system with global early childhood education economic and developmentalist discourses. The following is stated in a section of the World Bank's (1998) project documents.

> ECD interventions would lead to improved schooling efficiency through a long causal chain that links early child development and later productivity in life which translates into higher economic benefits….ECD programs affect a child's early ability, which in turn affects later ability, educational and occupational attainment….this affects adult productivity and, therefore, wages. There is a growing body of evidence to support this link, for example the High/Scope Perry Schooling Study (World Bank, 1998, p. 6).

In support of the campaign, in 1998, the education ministry held a seminar sponsored by UNICEF on "Comprehensive Early Childhood Development (*Pengembangan Anak Dini Usia secara Komprehensif*)". The forum discussed comprehensive preschool benefits in terms of economics, developmental psychology, and health and nutrition (Sihombing et al., 1998). The government, reflected in the education minister Juwono Sudarsono's (1998) paper, believed that a comprehensive service would transform Indonesia's population from the "burden of [national] development into a prime asset that supports [national] development" (p. iii). Apart from their aspiration for a comprehensive service, the government's vision for a new preschool service, however, was apparently developmentalistic. This orientation was clearly reflected in all the keynote speeches, which approached early education through a developmental-psychological lens.

Evidence for the education ministry's reliance on developmentalism during this early inception period is abundant, as it appeared in the first edition of the Directorate's official periodical, the *Buletin PADU* (Directorate of ECE, 2002b). This publication, which compiles essays by the

Directorate's academic partners, features numerous developmentalist terms and jargon, ranging from the very concept of "developmental psychology" (*psikologi perkembangan*) (e.g. in Jalal, 2002a, p. 5; Syarief, 2002, p. 36) and its derivative idea of "developmental stages" (*tahap-tahap perkembangan*) (e.g. in Abdoelah, 2002, p. 54; Semiawan, 2002, p. 20) to the notion of "golden period of development" (*masa keemasan/emas perkembangan*) (Jalal, 2002b, p. vii; Rilantono, 2002, p. 31). A further reference to developmental psychology is presented by Yufiarti (2002), who reports a World Bank consultant's observation of kindergarten learning:

> about the learning in the Indonesian kindergartens…[the consultant] argues that it is more academic in nature…children sit on the bench like in school. It is rarely given to the children the opportunity to explore and to do independently what they are interested in. This is not due to teachers' poor understanding of children development (*perkembangan anak*)…[indeed] many…do properly understand children's development, such as Piaget's…sensory-motor developmental stage….Yet, regrettably, they deliver a learning [process], which differs and even contradicts the theories they have learnt (Yufiarti, 2002, pp. 46-47).

The government's turning to the developmentalist vision is further indicated in an essay by Moleong (2002), who goes even further and proposes the NAYEC's Developmentally Appropriate Practice (Bredekamp et al., 1992) as "true bases of early childhood education".

> Has the implementation [of early childhood education] developed programmes that follow especially the *scientific based* curriculum such as *Developmentally Appropriate Practice* (DAP)...this should be attended to seriously in order for us not to deviate much from the true theories and bases of [early childhood education] practice. Beside DAP, has the teaching-learning process carried out by the existing institutions applied the 'integrated learning', learning through play (*belajar melalui bermain*),[15] *portofolio* [sic] *assessment*, as well as applied new research findings. If we expect a good quality early childhood education, those things should be attended to. An activity of early

[15] Moleong's use of the phrase 'belajar melalui bermain' is interesting. The phrase is an exact, literal translation of the DAP's recipe of "learning through play". The common Indonesian phrase to refer to the same young children's learning principle is "belajar sambil bermain" (literally, learning while playing). In this sense, the use of the phrase can be understood as a strong impetus to copy DAP into the praxis of early childhood education.

childhood education should be based on a clear vision, mission, and goal (Moleong, 2002, p. 41)—italic English original.

With such strong exposure to developmentalism, both through the local academic channels and international agencies from at least 2000 onwards, Indonesian preschool and early childhood education, in general, has become increasingly developmentalistic in its orientation. The following section will demonstrate how developmentalism shaped the Reformasi government policies. Use is made there of the DECE's publication of the Generic learning menu in 2002 (Directorate of ECE, 2002a) and adoption of the Tallahassee-based Creative Center for Childhood Research & Training's (CCCRT) *Beyond Centers and Circle Time* (BCCT) curriculum package in 2004 (Directorate of ECE, 2006).

The Generic Learning Menu and the BCCT Curriculum

In 2002, the DECE published a new curriculum framework document called the Generic learning menu (*Menu pembelajaran generik*) (Directorate of ECE, 2002a) for children from birth to the age of six attending non-kindergarten centres. Strictly speaking, the *Menu* was not introduced as a standardised curriculum document. Rather, it was introduced as a reference (*acuan*). The metaphorical words that constitute its name, 'generic' (*generik*) and 'menu' (*menu*), are deliberately used to identify its flexibility for further development and implementation by the practitioners in the field, as happens with generic medicine, which can be named differently by the different producers and brandmakers (Directorate of ECE, 2002a).

Apart from its introduction, as merely a reference and a standardised curriculum, the Menu had all the attributes of the previous and existing curriculums. First, as with the 1976, 1984, and 1994 curriculums, the Menu was applied nationally. Its guidebook suggests that the Menu "could be the reference for anyone…who wants to know about learning in [and] …or to organise early childhood education" (Directorate of ECE, 2002a, p. iii). Second, it used identical technical terms to those employed in the existing curriculums. The Menu used the phrase "ability indicators" (*indikator kemampuan*) (Directorate of ECE, 2002a, p. 15) for the learning outcomes, which conveyed a similar meaning of the 1994 curriculum's "expected abilities" (*kemampuan yang diharapkan*) (DOEC, 1994a, p. 2). Both shared, for example, the ability "to kick and bounce the ball" and "to crawl in various ways" (DOEC, 1994a, pp. 13-14; Directorate of ECE, 2002a, p. 25) as the skills young children should learn in the preschool. Third, the Menu was generally an expansion of the 1994 curriculum document. The DECE

admits it was developed by "reviewing the existing early childhood curriculum and changing its title into the…Learning Menu…" (p. 2). Accordingly, the Menu developers used the adopted terms to name children developmental domains, such as 'fisik' (physical), 'kognitif' (cognitive), 'sosial emosional' (social and emotion) (Directorate of ECE, 2002a, p. 13) to replace the "old" domains of 'jasmani', 'daya pikir' (thinking/reasoning ability), and 'perasaan/emosi dan kemampuan bermasyarakat' (social and emotional) used in the 1994 curriculum document (DOEC, 1994a, p. 2). This terminological choice can be considered not as a linguistic shift per se; but rather as indicating, on the one hand, the increasing influence of developmental psychology, and on the other, the academic positioning of the Menu. The latter is related to the widely circulated understanding that the use of absorbed terms was more scientific and more academic. With this linguistic tactic, the Menu would potentially win the public's heart over the old kindergarten curriculum.

Age Grouping	**Birth to 1 year, 1 to 2 years, 3 to 4 years, 5 to 6 years**
Domains	Moral and religious values, physical, language, cognitive, socio-emotional, art (aesthetics)
Learning outcomes	Defined as competencies and learning outcomes
Sample of learning outcomes	• Ability to perform religious rituals, to recognise and believe in God and to respect others • Ability to manage and acquire fine and gross motor skills and to receive sensory stimulation • Ability to use language for effective communication • Ability to recognise natural and social environments, and social role, to respect diversities, to develop self-concepts, a positive attitude towards learning, self-control, and sense of belonging
Samples of learning outcome indicators (taken from 5-6 age group)	• Singing religious song(s) • Climbing and hanging • Talking in a complex sentence (more than 10 words) • Grouping various objects based on their similarity • Obeying eating etiquette and schedule • Following the movements of simple dance

Table 14. Sample of the *Generic menu*'s use of developmental knowledge

The influence of developmentalism appeared in the Menu's six areas of child developmental stimulation that generally resemble the common domains of developmental psychology. They include the moral and religious values, physical, linguistic, cognitive, social and emotional, and aesthetic (*art*, Indonesian, *seni*, in the original version) domains (**Table 14**). Additionally, reliance on developmentalism is expressed in the Menu's section on "Approach to the implementation of the learning menu" (*Pendekatan pelaksanaan menu pembelajaran*) (Directorate of ECE, 2002a, pp. 5-8). This section featured nine principles of early childhood

learning, which resembled and drew on the twelve principles commonly found in DAP literature. In fact, one of the resources the Menu developers used was *Developmentally appropriate curriculum: Best practices in early childhood education* by Kostelnik, Soderman, and Whiren (1999).

In line with its discursive affiliation to developmental knowledge, the Menu document repeatedly emphasised the centrality of early stimulation orchestrated with the risks of late stimulation and insufficiency of the existing kindergarten system.

> The assumption that education could only begin after [a child reached] school age (7 years old) is in fact not true. Starting education at the age of kindergarten (4-6 years) is indeed too late. According to… findings in…neurology (Osborn, White, and Bloom), during the first four years [of life], half of the human intelligence capacity is formed. This means that if at that age a child's brain does not receive maximum stimulation… [its] potential would not grow optimally. Overall, until the age of eight, 80% of human intelligence capacity has been formed, meaning that a child's intelligence capacity is increased only by 30% from the age of four to the age of eight….[and] will reach 100% approximately after the age of 18 (Directorate of ECE, 2002a, p. i).

The DECE's aggressive stance against the kindergarten system, as reflected in this passage, is surprising given that both the DECE and the Directorate of Kindergarten and Primary Education (DKPE) responsible for kindergarten, were under the same roof of the education ministry. In this sense, the Reformasi government's spirit of distinction and change, as noted at the beginning of this section, may help to clarify. The DECE is the by-product of Reformasi, while the kindergarten system, supervised by the DKPE, was the legacy of the past. Thus, the birth of the Menu could be seen as the DECE's tactic to confirm its existence as well as a message of its antithetical positioning against the existing kindergarten system, and therefore against the past. Through so doing, the DECE showed their reformist vision of preschool education.

In order to fully build a reformist image, while consistently relying on developmentalism, the creators of the Menu omitted the state official ideology of Pancasila (the Five Principles) from their list of developmental stimulation targets. Pancasila was not mentioned at all across the Menu document, in spite of its status as mandatory content in all previous national curriculums (DOEC, 1981; 1987) and of the past governments' efforts to ensure its internalisation in the

public mind (DOEC, 1977a; Morfit, 1981). Its omission is, nevertheless, understandable considering that during the early years of Reformasi, the public showed negative sentiments against Pancasila, due to its notorious abuse by the New Order as the tool of propaganda and guise of repression (Ismail, 1996; Meuleman, 2006) rather than a public ethical reference, in spite of efforts to make it seem the latter. Thus, its disappearance in the Menu was simply a plausible step to build a reformist impression in the public eye. Among the popular meanings of Reformasi is the removal of everything with "the smell of the New Order" (*yang berbau Orde Baru*) (Arikunto, 2006, p. 33; Maftuh, 2008, p. 136). Hence, the orientation of Indonesian early childhood education shifted from one filled with nationalistic thoughts to one that emphasised order and collectiveness towards a more developmentalist one.

The GOI continued to promote developmental knowledge as the basis for early childhood education along with its adoption of the Dakar Education for All (EFA) framework of actions. As highlighted in the section on Indonesian early childhood education in Chapter 1, the Dakar EFA meeting called for early childhood education expansion as a key means to achieve universal basic education (World Education Forum, 2000). In response, a taskforce coordinated by the education ministry published an EFA national plan of action (National Coordination Forum, 2003). As with the Menu document, the Plan's chapter on early childhood education reiterates the centrality of developmental knowledge. A section in the Plan stated, for example, "every development stage takes place only once on a lifetime…[a] developmental deprivation…means a loss for the rest of…[a] lifetime" (National Coordination Forum, 2003, p. II.3).

Being armed with developmental knowledge did not necessarily mean that the Menu was ready to use and change the Indonesian preschool practice. Its generic nature risked making the Menu's implementation, due to its would-be users' long exposure to the highly-scholastic early learning practice straying from its true developmentalist intention. Should this happen, not only would the Menu be rejected, but also more critically the newly-born DECE would have difficulty simply in surviving. To ensure the alignment between the learning process and the preschool daily practice with the Menu developmentalist vision, the DECE decided to "shop" for local and overseas early learning models. "The key was Outsourching [sic]", said Gutama, (in Anam, 2011a, p. 11), the then Director of early childhood education, referring to the DECE's window-shopping strategy to overcome its possible termination during its formative years.

Having examined a number of early learning models, in 2004 the DECE decided to buy a copyright of the Creative Center for Childhood Research and Training's (CCCRT, Tallahassee, Florida) *Beyond Centers and Circle Time* (BCCT) early learning package (Directorate of ECE, 2006; Newberry, 2012). The 'center' here refers to centre of interest, a children-initiated play space, such as a dramatic centre, block centre, and literacy centre. It functions to facilitate children's development through their engagement in three types of play: sensory-motor play, role-play, and constructive play. The 'circle time' (*saat lingkaran*) is a stage in the learning process when teachers and children sit together in a circle in which the teachers provide children with the pre- and post-play scaffolding. The term 'center' has been absorbed into Indonesia as 'sentra' with BCCT being later known as "pendekatan sentra" (centre approach) (Directorate of ECE, 2006).

The Indonesian BCCT-adherent preschools typically have seven to nine centres, depending on their ability to afford them and the size of physical space they have. They include the centres for natural materials (*sentra bahan alam*), art (*sentra seni*), blocks (*sentra balok*), school readiness/early literacy (*sentra persiapan*), macro play (*main peran besar*), micro play (*main peran kecil*), and cooking (*sentra memasak*). A centre that appears to be an adaptation and localisation of the original version of BCCT, the centre for faith and piety (*sentra iman dan takwa*), the religious centre, is also available at a number of Indonesian early childhood learning institutions (Directorate of ECE, 2006; Soendari & Wismiarti, 2014). Based on my observation from 2004 when I began my academic career, a centre is ideally a classroom-like facility in both size and function. Such an ideal centre is limitedly found among early childhood institutions assigned as national reference by the ministry. Nevertheless, the size and range of facilities available at each of these nine centres depend entirely on the early childhood institutions' financial resources and the physical space they have. In "rich" institutions, a centre may look like a classroom; while in disadvantaged ones, a centre is often no more than a set of toys placed in the corners of a classroom or on a set of tables. There are even centres among the "rich" institutions whose size and facilities are equal to the whole size of the disadvantaged learning institutions.

The DECE was actually not the first Indonesian importer of the BCCT curriculum. The curriculum was initially brought to Indonesia in the mid-1990s and followed since then at the Al-Falah school, a Jakarta-based early learning institution founded by Wismiarti (Musthofa, 2014; Soendari & Wismiarti, 2014). A Muslim dentist by training, Wismiarti was impressed

by the BCCT way, which in her opinion promoted children's acquisition of the "noble values taught by the Qur'an, such as respect, honesty, and persistence…through [children's] *daily activity*" (Soendari & Wismiarti, 2014, p. 5)—English italic original. The BCCT implementation at the Al-Falah school soon attracted MONE leaders, who during the early Reformasi years were looking for a new format for the national education practice (ERC, 2001a; NTRMS, 1999). As with Wismiarti, the assumption of the BCCT practice's alignment with the Qu'anic vision of education also, it could be argued, justified MONE's interest. It should be noted here that the periods covering the later years of the New Order administration to the beginning of the Reformasi was the time when political Muslims almost perfected their power. The members of the NTRMS, the authors of the Reformasi blue-print (GOI, 1998b; 1999a; NTRMS, 1999) were mostly from among this faction, those who would later lead the MONE, and with whom Wismiarti spoke about BCCT (Soendari & Wismiarti, 2014). In 2002, under an Al-Falah-DECE joint initiative, the translation of BBCT materials into Indonesian started and in 2004 it was adopted by the DECE (Directorate of ECE, 2006; Newberry, 2012). The curriculum was promoted as an approach (*pendekatan*) (Directorate of ECE, 2006; Newberry, 2012) often equated to that of Froebel, Montessori, Steiner, or the Italian Regio Emilia-based preschool practices, whether or not the creators claimed the link (Phelps, 2002; 2006). In fact, BCCT falls closer to the creative curriculum approach to early learning. It is only the "reincarnation of child-centered philosophy of education", according to Newberry (2012, p. 6; 2017, p. 31) that has its foundation in Froebel's and Montessori's thoughts. It was Indonesia's longing for a reformed education approach that made it highly celebrated.

At the heart of BCCT is a belief that children are active learners and that learning occurs beyond the typical nine typical centres identified above. Therefore, what is necessary is to ensure that any time children spend, any space they occupy, even any object they touch at the preschool must be meaningful for their learning. In order to support their active learning, the BCCT curriculum recommends the use of "scaffolding". The creator of BCCT, Pamela Phelps (2012), explains that by scaffolding she means teachers' "guidance and support", through which they provide children "with new information about how to use materials and…[introduce] new vocabulary and concepts…[in a way] that is neither overwhelming nor simplistic" (pp. 4, 33). This means that scaffolding is not merely teachers' motivating their children to do or not to do a certain activity rather it is a transmission of concepts between teachers and children. There are four components, or as the DECE BCCT guidebook calls them "stages", of scaffolding: learning environment arrangement, pre-play activities, individual scaffolding while children

play and learn at the centre, and post-play scaffolding (Directorate of ECE, 2006; Phelps, 2006).

Based on the four components of scaffolding, the learning process at the Indonesian BCCT-adhering preschool is commonly divided into seven main phases. They include the "play environment preparation", "children's reception", "opening play (gross motor-focused play)", "transition", "core activities", "meal", and "closing" (Directorate of ECE, 2006, pp. 9-17). These seven phases have been further translated into a seventeen-step "standard of operation" (*standar operasional baku*).

> (1) teachers prepare the play environment…; (2) other teachers welcome/greet… children and guide them to free-play…; (3) children engage in the opening play under their teachers' guidance; (4) teachers allows children to go to the toilet/to drink in sequence [one-by-one] to habituate them with [the practice of] queuing; (5) children join in their respective age-groups under teachers' guidance; (6) teachers and children sit together in a circle formation and teachers provide them with pre-play scaffold; (7) teachers give adequate time for children to play at the centres, [which should be] prepared in advance in line with the timetable of the day; (8) while children are at the centre teachers give them scaffolding one by one; (9) teachers and children tidy the equipment and the centre; (10) teachers give children time for toileting/drinking; (11) teachers take the children to sit in a circle formation and give them the post-play scaffolding; (12) teachers and children eat the meals they bring from home (this is not a break-time); (13) closing activities; (14) children leave for their home in sequence; (15) teachers clean up the preschool, tidy/recheck their notes and paper work; (16) teachers discuss and evaluate the learning process of the day and plan for the next day; (17) teachers leave for their home (Directorate of ECE, 2006, pp. 5-6).

The Directorate of ECE promoted this seventeen-step procedure nationwide along with its proliferation of new early childhood centres. Hence, BCCT emerged as a new truth of early learning practice with developmentalism as its supporting regime of knowledge. The expectation was that if the procedure was faithfully adhered to, children would be saved from the risk of erroneous practice, that is the early learning that is "academic-focused [as well as] ignorant of (*mengabaikan*) children developmental stage" (Directorate of ECE, 2006, p. 2). A deeper look at this procedure, however, would show that it tends to channel children's learning and learning management into one particular way, thereby obscuring the BCCT's core

philosophical belief in children as active and independent learners. On this matter, Musthofa (2014), an Indonesian BCCT activist, commented in *The Jakarta Post*, that "in the hands of the ministerial bureaucracy, the BCCT was treated as nothing more than a practical guide for teaching young children." A fatal mistake has indeed occurred as a result of the translation of the BCCT as "pendekatan sentra dan lingkaran" (centre and circle approach) and the consequent removal of its "beyond" aspect. The use of centre of interest and circle time has been a typical practice in early learning institutions. Therefore, it is the "beyond" aspect that sets the BCCT apart and can be seen as criticising the old approach to early learning. Its removal thus ignores the BCCT philosophical-theoretical position and foundation. Unfortunately, this reduced version of BCCT has been the one widely proliferated in teacher development, including in the large-scale university-based pre- and in-service teacher education and professional development.

This section has described how early learning contents, processes, and spaces were shaped differently in the early independence, New Order, and Reformasi periods of Indonesia. These differences confirm that a good and true practice of early learning has been shaped and constructed by social and political reality: the transition from colonialism in early independence, the fear and threat of communism and economic downturn during the New Order administration, and the disgust with the centralistic government and reductionist education system in the Reformasi era. The next will demonstrate how in post-Reformasi, developmentalism, originally a perspective and theoretical construct, has been strengthened and changed into a set of standards and a legal construct.

The post-Reformasi Standardised *Taman*

The post-Reformasi early childhood education, is termed here satirically and with a little exaggeration, a garden of standards. A garden in that the post-Reformasi early childhood education landscape was over-crowded in a relatively short period by the numerous notions and publications of standard documents, all of differing quality. As a result, early learning institutions have been increasingly driven to meet certain sets of standards. In line with the aim of the present chapter, this section focuses solely on the analysis of the documents and standards that are relevant to two aspects of quality: the learning process and the physical infrastructure of the early learning institutions. More specifically, the policy materials used include the 2009 and 2014 *ECE standards* (DONE, 2009d; MOEC, 2014c), and the *Curriculum 2013* (MOEC, 2014d). To provide a general context of the early childhood education

transformation into a garden of standards, the mobilisation of the notion of standards in the first decade of post-Reformasi is described briefly.

The notion of standards was initially ratified in the 2003 education law. The law calls for the production of "minimum criterion of education for the whole jurisdiction of Indonesia" (GOI, 2003b, Article 1: 17). These criteria, called national standards (*standar nasional*), include the standard of "contents, process, graduate competencies, educational personnel, facilities and equipment, management, funding, and assessment" (GOI, 2003b, Article 35: 1). In 2004 the "contents" and "graduate competencies" aspects of the standard were materialised into the Kindergarten competency standard published by the Curriculum Centre (2004). The document itself contains information and recommendations that represent the eight aspects of the national standard. It recommends, for example, the use of play-based activities and a theme-based approach to facilitate the learning process, and of the portfolio as the instrument of assessment. The application of the term 'standard', however, is limited in its list of children's competencies.

In 2005, the GOI published its first national education standard. This regulation, the national education standard (GOI, 2005a), stipulated eight aspects of education provision endorsed by the 2003 law. In spite of the aims of standardising these aspects for all education levels, early childhood education was excluded from some of its provisions. The regulation, for example, clearly set minimum early childhood teacher qualification, as it similarly does for primary and secondary levels. Yet it had no provision on early childhood education when it came to the standard of contents and standard of management.

In response to the relative exclusion of preschooling from the 2005 *Education standard*, DONE published a regulation on its specific early childhood education standard. In 2009, DONE published its first early childhood education standard in the form of a ministerial regulation (DONE, 2009d). The document was the first one to stipulate in a regulatory manner the eight aspects of early childhood education provision—the graduate competencies (specifically called 'level of child's developmental achievement standard'—*standar tingkat pencapaian perkembangan anak*), contents, processes, educational personnel qualifications and competencies, facilities and equipment, management, finance, and assessment. Unlike the 2004 competency standard, which covered only the development of children aged four to six, the 2009 document standardised developmental achievement of children from birth to the age of six. Furthermore, the standard removed the aesthetic skills that existed in the 2004 competency standard, and stipulated that the contents of early childhood education should include only five

aspects of children's development: moral and religious, physical, cognitive, linguistic, and socio-emotional aspects. With the coming of the 2009 standard, neither the *Learning menu* nor the 2004 *Competency standard*, however, were repealed, thereby leaving the field with a duality of standard and reference.

The 2009 standard was revoked in 2014 at the same time as the publication of the new national early childhood education standard (MOEC, 2014c). No evaluation, however, was done about its contribution to the overall early childhood service quality improvement. The 2014 *ECE standards* document refers, in fact, to the same legal basis of the earlier one, regulates the same eight aspects of education service, and employs the same phrase "level of child's developmental achievement standard" for early childhood education learning outcomes. Additionally, the new standard clearly confirms the function it serves and the purpose behind its creation, as the "reference" (*acuan*) for the general provision of early childhood education, in general, and for "curriculum, development, implementation, and evaluation", in particular (MOEC, 2014c). Unlike the old 2009 standard, however, it restores "art" (*seni*, aesthetic) as part of children's development (MOEC, 2014c, Article 1: 2; Article 7; Article 10). Nothing, however, is more striking about the 2014 standard than its regulatory presentation of each aspect of the eight standards. In the earlier 2004 and 2009 standards, children's developmental tasks, for example, were presented in descriptive, indicative terms. In the 2014, they are presented as and through sets of regulating articles. Thus, the notion of children's developmental tasks, essentially a theoretical construct subject to verification and falsification, has changed into a legal construct, and therefore, these tasks are undisputable as long as their status as a legal framework remains in place.

The Curriculum 2013 (*Kurikulum 2013*) appeared at the same time as that of the 2014 *ECE standards* document was published. Albeit actually published in 2014, the curriculum is named *Kurikulum 2013* to align it with the new curriculum for primary and secondary schools launched a year earlier in 2013. Unlike the previous 2004 curriculum, which provided a general play-based learning approach, the 2013 curriculum mandates the combination of the play-based approach and what it specifically calls the "scientific approach" (*pendekatan saintifik*) to learning and the use of "authentic assessment" (*penilaian autentik*) for children's developmental stimulation evaluation (MOEC, 2014d, Attachment 1, p. 2). By "scientific approach", the *Curriculum 2013* means the learning sequence that includes five core activities of "observing (*mengamati*), questioning (*menanya*), information gathering (*mencari*

informasi), reasoning (*menalar*), and communicating (*mengkomunikasikan*)" (Directorate of ECE, 2015a, p. 19). The new curriculum shares some commonalities with the 2014 national standard. What it means by "curriculum structure" (*struktur kurikulum*) (MOEC, 2014d, Article 5) is similar to the 2014 standard's "scope of development" (MOEC, 2014c, Article 10). Both refer to the children's six developmental areas—moral and religious, physical, cognitive, linguistic, and socio-emotional aspects, and aesthetic. The same applies to the curriculum's notion of "basic competency" (*kompetensi dasar*), which conveys the same meaning of the 2014 standard's "level of child's developmental achievement standard" (MOEC, 2014c, Article 1: 2; Attachment 1). Thus, the publication of these two standardising documents repeated the redundancy of early childhood education reference, as had been the case with the 2009 standard and 2004 standard of competencies. Complicating this duality is the lack of any reference to the 2014 standard across the 2013 curriculum document, despite its functions as the basis for curriculum development. Normally, it should be referred to and appear at least in the preamble of the ministerial regulation stipulating the curriculum. In other words, as soon as it was published, the 2014 standard lost its governing power, ironically, over its first targets and users, the MOEC's team and the early childhood education curriculum they developed.

As this section shows, in less than a decade, numerous standards mushroomed around early childhood education in Indonesia. This could be taken as an encouraging trend as long as the sector is envisioned as a fertile garden where today's young equip themselves with the skills and knowledge that would make them the imagined Superkids, or source of "demographic dividend" (MOEC, 2014a), and the backbone of the golden age of Indonesia (Directorate of ECE, 2011). Yet, to create a garden for plants to grow is not merely a matter of soil fertility. It is also necessary to ensure that the plants are placed and looked after properly. The continuous duality of the quality standards and the disjuncture between them is evidence of the poor care and over-planting of the garden. While continuously cultivating numerous standards, the owner of the garden, the Indonesian government, has not allowed for breaks between planting periods, without which the garden would never reach its golden time of harvest, as its plants are cut down before they are mature enough to fruit. Similarly, the standards would never reach proper maturity or quality. Were this to happen, unlike what the Indonesian government has envisioned, the future then would be a famine, a demographic disaster instead of dividend, and 2045 would be a dark instead of golden age.

The next section presents more in depth analysis of recommendations made by the government to ensure their early learning institutions become the garden where today's young are nurtured and brought up to be the golden generation and backbone of the golden Indonesia. More specifically, the analysis aims to assess whether or not these recommendations suffice and are in line with, or otherwise disconnected from the notion and vision of the golden Indonesia. In accordance with the objective of this chapter, the analysis, however, is limited to what the government wants early learning centres to teach to children and how to teach them, and what infrastructure is supposed to support them. The section begins with a brief presentation of the genealogy of the golden Indonesia vision and its connection with early childhood education.

"Golden Generation" "Golden Indonesia" and "Demographic Bonus"

This section briefly reviews the genealogy and meaning of the notions of "golden generation", "golden Indonesia" and "demographic bonus" as used in the post-Reformasi policy documents and how early childhood education is supposedly connected to them.

The notions of "golden generation" (*generasi emas*), "golden Indonesia" (*Indonesia emas*), and "demographic bonus" (*bonus demografi*, demographic dividend) are new terms introduced into the education sector, notably in the second term of Yudhoyono's presidency (2010-2014). Occasionally, these phrases had been expressed in slightly different ways such as "golden generation 2045" and "golden Indonesia 2045" or simply "Indonesia 2045". Whatever their form, each phrase represented the vision of the incumbent government for transforming the present into a better, golden future, through education. Nevertheless, their frequent excessive presentation through numerous education forums and ministerial publications often turned them into a set of buzzwords and slogans and not a vision. Likewise, their loud trumpeting mostly accompanied by lack of explanation of their "true" meanings, makes it difficult to trace their origins and who initially spoke them, based on what motives, and for what purpose. To illustrate, a 2011 periodical published by MONE's unit for early childhood education personnel, featured a cover story entitled "ECE Personnel: Seeding the golden generation of excellent character" (*Menyemai generasi emas berkarakter unggul*) (Anam & Nabila DP, 2011) (**Figure 16**). In fact, there is no information about what the directorate meant by the so-called golden generation. No less challenging was the fact that the vision of Indonesia 2025 was already in existence, stipulated by the law on the long-term development (GOI, 2007), and predated the vision-like function of the notion of Indonesia 2045.

Within the early childhood education sector, the "golden Indonesia" narrative emerged notably in 2011. The DECE published its Grand framework of Indonesian early childhood education development 2011-2025 (Directorate of ECE, 2011). The document presents the GOI vision that early childhood education would make today's children the "imagined Indonesian children" (*Anak Indonesia Harapan*), or the Superkids, as described in Chapter 4, and "special gift" for the golden anniversary of Indonesian independence in 2045 (Directorate of ECE, 2011, p. 5). To make them a special gift, they should be equipped with "ten dispositions" (dasa citra): "faith, piety, nobility, health, smart, honesty, responsibility, creativity, self-confidence, and patriotism/nationalism" (Directorate of ECE, 2011, p. 11). There is no information in the document that justifies the adoption of the golden Indonesia narrative as the framework of early childhood service development and expansion. In fact, since its early inception, the campaign for early childhood education, as described in the earlier section, has relied on rationales that centred on children themselves.

LAPORAN UTAMA

PTK PAUDNI

MENYEMAI GENERASI EMAS BERKARAKTER UNGGUL

Pendidikan Karakter sebagai Pilar Kebangkitan Bangsa. Raih Prestasi, Junjung Tinggi Budi Pekerti". Itulah tema peringatan Hari Pendidikan Nasional tanggal 2 Mei lalu, yang puncak peringatannya digelar pada 23 Mei di Istora Senayan Jakarta. Pendidikan karakter memang merupakan salah satu isu strategis yang digulirkan Menteri Pendidikan Nasional Prof. Dr. Ir. Mohammad Nuh, DEA.

Isu lain yang juga tidak kalah penting adalah pendidikan harus ramah sosial. Bentuknya antara lain memberikan kemudahan bagi anak-anak kurang mampu untuk mengenyam pendidikan setinggi-tingginya. Mereka dibebaskan dari beban biaya pendidikan. Bak sebuah bentangan karpet merah untuk menyambut anak-anak dari golongan ekonomi bawah.

Dalam konteks pendidikan karakter, kehadirannya terasa sangat tepat di tengah berbagai krisis multidimensi yang belum kelar dewasa ini. Menteri Pendidikan Nasional Mohammad Nuh mengatakan, karakter kebangsaan menjadi hal penting dalam perkembangan sebuah bangsa. Dalam proses pembentukannya, karakter kebangsaan menjadi tugas bersama, terutama para penentu kebijakan.

Dalam berbagai kesempatan Mendiknas selalu menekankan pentingnya pendidikan karakter. Bahkan saat mengawali tugasnya sebagai Mendiknas November 2009 lalu, ia menyatakan bahwa Presiden RI Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono berpesan agar pendidikan karakter dan budaya diperkuat.

Pemerintah dan masyarakat juga menyadari sepenuhnya bahwa peningkatan kualitas sumber daya manusia (SDM) merupakan pilar utama pembangunan karena sangat menentukan kemajuan bangsa. Kualitas SDM yang antara lain tercermin dari derajat kesehatan, tingkat intelegensia, kematangan emosional dan spiritual, serta produktivitas, sangat ditentukan oleh kualitas layanan terhadap anak pada usia dini (0-6 tahun).

Badan Perencanaan Pembangunan Nasional (Bappenas) juga memaparkan berbagai studi yang menunjukkan bahwa kualitas kesehatan fisik dan mental, kemampuan belajar, dan perilaku seorang manusia sepanjang hayatnya ditentukan oleh perkembangan otak pada masa awal kehidupannya, terutama pada usia dini (0-6 tahun). Perkembangan ini ditentukan oleh derajat kesehatan dan gizi, rangsangan lingkungan, perawatan dan interaksi yang berkualitas.

Periode anak usia 0-6 tahun atau usia emas (golden age) harus dioptimalkan dengan menjaga kesehatan dan status gizi anak, memberikan stimulus yang mencukupi, dan menyediakan lingkungan yang mendukung. Jika seluruh hal tersebut tidak dilaksanakan, maka kemampuan otak dan tumbuh kembang anak menjadi terbatas yang selanjutnya akan mempengaruhi kehidupannya dan terus dibawa sepanjang hayat (Strategi Nasional Pengembangan Anak Usia Dini Holistik-Integratif, Bappenas, 2008).

6 Majalah Pendidik dan Tenaga Kependidikan PAUD, Nonformal, dan Informal

Figure 16. Publication featuring "golden generation"

It is noteworthy here, however, that the "sudden" emergence of the golden Indonesia narrative in early childhood education policy coincided with the publication of President Yudhoyono's

lengthy article of Indonesia in 2045: A centennial journey of progress (Yudhoyono, 2011). The President envisioned that at the golden anniversary of its independence, Indonesia would be a country of “a strong and just economy, stable and quality democracy, and thriving, progressive…excellent national civilization” (Yudhoyono, 2011, p. 47). He reiterated this characterisation of the golden Indonesia in his state address before the parliament a year later (Yudhoyono, 2012). Additionally, the Yudhoyono government published the Masterplan for acceleration and expansion of Indonesia’s economic development (GOI, 2011), although it did not specifically mention the notion of golden Indonesia, provided various expected prospects of Indonesia in 2045. For example, the document demonstrated the GOI vision for a “self-sufficient, advanced, just, and prosperous Indonesia” (GOI, 2011, p. 14). As if to respond to these visions, in 2012 the Ministry of Education adopted “The rise of the golden generation” (*Bangkitnya generasi emas Indonesia*) as the theme of the national Education Day celebration (Nuh, 2012a). By the golden generation, the ministry means those who would be alive in 2045, and more specifically, as the secretary of education Mohammad Nuh (2012a) stated, the large young population projected to be the productive citizens in the period of 2035 to 2045.

The future large proportion of productive population is what is understood as the “demographic bonus” (*bonus demografi*, demographic dividend). Originally a concept in demographic and economic studies (Adioetomo et al., 2010; Adioetomo, 2005), and gaining popular use after the 2010 national census (Statistics Indonesia, 2012a), the term “bonus demografi” later turned into one of the post-Reformasi education keywords. Based on its 2010 national census, Indonesia’s national statistics board projected that there would be a serial increase of up to 67.9% in the proportion of the so-called working, productive-aged population from 2010 to 2035 (Statistics Indonesia, 2012a, p. 28). This trend is accepted as a condition for demographic dividend (demographic bonus). However, in some cases, it is the large proportion of the working-age population itself that is perceived as the demographic dividend (*bonus demografi*). This appeared, for example, in two of the 2012 education secretary’s speeches (Nuh, 2012a; 2012b).

> We have to be grateful that in the next period of 2010 to 2035, our nation would be granted by God the Almighty the potential human resources in the form of remarkable number of the productive-aged population. If such a golden opportunity, which would happen for the first time since the…independence, could be well managed, those…population would be a *bonus demografi*…(Nuh, 2012a, p. 2).

> Those potential human resources must be well managed in order to be of [high] quality and…a *bonus demografi*…if we failed to manage…indeed [those productive-aged population] would be a *bencana demografi* (demographic disaster) (Nuh, 2012b, p. 1).

The idea of demographic dividend was later adopted into the revised version of the 2010-2014 education strategic plan. By the bonus, the plan meant a "chance", a "window of opportunity", and "capital" (MOEC, 2013c, p. 28) to develop the nation resulting from the large proportion of productive-aged citizens, instead of the number of the productive-aged citizens itself to which it was often oversimplified. Within this perspective, MOEC's new strategic plan positioned education as an intervention technology to nurture the existing, large young population to be the so-called golden generation. Hence, the discourse of golden Indonesia and demographic bonus have gone hand in hand, as both the rationales and visionary projection of Indonesian education.

This section has portrayed the ideas of a golden Indonesia, golden generation, and demographic dividend. While golden Indonesia has been imagined as a state of self-sufficiency, justice, prosperity and mature democracy, the golden generation has no clear meaning other than today's young children who would be alive in 2045. In fact, the realisation of this imagined future would mostly depend on the capability and quality of these young people projected to be the golden generation. Therefore, there would be a need to ensure whether or not their quality is relevant to and compatible with their imagined future. In this case, the DECE's (2011) early childhood education development framework, as portrayed in Chapter 4, offers what it calls the "ten dispositions" (*dasa citra*) of the imagined Indonesian children. Yet, these ten are the characteristics the Indonesian education system has promoted since the time of the 1950 education law and up to the current 2003 education law. What then is the relevance of crowning today's young with a golden generation title, when they would be equipped only with the same characteristics as those of their predecessors? Even if it is justifiable that the future golden Indonesia requires them, a further question needs to be asked: do the early learning institutions, their contents, processes, and infrastructure truly nurture the development of these ten dispositions?

The following sections that conclude this chapter present the quality policy recommendations on early learning contents, processes, and facilities to nurture the development of their imagined golden generation through the 2014 *Early childhood standard* (MOEC, 2014c) and *Curriculum 2013* (MOEC, 2014d). It will be argued that even though their production was

intended to ensure that the vision of the golden Indonesia is reflected in the daily practice of early childhood education these documents are disconnected from that very vision.

The Would-be Golden Generation's Learning Menu

The golden generation 2045, is envisioned as having the attributes of "faith in God and piety, nobility, health, smartness, honesty, responsibility, creativity, self-confidence, and patriotism/nationalism" (Directorate of ECE, 2011, p. 11), while the golden Indonesia is envisaged as a "stable democracy, just and strong economy, and thriving civilisation" (GOI, 2011; Yudhoyono, 2011). Early childhood education, and therefore today's pre-schooling, is believed to be the foundation for the realisation of those visions. With this in mind, what then does the post-Reformasi government standardising mind recommend for today's young to learn in order for them to be the golden generation as well as the ladder towards the golden Indonesia? To further examine this issue, the 2014 Early childhood standard (MOEC, 2014c) and *Curriculum 2013* (MOEC, 2014d) will be analysed.

The 2014 Standard regulates the learning contents through its provision on the "child's developmental achievement level" and "learning contents" (MOEC, 2014c, Article 5-8; Article 9-10). *Curriculum 2013* regulates the learning contents through its sections on competencies (*kompetensi*) (MOEC, 2014d, Article 4; Attachment 1). **Table 15** juxtaposes the samples of the 2014 Standard of children's developmental achievement and learning contents (MOEC, 2014c, Article 5, 10; Attachment 1).

As **Table 15** shows, according to the 2014 Standard, Indonesian children are required to learn numerous skills derived from six developmental domains: moral-religious, cognitive, physical-motor, linguistic, socio-emotional, and aesthetic *Curriculum 2013* adopts the same domains. However, unlike the 2014 Standard, which defines these skills as "developmental achievement", *Curriculum 2013* calls these skills "competency" (*kompetensi*). There are two types of competency according to Curriculum 2013: "core competency" (*kompetensi inti*) and "basic competency" (*kompetensi dasar*). The former refers to children's overall outcomes at the end of their preschool participation, while the latter is children's learning outcomes in the context of specific learning contents (MOEC, 2014d, Article 4: 1-2).

Domains	Samples of Standard of Developmental Achievement (age 4 -5)	Standard of Contents
Moral religious values	• Knowing the religion adhered to • Imitating prayer movements correctly • Uttering prayer before and after activities	• Ability to recognize the value of the religion, to worship, to be honest, helpful, polite, respectful, and fair (originally 'sportif'), to maintaining personal and environmental hygiene and sanitation, to know religious holidays, and to respect and be tolerant of others religion.
Physical-motor	• Imitating animal movements • Hanging on (a bar, tree branch) • Age-appropriate body weight and height • Recognising road signs	• Gross motor skills: coordinated, flexible, balanced, locomotor, non-locomotor, and ruled body movements • Fine motor skills: effective use of fingers and tools to explore and manipulate objects for self-expression • Physical growth and health and safety behaviours
Cognitive	• Recognising objects based on their functions (e.g. knife for cutting, pencil for writing) • Classifying objects based on their functions, shapes, colour, and size • Counting objects up to 10	• Problem-solving skills: ability to solve simple problems in a flexible and socially acceptable way and applying knowledge or experience in a new context; • Logical thinking: differentiation, classification, pattern, self-initiative, causal relationship • Symbolic thinking: ability to recognise, identify, and utilise numeral concepts, and represent various objects through images
Language	• Attending to a talk • Understanding two simultaneous instructions • Understanding story being read • Recognising adjective (naughty, stingy, kind, brave, good, bad etc.)	• Receptive skills: understanding stories, instructions, rules, and enjoying and appreciating reading materials/activities • Expressive skills: asking and answering questions, oral communication, retelling prior knowledge, expressing feelings, ideas, and willingness through scribble • Literacy: understanding of letters form and sound, imitating letters, and understanding the word meaning
Socio-emotional	• Showing self-independence to choose activities • Controlling feelings • Showing self-confidence	• Self-consciousness: expressing self-ability, recognizing one's own feelings and self-control, and self-adaptation • Self-responsibility and responsibility for others: recognition of personal rights, rule obedience, self-regulation, and socially responsible behaviours • Prosocial behaviours: ability to play with peers, understand others' feelings, respond, share, respect others' rights and opinions, and be cooperative, tolerant, and polite.
Aesthetic/artistic	• Showing interest in various music/songs • Playing instruments/objects that may create rhythm	• Aesthetical self-expression/imagination through movements, music, drama, and other branches of art (drawing, visual art, and craft-making) • Appreciation of artworks, dance and movement, and drama

Table 15. Sample of what children should learn and acquire

Furthermore, the core competency is classified into four areas: namely spiritual, social, knowledge, and skill competencies, extracted from the six developmental domains stipulated in the 2014 Standard. Each of these four competencies are detailed into 46 basic competencies: spiritual competency (2), social competency (14), knowledge competency (15), and skill competency (15). **Table 16** shows *Curriculum 2013*'s four core competencies, namely the spiritual, social, knowledge, and skill competencies and their detailing into basic competencies, and the five scientific skills and activities—observing, asking, collecting information, reasoning, and communicating—children should perform in learning.

Core Competencies: Children are able to		**Samples of Basic Competencies**
Spiritual competency	To accept the teachings of the religion they adhere to	• Believe in God and through His creation • Respect the self, others, and surrounding environment as a feeling of gratitude to God
Social competency	To have healthy life behaviours, curiosity, creativity and aesthetic sense, confidence, discipline, independence, caring, respect and tolerance, self-adjustment, responsibility, honest, humble and polite in interacting with family, educators, and peers	• Demonstrate behaviours that reflect a healthy life • Demonstrate behaviours that reflect curiosity • Demonstrate behaviours that reflect creativity
Knowledge competency	To recognise themselves, their family, friends, educators, environment, religion, technology, art, and culture at home and learning centre by *observing* through their five senses (seeing, hearing, smelling, feeling, touching), *asking*, *collecting information*, *reasoning*, and *communicating*[*)] through play activities.	• Recognise daily religious rituals • Recognise social environment (family, peers, home, religious places) • Understand receptive language
Skill competency	To demonstrate what they know, feel, need, and think through language, music, and movements in a productive and creative way that reflects their behaviour as children with noble characters	• Perform daily religious activities/ritual under adult guidance • Demonstrate politeness as a reflection of noble characters (*akhlak mulia*) • Solve daily problems creatively • Present various (art-) works representing the natural world (animals, plants, weather etc.)

[*)] Observing, asking, collecting information, reasoning, and communicating are five skills and activities that constitute a *scientific approach to learning* according to *Curriculum 2013*.

Table 16. Children's core competencies

With learning contents that combine the skills derived from the developmental domains and scientific skills, the post-Reformasi government wants Indonesian children to develop into developmentally normal and scientifically skilful persons. Nevertheless, apart from being the minimum abilities Indonesian children should master, the skills, knowledge, and behaviours

listed in **Table 15** and **Table 16**, are not adequately justified either by the *2014 Standard* or by *Curriculum 2013*. The documents do not provide information about the significance of each of the competencies and skills they promote for children's present and future life, nor do they elaborate the origin of these skills within the Indonesian society. Presenting these skills in the form of a regulation makes them appear important, correct, useful and needing to be learnt by and taught to every individual Indonesian child. This contradicts the historical nature of the learning domains, in this case especially the aesthetic domain, that was excluded in the 2009 Standard, even though it had been a long-established learning content dating back to the pre-independence preschools (Dewantara, 1959; Herlina & Indrati, 2010). The domain is now re-included as one of the preschool learning contents into the 2014 Standard and *Curriculum 2013*; but, just as its removal was not justified, its re-inclusion has not been clarified. Indeed, as with the previous 2009 Standard, both documents are developmentalist in terms of their theoretical orientation. As for the list of the learning contents and competencies, both the 2014 Standard and *Curriculum 2013* do not provide justification of the value of scientific thinking for children's learning. That science is important for children's present and future life is perhaps an undeniable claim. Nevertheless, the belief in the scientific approach is a criterion, and therefore a must of quality learning deserves more explanation than simply stating it. Valorising the scientific approach to learning, furthermore, could be in conflict with *Curriculum 2013*'s Piagetian view of young children. A section on the psycho-pedagogical foundations of the *Curriculum 2013* document states:

> Curriculum 2013… is developed by referring to the methods to educate children as unique individuals who have differences in their developmental pace as well as have not reached the stage of concrete-operational...(MOEC, 2014d, Attachment 1).

As is widely known, the concept of the "concrete-operational" mode of thinking comes from Jean Piaget's cognitive development theory (Piaget & Inhelder, 1958). It is the third out of four developmental stages in Piagetian developmental studies. Depicting children as "have not reached the stage of concrete-operational", *Curriculum 2013* admits that young children under the Piagetian lens, are at the stage of "preoperational thinking" or even at the stage of "sensory-motor", depending on what age group to which it is referred. In line with Piaget's developmental perspective, at these stages children lack the logical thinking capability required by the five sequential, scientific skills listed in **Table 16**—observing, asking questions, collecting information, reasoning, and communicating their thoughts. In other words, there are

internal tensions, if not even a degree of conceptual absurdity (Gelman & Brenneman, 2004; Gopnik, 2012) within *Curriculum 2013*, when it promotes a child's ability to think and act scientifically, but at the same time relies on a philosophical perspective that portrays children as relatively incompetent individuals. This tension not only reveals the continuous domination of developmental knowledge on Indonesian early childhood education, but also proves that "vulgar Piagetian" is a real phenomenon. Proposed initially in the work of Walsh (1991, pp. 111-112), this phenomenon, as Soto and Swadener (2002) explain, is a tendency to use Piaget's legacy uncritically or at the surface level. More fundamentally, this tension reflects the misapplication of developmental knowledge, as Penn (2002) warns that if often happens in countries that have recently expanded their early childhood education.

The lack of justification of the necessity of competencies promoted in the 2014 Standard and *Curriculum 2013* for the realisation of the visions of the golden generation and golden Indonesia is surprising. Indeed, MOEC promoted them as the vehicle that would nurture today's young to be the golden generation and backbone of the golden Indonesia.

> Curriculum 2013 is designed as an effort to prepare the Indonesian generation 2045 (when Indonesian independence would reach its 100th year) and to use the momentum of the abundant productive-age population in order to be a bonus demografi (demographic dividend) and not a demographic disaster (MOEC, 2014e, p. xviii).

The failure of the *2014 Standard* and *Curriculum 2013* to justify the relevance of the skills they promote raises the question of whether the competencies they listed are truly what Indonesia and Indonesian children need. To illustrate, what is the relevance of such competencies as hanging on a bar, imitating the movement of flying objects, recognising religious holidays, or children's interest in art-works (**Table 16**) for the creation of democratic, just, and prosperous future Indonesia. Even if these skills are important, does the achievement of developmental tasks and the mastery of the five scientific skills suffice to make today's young a future golden generation and to achieve the vision of golden Indonesia? Is it justifiable that Indonesian children should learn a uniform list of competencies, and not only are Indonesian children a diverse group of human beings but their future is also complex? The absence of information about skill importance for children's lives, in particular, and the national interest, in general, is an indication of the disjuncture between the 2014 Standard and *Curriculum 2013* and the very vision and narratives of golden Indonesia which, ironically, was the context and spirit that

drove their production. This disjuncture is even more apparent when the process of learning and instruction, which will be discussed in the next section, is taken into consideration.

Learning at the Centres: Play-based and Scientific Approach to Learning

Unlike preschools in many western or developed countries, which operate for long and flexible hours to meet the needs of working families and their children, most Indonesian early learning institutions operate effectively only two hours per day. Only recently has the so-called full-day preschool service been established. Nevertheless, both the two-hour and full-day learning institutions follow approximately the same sequence of learning activities. As the duration of learning is limited, children's learning and instruction at the centres are carried out in a highly structured sequence. Given this situation, what does the government recommend to ensure quality in the learning process?

The *2014 Standard* and *Curriculum 2013* state that the quality learning process depends on two factors: the process of learning and lesson planning. Initially, the quality-learning process was guided only by a number of principles derived from developmentally appropriate practices. For example, learning had to be developmentally appropriate, play-based, and child-centred (DONE, 2009d, p. 20). These characteristics are maintained and even reinforced as a rule of law in the *2014 Standard* (MOEC, 2014c). Following the publication of *Curriculum 2013*, a new characteristic of learning quality was added: the use of a scientific approach (MOEC, 2014d). To ensure that the learning process meets these characteristics, the *2014 Standard* stipulates that teachers and centres must develop their learning activity plan. Three types of activity plan documents need to be produced: the semester-based plan, the weekly plan, and the daily plan (MOEC, 2014c, Article 12). The next sections will discuss in more detail the features of a good learning process and its preparation defined in the *2014 Standard* and *Curriculum 2013.*

Principles	**Explanation**
Interactive	Learning prioritises interaction between children and children, children and educators, and children and their environment
Inspiratif (inspiring)	Learning encourages the development of children's imagination
Joyful	Learning is carried out in a free and comfortable atmosphere
Contextual	Learning is linked to the physical and socio-cultural environment
Child-centred	Learning is carried out in line with children's characteristics, interests, potentials, level of development, and needs

Table 17. Five principles of good learning and instruction

As presented in **Table 17**, the *2014 Standard* characterises a good process of learning as one that gives children opportunities to express their initiatives, creativity, and independence. For this purpose, it stipulates that learning should meet five characteristics of learning, by being interactive, inspiring (*inspiratif*), joyful, contextual, and child-centred (*berpusat pada anak*) (MOEC, 2014c, Article 13). **Table 17** presents what the standard means by these five learning characteristics.

Having stipulated the characteristics of the learning process, the 2014 Standard then regulates the sequence of the learning and instructional activities for the whole day. The whole process of learning is divided into three parts: the opening (*kegiatan pembukaan*), main (*kegiatan inti*), and closing (*kegiatan penutup*) activities (MOEC, 2014c, Article 15). **Figure 17** taken from MOEC's *Curriculum 2013* (Directorate of ECE, 2015d) implementation guide package, shows a sample of learning sequence from the opening to the closing stage.

Kegiatan Pembukaan

1. Kegiatan pembukaan ditujukan untuk membantu membangun minat anak agar anak siap bermain di kegiatan inti.
2. Kegiatan pembukaan penting untuk mengenalkan materi pembelajaran.
3. Kegiatan pembukaan dimanfaatkan guru untuk mengenalkan kegiatan bermain yang sudah disiapkan, aturan bermain, menerapkan pembiasaan-pembiasaan, dan sebagainya.

Contoh

Contoh Kegiatan Pembukaan di RPPH untuk subtema tubuhku

1. Bernyanyi " Aku Ciptaan Tuhan"
2. Doa sebelum belajar
3. Membacakan buku cerita
4. Mengenalkan aturan bermain
5. Berdiskusi bagian-bagian tubuh, fungsi, dan cara merawat tubuh. Diskusi yang harus dilakukan sebagai rasa terima kasih terhadap Tuhan atas tubuhnya

Kegiatan Inti

1. Proses belajar menerapkan pendekatan saintifik, yakni anak mengamati sesuai dengan tema yang dibahas, menanya, mengumpulkan informasi, menalar, dan mengomunikasikan.
2. Proses pembelajaran dengan pendekatan saintifik diterapkan secara lebih fleksibel dan lebih luas. Artinya bisa diterapkan di dalam ruangan, di luar ruangan, menggunakan sumber belajar yang ada, atau memanfaatkan sumber belajar lingkungan.
3. Kegiatan Inti memberi kesempatan anak untuk bereksplorasi membangun pengalaman bermain yang bermakna.
4. Pada tahap mengomunikasikan ditekankan pada anak menyampaikan gagasannya melalui berbagai kegiatan bermain yang disiapkan.
5. Kegiatan bermain disesuaikan dengan model pembelajaran sentra/area/sudut/ kelompok dengan kegiatan pengaman.
6. Jumlah kegiatan yang disediakan setiap harinya minimal 4 kegiatan yang berbeda untuk memfasilitasi anak agar tetap fokus bermain. Pada kegiatan tertentu misalnya memasak, main peran/drama, atau pengenalan sains guru dapat menyediakan 1 kegiatan saja.
7. Penguatan mengingat (*recalling*) merupakan bagian dari kegiatan main di Inti. *Recalling* untuk menguatkan kembali pengalaman bermain dan konsep yang dipelajari anak

Contoh

Kegiatan Inti untuk RPPH subtema tubuhku Model Sentra Seni

1. Anak diajak untuk mengamati alat dan bahan yang disediakan
2. Anak diberi kesempatan untuk bertanya tentang konsep warna dan bentuk yang ada di alat dan bahan.
3. Guru menanyakan konsep warna dan bentuk yang pernah ditemukan anak di dalam kehidupan sehari-hari
4. Anak melakukan kegiatan sesuai yang diminati dan gagasannya:
   a. Kegiatan 1: Membuat bingkai foto diri dari lidi.
   b. Kegiatan 2: Membuat boneka foto diri dari tanah liat.
   c. Kegiatan 3: Membuat boneka diri dari shuttlecock.
   d. Kegiatan 4: Membuat kolase (menggunting dan menempel) anggota diri.
5. Anak menceritakan kegiatan main yang dilakukannya.

Selama proses pembelajaran, guru dapat menggunakan berbagai metode untuk saling melengkapi. Metode tersebut untuk mendukung pendekatan saintifik. Beberapa metode pembelajaran yang dianggap sesuai untuk PAUD, antara lain adalah sebagai berikut.

1. Bercerita adalah cara bertutur dan menyampaikan cerita secara lisan. Cerita harus diberikan secara menarik. Anak diberi kesempatan untuk bertanya dan memberikan tanggapan. Pendidik dapat menggunakan buku sebagai alat bantu bercerita.
2. Demonstrasi digunakan untuk menunjukkan atau memeragakan cara untuk membuat atau melakukan sesuatu.
3. Bercakap-cakap dapat dilakukan dalam bentuk tanya jawab antara anak dengan pendidik atau antara anak dengan anak yang lain.
4. Pemberian tugas dilakukan oleh pendidik untuk memberi pengalaman yang nyata kepada anak, baik secara individu maupun secara berkelompok.
5. Sosiodrama/bermain peran dilakukan untuk mengembangkan daya khayal/imajinasi, kemampuan berekspresi dan kreativitas anak terhadap tokoh-tokoh yang diperankan atau benda-benda yang ada di sekitar.
6. Karyawisata adalah kunjungan secara langsung ke objek-objek yang sesuai dengan tema dan bahan kegiatan yang sedang dibahas di lingkungan kehidupan anak.
7. Projek merupakan suatu tugas yang terdiri atas rangkaian kegiatan yang diberikan oleh pendidik kepada anak, baik secara individu maupun secara berkelompok dengan menggunakan objek alam sekitar dan kegiatan sehari-hari sebagai bahan pembahasan.
8. Eksperimen merupakan pemberian pengalaman kepada anak dengan melakukan percobaan secara langsung dan mengamati hasilnya.

Kegiatan Penutup

1. Kegiatan penutup dilakukan di akhir kegiatan hari tersebut.
2. Kegiatan penutup berupa transisi dari sekolah ke rumah. Diisi dengan berbagai kegiatan yang membuat anak rileks.
3. Di kegiatan penutup dapat mengulang kembali apa yang dilakukan pada saat kegiatan pembukaan.
4. Kegiatan penutup juga dapat diisi dengan kegiatan rutin untuk memperkuat sikap yang diharapkan.
5. Kegiatan penutup dilakukan untuk menarik minat anak belajar esok harinya.

Contoh

Kegiatan Penutup untuk RPPH subtema tubuhku

1. Menanyakan perasaan anak selama hari ini
2. Bernyanyi " Aku Ciptaan Tuhan"
3. Berdiskusi kegiatan apa saja yang sudah dimainkan hari ini, mainan apa yang paling disukai
4. Memberikan tugas kepada anak untuk dilakukan di rumah, yakni menanyakan kepada orang tuanya tentang tempat lahir, tanggal lahir, siapa yang menolong kelahiran, dst.
5. Bercerita pendek yang berisi pesan-pesan
6. Menginformasikan kegiatan untuk esok hari
7. Berdoa setelah belajar

Figure 17. Sample learning sequence and activities

As **Figure 17** shows, through the opening activities teachers prepare children both physically and mentally to learn as well as to orient them to the learning theme and range of activities of the day. This stage of learning is generally teacher-led rather than children-initiated. Among the typical activities of this stage are learning-prayer recitation, book-reading, and a short teacher-children, question-and-answer activity about the learning theme of the day. The main

part of the daily learning (*kegiatan inti*) consists of a set of pre-prepared activities children can choose to engage in. These activities should be conceptually linked to the learning theme of the day. **Figure 17** (centre) shows four activities derived from the "Myself" learning theme: "self-portrait frame making out of coconut leaves bone", "self-doll making out of clay", "self-doll making out of shuttlecock", and "self-portrait collage" (Directorate of ECE, 2015d, p. 23). Children are strongly encouraged to do all these pre-prepared activities. The last part of the daily learning activities (*kegiatan penutup*) provides children with reinforcement for their learning performance and achievements of the day. In this way, children are expected to internalise their learning experience and the positive attitudes that emerged during their engagement in the main activities (*kegiatan inti*). Additionally, the closing activities are for teachers to facilitate children's smooth school-home transition. Among the typical activities in this stage are teacher-led reflection of children's learning, short instruction about things children should do, or avoid upon their return to their home, and post-learning prayer recitation.

Penerapan Pendekatan Saintifik Dengan Berbagai Model Pembelajaran

Model Tahapan Kegiatan	Kelompok berdasarkan sudut kegiatan	Kelompok berdasarkan kegiatan pengaman	Area	Sentra
Penyiapan Lingkungan Main	- Guru menata ragam main sesuai dengan sudut yang akan digunakan (minimal 4 sudut). - Satu sudut dapat diisi dengan beragam kegiatan main.	- Guru menata 4 tempat kegiatan main yang terdiri dari 3 tempat untuk kegiatan utama dan 1 tempat untuk kegiatan pengaman.	- Guru menata ragam main sesuai dengan area yang akan digunakan (minimal 4 area) - Satu area dapat diisi dengan beragam kegiatan main	- Guru menata ragam main sesuai dengan sentra yang digunakan (minimal 4 kegiatan main). - Untuk anak yang sudah mampu dapat dilibatkan dalam penataan lingkungan main
	- Di setiap tempat kegiatan main tersedia alat, bahan, sumber atau media yang dapat dieksplorasi untuk menerapkan pendekatan saintifik. - Lingkungan yang disiapkan memungkinkan terbangunnya pemahaman anak yang mendalam terhadap topik atau tema yang dibahas			
Pembukaan	- Guru memfasilitasi (menunjukkan, membacakan, mengajak, menampilkan, dll) anak dengan beragam alat ,bahan, sumber atau media untuk diamati, baik di dalam ruangan atau di luar ruangan sesuai dengan tema/sub tema - Anak mengamati (dengan berbagai indera) alat, bahan, sumber atau media - Anak diberi kesempatan untuk menanya dan mengungkapkan perasaannya - Guru dan anak menyepakati fokus dan kegiatan-kegiatan yang akan dilakukan anak saat kegiatan inti			
Inti	- Anak beraktifitas di sudut untuk mengumpulkan informasi	- Anak beraktifitas di kelompok untuk mengumpulkan informasi - Guru mendampingi salah satu kelom-pok agar anak mendapatkan informa-si yang lebih optimal	- Anak beraktifitas di area untuk mengum-pulkan informasi - Guru melakukan individualisasi kepada anak agar anak mendapatkan informasi yang lebih optimal	- Anak beraktifitas di sentra untuk mengumpulkan informasi - Guru memberikan pijakan agar anak mendapatkan informasi yang lebih optimal

Figure 18. Samples of scientific approach in all stages of learning

In addition to the three-staged sequence, a further critical feature of learning recommended in *Curriculum 2013* is the use of the scientific approach (*pendekatan saintifik*). This approach refers to the five activities of observing, asking questions, collecting information, reasoning, and communicating thoughts. **Figure 18**, on the previous page taken from the *Curriculum 2013* implementation guidebook (Directorate of ECE, 2015b, pp. 36-36), shows a sample of the scientific activities teachers and children should do in each of the three stages. Neither the *2014 Standard* nor *Curriculum 2013*, however, provides detailed information about what teachers should do to encourage children's engagement in these five activities. A *Curriculum 2013* guidebook (Directorate of ECE, 2015b) later explains that the scientific approach should be adopted in all three learning stages—opening (*kegiatan pembukaan*), main (*kegiatan inti*), and closing activities (*kegiatan penutup*). As shown in **Figure 18**, in the opening teachers should display a set of toys and learning media for children to observe. The same learning scenario equally applies to the main stage of learning (*kegiatan inti*). At the closing stage, children should communicate what they thought of or did with the toys, and this constitutes the fifth element of scientific learning, that is, communicating.

Although it could, and is indeed expected to, improve children's learning outcome quality, in the sense that children are accustomed to behave scientifically since their early age, the application of the five-stepped scientific approach has the potential to make learning highly structured. Instead of, as MOEC (2014, p. 16) claims, being a "liberating learning process", its application tends to manipulate children's ways of asking, acting, and behaving to meet the five true standardised, scientific steps of learning. This is an unavoidable consequence, especially given the short learning duration and the three-part learning sequence. Another potential danger is its tendency to reduce children's learning goals simply to being able to know an object or phenomenon. In fact, the competencies children achieve through early childhood education and the imagined traits that would shape the overall quality of the future Indonesian golden generation, as MOEC's (2014, p. 16) *Curriculum 2013* roadmap states, are much more complex and more pertinent to attitudes and characters and not to knowledge per se.

> Through such [scientific-approach] learning the learners would be accustomed to express their ideas based on the fact (speak with the fact), through which would be born academic honesty, sincere expression, as well as mastery of the learning materials…Through such liberating learning process, we expect, would be born the golden generation [we] envisage and [would be] proud of. [They are] the quality

> generation who are capable to progress when Indonesia would be 100 years old and reach its golden age in 2045. Hopefully (MOEC, 2014, p. 16).

In other words, if scientific learning and early childhood education are truly the means to realise its golden vision (Directorate of ECE, 2011; World Bank, 2006a), would it not be better to ensure that learning at a preschool is action-oriented rather than knowledge-building per se? Action-oriented learning would allow the formation of children's capacity to think-beyond, to respond to, and to take action rather than simply to know an object or phenomenon (Lier, 2007). The future, as MOEC demonstrates in the above passage, requires honest people who act honestly, and who want to collaborate in honesty and for honesty, and not merely people who scientifically know what honesty is. If so, then the ability to observe, understand, and communicate what honesty is, in this sense is disconnected from the vision for which the 2013 curriculum was prepared.

To ensure that learning and instruction would run effectively, the standard underlines the importance of lesson and instructional planning. As touched on briefly at the beginning of this section, there are three types of instructional plan documents that teachers are required to produce, the semester-based plan, the weekly plan, and the daily plan (MOEC, 2014c, Article 12). These documents generally contain the competencies, which are "copied" from either the 2014 Standard or *Curriculum 2013* that children should master, and activities (*kegiatan belajar*) children would and/or are required to perform during their time at the centre.

Another key element in the lesson plan document is the "learning theme" (*tema pembelajaran*). Teachers are required to develop a list of activities that are conceptually linked to the learning themes. Nevertheless, as presented on **Table 18**, the number of competency items stipulated in the 2014 Standard are highly specific and intrinsically linked to the particular learning themes commonly known in Indonesian preschool practice. Among these competencies, for example, are "imitating prayer's movement" or "imitating animal, trees, aircraft movement" (MOEC, 2014c, Attachment 1) .

Traditionally, there are eleven themes known in Indonesian preschools. Extracted from a study by Herlina and Indrati (2010) of the MOEC Curriculum Centre, **Table 18** presents the eleven learning themes and their common, seemingly taken for granted distribution, throughout the academic year. Nowadays, they are pejoratively called "national themes" not only because of their nationalistic contents. Rather, it is the tendency to treat them as mandatory themes and

their distribution that has made them almost similar to courses in the case of primary or secondary schools. Until now, and with some exceptions in the globally franchised preschools operated in many parts of the country, these themes are taught literally by all Indonesian preschools, and more or less following the same time allocation and order as indicated in **Table 18**.

Themes	Sub-themes	Allocation (weeks)
	Semester 1	
My self	My identity, my body, five senses	3
My environment	My house, my house parts, my school	4
My needs	Food/beverage, clothes/apparel, hygiene/cleanliness	4
Animals	Animal typology, how animal life, animal features	3
Plants	Plants typology, how to plant and care for plants, plants anatomy	3
	Semester 2	
Recreation	Ground-vehicles, water-vehicles, aircrafts	4
Profession/occupation	My parent’s job, the jobs of my neighbours, jobs in my city	3
Water, air, fire	Water, air, fire	2
Communication tools	Electronic communication tools, non-electronic communication tools	2
My country	The city where I live, special foods of my city	3
The universe	Space objects, seasons in Indonesia, natural phenomena	3

Table 18. Typical learning themes in an academic year

MOEC has encouraged learning theme diversification to enrich children’s learning. For that purpose, and while maintaining the existing eleven themes, MOEC recommends four principles of theme selection: “proximity” (*kedekatan*), “simplicity” (*kesederhanaan*), “attractiveness” (*kemenarikan*), and “emergence-likeliness” (originally, *keinsidentalan*, *incidentallness*) (Directorate of ECE, 2015c, p. 3). When these principles are observed properly, theme selection requires children’s active participation and contribution. Nevertheless, due to the three types of learning plan documents required by the 2014 Standard, the themes are mostly defined in advance and arbitrarily by the teachers. Exacerbating this situation, both the *2014 Standard* and *Curriculum 2014* do not in this case provide a clear teacher-student-family consultative mechanism.

Figure 19 taken from MOEC *Curriculum 2013* guidebook on lesson planning shows a sample of the semester-based plan document with “Myself” (*Diriku*) and “Animals’ (*Binatang*) as its weekly themes (Directorate of ECE, 2015d, pp. 4-5, 17). As the figure illustrates, the learning

themes, and daily learning activities (*rencana pelaksanaan pembelajaran harian*) for children are prepared in advance.

Perencanaan program semester berisi daftar tema satu semester yang dikembangkan menjadi subtema atau sub-subtema, serta kompetensi yang ditetapkan untuk dicapai pada setiap tema, dan alokasi waktu setiap tema.

Langkah-Langkah Penyusunan Program Semester

Penyusunan program semester dilakukan dengan langkah berikut.

1. Membuat daftar tema satu semester. Pemilihan dan penentuan tema dilakukan guru sebelum awal semester kegiatan pembelajaran dimulai dengan memperhatikan prinsip pengembangan tema.
2. Mengembangkan tema menjadi subtema dan atau sub-subtema. Subtema dan sub-subtema yang dikembangkan merupakan topik-topik yang lebih khusus dan lebih dalam. Kekhususan dan kedalaman subtema dan sub-subtema memperhatikan usia anak, kesiapan guru, dan ketersediaan sumber belajar pendukung. Pengembangan tema dapat dipelajari pada Pedoman Pengembangan Tema.
3. Menentukan alokasi waktu untuk setiap tema, subtema dan atau sub-subtema. Waktu pembahasan setiap tema/subtema/sub-subtema disesuaikan dengan minat anak, keluasan, kedalaman, dan sumber/media yang tersedia.
4. Menetapkan Kompetensi Dasar (KD) di setiap tema. Penentuan KD memuat seluruh aspek perkembangan Nilai Agama dan Moral (NAM), fisik-motorik, kognitif, sosial-emosional (sosem), bahasa, dan seni.
5. KD dapat ditulis lengkap atau dapat dituliskan kodenya saja.
6. KD dapat diulang-ulang di tiap tema/subtema/sub-subtema yang berbeda.

RENCANA PELAKSANAAN PEMBELAJARAN MINGGUAN (RPPM)
TAMAN KANAK-KANAK KENCANA
Semester/Bulan/Minggu : I/Juli/Minggu ke 4

Tema : Diriku
Subtema : Tubuhku
Sub-subtema : -
Kelompok : B (usia 5-6 Tahun)

Contoh 1

KD	Materi Pembelajaran	Rencana Kegiatan
1.1	1. Tubuhku ciptaan Tuhan,	1. Membuat bingkai foto diri warna merah, biru, kuning
3.1-4.1	2. Doa sebelum dan sesudah belajar,	2. Membuat boneka foto diri dari tanah liat
2.1	3. Kebiasaan mencuci tangan dan menggosok gigi,	3. Membuat boneka diri dari *shuttlecock* bulu tangkis dengan tempelan kertas merah, biru, kuning
3.3-4.3	4. Nama anggota tubuh, fungsi anggota tubuh, cara merawat,	4. Menggunting dan menempel gambar anggota tubuh 5. Melukis dengan cat air
2.5	5. Aku senang memberi salam,	6. Menggambar dengan krayon atau spidol 7. Mencetak bentuk tubuh dari pasir
2.6	6. Aku senang mengikuti aturan,	8. Membuat kolase bentuk dan bagian muka dari daun kering
3.6-4.6	7. Pengelompokan berdasarkan warna (merah, biru, kuning), bentuk dua dimensi (persegi, segi tiga), dan jumlah bilangan (5 - 10),	9. Menghitung anggota tubuh 10. Menggambar jari tangan dengan krayon atau spidol 11. Mengukur tinggi badan dengan tali rafia 12. Menyusun huruf anggota tubuh berdasarkan contoh dari kartu kata bergambar
2.14	8. Aku anak ramah,	
3.10-4.10	9. Aku suka mendengar cerita	13. Main peran pergi ke dokter gigi 14. Membuat roti berbentuk muka
3.15-4.15	10. Lagu " Aku Ciptaan Tuhan"	15. Membangun rumah dari balok

Figure 19. The steps of semester-base plan development and theme distribution

Figure 19 (right) shows fifteen specific activities for a week, ranging from "making red, blue, and yellow photo-frame", "scissoring and pasting body-part pictures", "measuring body-height using the rope" to "role-playing of visiting the dentist". Thus, apart from its name, the daily learning plan is prepared in advance, at approximately the same time as the semester program document is prepared. While this practice may help teachers to control learning at their centres efficiently, as well as make them accountable in a professional sense, it substant ially contradicts the child-centredness and developmentalist concepts that both the *2014 Standard* and *Curriculum 2013* advocate (Brewer, 2007; Kostelnik et al., 2007). Faced with a set list of arbitrarily pre-chosen activities, children would have only little opportunity for free and self-initiated activities. They would be preoccupied with various activities, yet under this learning system, only a small fraction of what they are doing truly comes from their own initiative.

Again, this practice shows a complete disjuncture of the policy's notion of quality with the vision for a future creative golden generation.

Infrastructure for Learning

As the previous sections have shown, the 2014 Standard and *Curriculum 2013* set out detailed provisions on learning. The standard is accompanied, for example, with three long attachments that detail respectively its articles on children's development, teacher qualification and quality, and supervisor qualification and quality. Such, however, is not the case when it comes to the physical learning space. Its articles that govern learning facilities and infrastructure are general by nature. In this regard, standardisation, considered here as the main discourse of the post-Reformasi early childhood education governance, is as if not applicable.

Two articles in the 2014 Standard regulate early learning facilities and physical space: Article 32 on the basic principle of the provision of facilities and the features of these facilities, and Article 33 on the minimum facilities and equipment that must be available at the centre. It is stated that facilities must cater for the centre's three functions as a place for young children's education, care, and protection. The facilities should be safe, harmless to children's health, and comfortable as well as fit for children's level of development. The standard also emphasises that the facility's procurement and provision should consider using locally used resources that are harmless to children's heath (MOEC, 2014c, Article 32). **Table 19** summarises minimum facilities for four types of early learning centres: kindergartens including the MORA-supervised Raudhatul Atfal (Islamic preschool), playgroups, nurseries, and other types of centres, such as centres attached to the mosques of churches.

As **Table 19** shows, the 2014 Standard stipulates different minimum facilities and equipment for different types of early learning institutions. The kindergarten is the centre with the strictest minimum criteria. While the rest of the centres are required to have a minimum child-space ratio of 1:3 m2, a kindergarten is required to have a minimum area of 300 m2 (MOEC, 2014c, Article 33). Additionally, it has to have specific spaces allocated for a teachers' rooms and a principal's room, a criterion not applicable to the rest of the centres. In total, a kindergarten is required to provide 11 minimum facilities, in contrast to playgroups with only four and nurseries and other type of centres each with nine criteria. This contradicts the government's expansion policy of the non-kindergarten institutions, as if these institutions are allowed to grow without proper quality referencing. More fundamentally, such a decision is in conflict

with the GOI's very ambition to adopt and provide a comprehensive quality reference that is stated in the Grand framework (Directorate of ECE, 2011).f

Institutions	Requirements
Kindergarten/ Islamic preschool	• Minimum area of 300 m^2 for building and yards (open space) • Child-space ratio of 1:3 m^2 • Hand-washing facilities with clean water supply • Teachers' rooms • Principal's room • *Usaha Kesehatan Sekolah* (Health station) room supplied with first aid facilities • Toilet with easy access to clean water • Additional room(s) relevant for children's needs • Educative, safe, and healthy play equipment/toys that meet Indonesia's National Standard requirements • Safe and healthy in-/outdoor play facilities • Covered, uncontaminated, and daily cleaned waste stations[*)]
Play group	• Child-space ratio of 1:3 m^2 • In-/outdoor space for children's developmental stimulation • Hand-wash facilities and toilet that is easily accessible by children and meets the requirement as well as easy for teachers to monitor; and • Covered and uncontaminated waste stations[*)]
Nursery	• Child-space ratio of 1:3 m^2 • In-/outdoor space for children's activities • Hand-wash facilities with clean water supply • Safe, healthy, easy-monitored toilet(s) with adequate clean water supply • Safe and healthy in-/outdoor play facilities • Safe, healthy rooms for children to sleep, eat, and take a bath • Covered and uncontaminated waste stations[*)] • Access to health service (e.g. hospital or public health centre) • Breastfeeding space for institutions serving under-twos
Other type of ECE centre (*Satuan PAUD Sejenis*)	• Minimum Child-space ratio of 1:3 m^2 • In-/outdoor space for children's activities • Hand-wash facilities with clean water supply • Safe, healthy, easy-monitored toilet(s) with adequate clean water supply • Safe and healthy in-/outdoor play facilities • Safe, healthy rooms for children to sleep, eat, and take a bath • Covered and uncontaminated waste stations[*)] • Access to health service (e.g. hospital or public health centre) • Clean, healthy breastfeeding space for institutions serving under-twos

[*)] Literally, the Standard uses the term *tempat sampah*, generally means 'dustbin'.

Table 19. Centre recommended minimum facilities and equipment

Table 19 furthermore shows that the 2014 Standard has no stipulation for learning resources. No provision is made, for example, on what it calls as "educational toys" (*alat permainan edukatif*, APE) (MOEC, 2014c, Article 14), the conventional reference for all types of learning resources other than books and digital media. Another aspect missing in the 2014 Standard's

list is the resources for literacy development. Literacy, in fact, is one of the mandated aspects of developmental achievement and learning contents (MOEC, 2014c, Article 5).

That the Indonesian government produces a lot of idealist sounding slogans about young children and about the future of Indonesia, yet at the same time has set merely generic ones, if not even minimalist quality standards, is certainly surprising and deserves closer attention. If the post-Reformasi government standard-minded logic of governance is used as a parameter then that decision is an anomaly. This seemingly anomalistic shift in the mode of governance, however, could be explained through the three possible scenarios that follow.

First, especially with regard to the literacy development resources, the absence of specific provisions is to respond to the pre-existing reductionist view on literacy development. It is to respond to the reductionist, yet common tendency in the Indonesian preschool system to view literacy development merely as drilling children with reading (*membaca*), writing (*menulis*), and counting/arithmetic (*berhitung*) skills. The 3R's-drill was a practice that during the early years of Reformasi was associated with and perceived as a deviation of the kindergarten system. Notably, the education ministry issued two instructions prohibiting kindergartens from delivering the 3R's drill (Anam, 2011b; DKPE, 2004). In such a situation, if the standard requires the provision of literacy development, it could be misunderstood as the standard justifying the previous, reductionist 3R's drill practice.

Second, the government is intentionally providing a loose regulation to save its expansion agenda. This way of governing is to ensure that the national standard enforcement would not interrupt the early childhood service expansion plan. A tight standard might reduce public involvement in early childhood education expansion, due to differences in the ability to pay for minimum facilities. Conversely, a loose standard would increase public involvement, since it would include communities with relatively low capacities to procure even the most minimum, under-standard centre facilities. In fact, most centres established after 1998 are community based. This seemingly inclusive standardisation approach would benefit both the government and the public. It might save the government from the potential "statistical disgrace" before the international donors for failing to meet the expansion target, while at the same time keep their reformist image firmly in the public eye. While for the public, this inclusive approach could be seen as the government's recognition of their initiatives and existence in general, a recognition previously limited under the centralistic New Order administration. The use of a loose, minimalist standard to leverage public engagement is confirmed in the following statement:

> In this very era of Reformasi and regional autonomy, we could not dismiss whoever wants to participate in early childhood education. Even the government could not restrain those who want to name the centre they [would] establish with any name they choose. Is not the main responsibility for young children education at the [hand] the families? Thus, the government task is to facilitate, encourage, and direct the communities so that the principles concerning the handling of…young children are taken into account (Directorate of ECE, 2002a, p. iii).

Third, the loose standard is a way for the government to keep the biggest responsibility for early childhood education in the hands of the public. In other words, the loose standard is the way the government can escape from the responsibility to provide the minimum facilities and move that responsibility into the hands of non-governmental actors and the public in general. Indications of this motive are apparent through the reiteration of the idea that, as Newberry (2017) found in her study, "anything can be used to stimulate child development" (p. 29). In fact, the 2014 Standard endorses the same principle, stating that the provision of facilities should consider the "utilisation of local potentials and resources and the used goods available yet harmless to children's health" (MOEC, 2014c, Article 31).

The enactment of this minimalist facility standard is perhaps favourable to stimulating public participation and even to fostering, in general, the country's emerging democratic life. In my point of view, however, this decision is detrimental at least for two reasons.

First, with regard to the literacy development facilities, the minimalist approach, threatens the overall national educational outcomes and national identity formation. Globally, Indonesia was ranked 60th out of 61 countries in a survey of the World's most literate nations (Miller & McKenna, 2016a; 2016b) study. While an extra careful reading of this ranking is necessary due to social, cultural, and political differences between countries, the study itself does not reduce the value of literacy and all the affirmative actions required to achieve universal literacy. If literacy is the heartbeat of education, and education is one of the human rights, then the same recognition must apply for literacy (UNESCO, 2006; Wilson-Keenan, 2015). In this sense, the failure to meet basic needs for literacy development could not only ruin the whole education system, but also more importantly, constitute a serious violation against human rights.

Furthermore, a minimalist literacy-focused facility standard, threatens national identity formation. The lack of literacy facility is proven to provide a space abused by interest groups

promoting values and identities that are unnecessarily harmonious with the overall education and national agenda—national unity, justice, and democracy. An example of this threat is evident in a recent MOEC (DGECCE, 2016) instruction on the banning of preschool materials allegedly promoting violence, religious extremism, and racial discrimination. During the New Order times, this space was occupied by the state-governed literacy materials through which children were exposed to national and local cultural identities. Although the same materials were notoriously abused to preach popular obedience to the government, somehow the state was present in every single early learning centre with a clear message about the identity of Indonesian children: the Pancasila-istic human (*manusia Pancasila*) and human of development (*manusia pembangunan*) (GOI, 1989).

Second, minimalist standards can also lead to a boom in the number of early childhood institutions. Due to the minimalist standard of facilities, anyone can initiate a new learning centre. This could lead to conflicts between centres, as happened between the new community-based centres and the pre-existing kindergartens, as they competed for the same source of student inputs, a case that even MOEC recognises (Anam, 2011b). The likelihood of this booming occurring is open given that the expansion agenda has not yet been fully completed. The Ministry of Education plans to ensure that there will be at least one early childhood education centre in every village (MONE, Directorate of ECE, 2011a; 2010). Yet, as the DECE Director Yulaelawati (2016) reports, until 2016, only 72.29% of the villages nationally (58,174 of 80,476) were reported to have such centres.

Should these factors be ignored, the minimalist approach, which in many ways is useful for the maturation of democratic life, would bring a catastrophe—without even having to wait until the dawn of 2045. Unless the space is to be handed over to increasingly emerging, intolerant forces (Wahid et al., 2015), the government and the country's democratic forces should go hand in hand to seize this empty space, among others, but not limited to providing clear and meaningful literacy facilities.

As has been discussed, from early independence to the post-Reformasi era, early childhood education has reflected different aims and goals of the prevailing Indonesian governments. Initially, early childhood was a site for the inculcation of nationalism, which then became the correctional sites during the New Order administration. Recently, it has turned toward a standard-oriented children's developmental institution. In short, the Reformasi period, driven by a discourse of distinction and change, saw the adoption of a global developmentalist

approach, including purchasing a ready-to-use international curriculum package. The confluence of strengthened public acceptance and the legal positioning of the public of early childhood education alongside the deepening influence of the country's early childhood education global partners has created the conditions for a new quality technology: the standard. The new quality technology is comprehensive, regulating almost all detail aspects of early learning institutions. The good thing to note about the post-Reformasi standard is that at the hand of teachers and early childhood service providers it could be the basis of their aspiration for quality. However, its tendency to be highly specific and regulatory could threaten the freedom of early childhood learning providers to develop their centres autonomously. In other words, its presence, as I will further elaborate in the final chapter, may lead learning centres to move towards the meeting of the standard and not to quality itself.

Concluding Remarks

This chapter has demonstrated how early childhood education institutions have been viewed over three-four historical stages. Assumed as a garden (*taman*), since their inception in the early 1920s, preschool institutions have experienced continuous role definition and re-definition. Once set up as a site for the nurturing of the would-be nationalist and decent human (*manusia susila*) they then became a correctional site where children were purified to be a true Pancasila-istic human (*manusia Pancasila*). The 1998 Reformasi created a space for the coming of new values. Mediated by numerous international early childhood education campaigners, the Reformasi government turned to developmentalism. Hence, the developmental *taman* was born. The post-Reformasi era marked a new phase in Indonesian early childhood education. While maintaining the Reformasi era's legacy of the developmental garden, the government introduced its standardisation agenda, by producing numerous quality standards. The preschool institution imagined as a garden has thus, in the hand of the post-Reformasi government, been turned into a garden overplanted with standards.

If preschool is imagined metaphorically as a garden with the standards as its plants, then the unreasonable implementation interval between one quality standard and its replacement reflects careless selection by the government of which plants to grow and of whether their introduction is beneficial for the whole garden's ecosystem. Those working in ecology have warned of the risks of introducing a species into a particular area. An introduced species, for example, may grow uncontrollably and therefore make the natives extinct (Ricciardi & Cohen, 2007). This is precisely what happened to the nationalism contents in the face of the

developmental knowledge of the post-Reformasi quality framework. Similarly, when the species is alien to the local area, then it needs a reasonable stage for naturalisation (Richardson et al., 2000). Likewise, a quality framework would need reasonable terms to make it truly part of preschool institutions. Just as careless planting and species introduction can bring about serious threats, so every quality framework published must be relevant, meaningful, and empowering not only for the preschool institutions they regulate, but also for the wider public for whom they are created.

Imagining preschool as a garden is indeed no more than a metaphor. Therefore, there will be very few, if any, preschools that match the quality of a ‘garden’. Yet a metaphor is not a matter of naming an object after another object. Instead, as Farquhar and Fitzsimons (2016) point out, “it is through metaphor that we create and express our understanding of reality” (p. 4). Until now, Indonesian preschools continue to chant the metaphorical song of *Taman yang paling indah* (The most beautiful garden) that heads up this chapter. It is argued here that the government needs to return to this metaphorical vision, which is indeed the most genuine declaration of what the nature of a quality early childhood learning space is.

Chapter 7. Conclusion: Standard or Quality

> Quality standards that aspire to be universal, or at least national …inevitably are either…universalizing standards…or…standards that have been stripped of their localness and their context. These context-less standards, when backed by national organizations, academic authority, and political mandates, inevitably spread. In many ways, this spread is a good thing. It introduces standards of quality in locales where there have been none and pressures communities to invest more heavily in improving early childhood education. But this approach carries the cost of a loss of local specificity and national diversity….A useful analogy can be made here to biodiversity—the spread of universal standards of quality has the negative effects of replacing local standards, which may be a better fit to local conditions, with national ones and of thereby depleting the diversity of educational approaches to be found in the nation (Tobin, 2005, p. 248).

In this thesis I argue that the effort to provide quality early childhood education is not merely a matter of the production of a set of standards that aim to govern the provision and practice of early childhood education in Indonesia. By saying this, however, I do not intend to refuse all types of standardising quality tools and instruments. Traditionally, a set of standard outlines in policy documents are critical to ensuring that children receive high quality early childhood education. But, rather, as I have analysed in the previous chapters, and in reference to Foucault's (Foucault, 1984d) notion that "everything is dangerous" (p. 343), I mean that quality standards should be read, adopted, and therefore applied, with a careful and cautious mind. With this in mind, and in reference to the works of those who approached early childhood education from a critical and Foucauldian point of view (Ailwood, 2002; Moss, 1994; 1996; 2014; Moss & Dahlberg, 2008; Penn, 2002; 2011b), I decided to question the existing Indonesian quality standards.

As I write this concluding chapter, I recall the "reminder" from a senior staff member at the Ministry of Education and Culture in Indonesia asking me not to critique the policy without providing solutions. This is certainly a valuable reminder for me and perhaps for all researchers of the Indonesian early childhood policy. However, as the policy materials analysed in this thesis show, to craft solutions is a complex process and requires a comprehensive understanding of the policy environment. Certainly, when they crafted the policy documents, their authors intended them to be a solution to the problems they had identified. However, as demonstrated in Chapters 4, 5 and 6, they not only offer reductionist solutions to these

documents but also show inherent conflicts between the ideas they promote. Consequently, what the thesis offers is more of an understanding than a solution. It presents an unequivocal understanding of the policy notion of quality, by revealing and demonstrating its hidden reductionist properties, this understanding is important for two reasons. First, it encourages caution in interpreting and implementing a policy. Indeed, a seemingly universal policy can, as noted above by Tobin, marginalise ideas or subjects and place them outside the reach of its discursive territory. Second, it provided a warning to those who make early childhood policies that what they have produced are necessarily relative and limited and, therefore, to treat them as the sole guide to action violates the very aim of policymaking.

I have two interlinked goals in this concluding chapter. First, my aim is to draw the lessons from my genealogical reading of the Indonesian policy of early childhood education quality. Second, drawing on the idea of governmentality as a network and ensemble of multiple approaches and procedures (Foucault, 1991), my aim is to offer a number of policy options for the future governance of early childhood education quality.

This thesis has been guided by two main research questions of: (1) what are the notions of quality; and, (2) how have the notions of quality been produced in post-Reformasi Indonesia? As presented in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, I approached these questions through the three lenses of children, teachers, and the learning environment; each of them represents the outcome, structure, and combination of structure-process dimensions of quality (Cassidy et al., 2005; Cryer, 1999; Fenech & Sumsion, 2007; Huntsman, 2008; Katz, 1993a; 1993b; Woodhead, 1996). Furthermore, I approach them from Foucault's genealogical lens, through which I tracked and compared the notions of quality of children, teachers, and learning a process-learning environment across policy documents of different periods of Indonesia: pre-Reformasi (early independence to early 1998), Reformasi (1998 to 2003), and post-Reformasi (2004 to 2015). In addition, I tracked and compared the ideas of quality stipulated by different policy documents published in the same particular historical period.

My use of a genealogical approach has enabled me to read and compare different policy documents from three different periods of Indonesian history—pre-Reformasi (early independence to early 1998), Reformasi (1998 to 2003), and post-Reformasi (2004 to 2015), and their associated materials. This allowed me to compare and examine the idea of quality advocated in each of these periods. This reading led me to further make sense that policy, as those who approach policy from a critical perspective have suggested (Ball, 1994; Olssen et

al., 2004), is driven by and speaks through a specific discourse and regime of truth. Thus, what a given policy is speaking and promoting, whatever comprehensive and universal is claimed, remains tied and limited by the discourse and regime of thoughts on which it was produced and under which it is controlled. This is also the case when it comes to the Indonesian policy of early childhood quality.

Conducting the genealogical reading required me to understand the general and dominant discourses that govern the Indonesian early childhood education policy in different historical periods. In this sense, as I mapped them out in Chapter 1, I identified four major discourses that are influential to the production of the notions of quality. The pre-Reformasi Indonesian education was influenced by two dominant discourses, namely the discourse of nationalism in the first two decades of independence and the discourse of correction and development from 1967 to the end of the New Order era in 1998. The 1998 era marked a farewell from and transition with the New Order administration. Almost all legacies of the New Order were cursed in this era, and I consider that this period was characterised by the discourse of distinction and change. Post-reformasi was marked by the Indonesian government's desire to institutionalise the good legacy of the previous era. What was considered being good for the public was maintained and made a permanent recipe, and expected to bring about more benefits for the wider public in the form of standards. Therefore, I consider the era as being controlled by the discourse of standards.

Conducting the genealogical reading of the Indonesian policy materials also required an overview of the dominant discourse and truth of the notion of quality itself. Chapter 2 serves this purpose by discussing the debate around the notions of quality. As discussed, there are two dominant competing discursive camps of quality: the objective versus the relative approach to quality. This thesis stands in between and adopts elements relevant to it from the two opposing constructions of quality. On the one hand, it draws on the notion of quality as an objective construct in choosing the three main targets of policy—children, teachers, and learning space and process—as the proxy of its analysis. On the other hand, it draws on the thoughts of those who see quality as a relative construct in its approach to analysing each of these three policy targets.

Following the mapping in Chapters 1 and 2 of the development of competing discursive views and camps around the notion of quality, Chapters 4, 5, and 6 focused their discussion on the three aspects of quality—children, teachers, and learning a process-learning environment.

These chapters analysed how the discourses of nationalism, correction and development, distinction and change, and standardisation are used to shape the policy notions of the good children, good teachers, and good learning process-learning environment. Findings in these chapters show that different eras had different notions of quality. These findings confirm the proposition of policy as a product of history, and therefore, bearing the history of the era. As a result, the truth it offers is true only within the boundaries of its historical and discursive shell. In other words, a policy is inherently limited and reductionist. **Figure 20** summarises the trajectories of the notions of quality in terms of children, teachers, and learning institutions that evolved from 1950 to 2015.

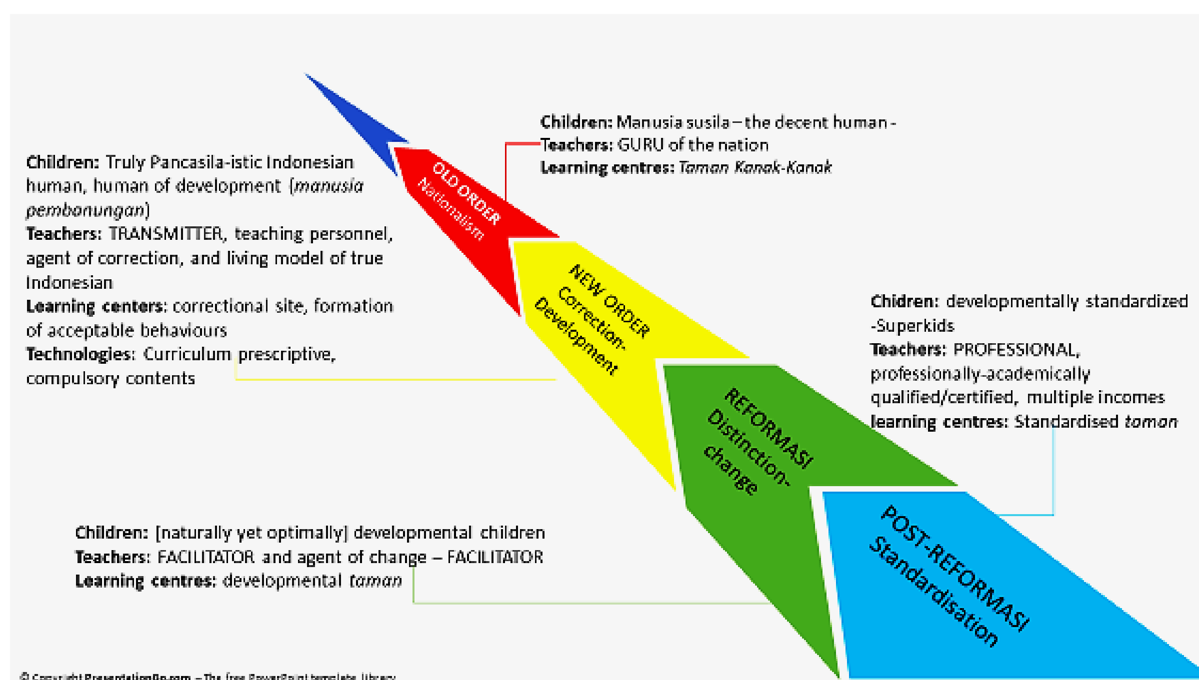


Figure 20. Trajectories of quality notions

As **Figure 20** shows, in the first half of the post-independence period, the Indonesian government and the policies they created were generally inspired by nationalism and post-colonial political consciousness. As a result, the notion of the good children, good teachers, and good learning space and process circulated during this period was nationalistic. Although the sources and materials regarding the latter aspects of the quality are very limited, and indeed during this period of early childhood education was given limited attention at the policy level, at least the nationalistic orientation of quality is clearly imprinted in the two aspects of quality—the idealised children and teachers. The influence of nationalism on the notion of

quality is not only on the substantial aspects of quality, such as the policy recommendation as to what children should learn and how an Indonesian teacher should act. Rather, its influence also appears in the use and revival of the local language, *Bahasa Indonesia*, and of local treasures, in general, to define quality, while at the same time to countering the conception of quality left by the colonial administration. For example, the goal of education was formulated as being to transform the Indonesian youth into what the 1950 education law (GOI, 1950, Article 3) called it in Indonesian, the "manusia susila" (decent human) and *Bahasa Indonesia* was set as the official language of instruction.

During the New Order administration, the past, and especially the period of 1957 to 1965, was viewed as a period of troubles and betrayal of the national identity Pancasila. It was the period when the national leaders turned to guided democracy and communism almost seized control of the country. With this perspective on the past, during the New Order administration the construct of quality was shaped mainly by the correctional rationality. In fact, the New Order government defined itself as the "total correction of all the [past] deviations" (Soeharto, 1969a, p. 4). This correctional rationality changed the ideal of Indonesian human quality from the previously decent human (*manusia susila*) into the Pancasila human (*manusia Pancasila*), who at the same time is the true Indonesian human and human of development (*manusia pembangunan*). As the construct of human quality changed so did the image of good teachers and the function of educational institutions including preschools. The good teachers were those who were compliant to the New Order government and effectively performed their function as the agent of correction. Equally, a good education institution was the site where all tools of correction were available and effectively functional.

The 1998 Reformasi provided as space for rethinking of the manusia Pancasila. Propagated for more than three decades, the New Order's construct of superhuman ended as an irony. While the New Order government's success in providing access to education is acknowledged, on the other hand, its loyalty-oriented education system was ultimately only capable of producing obedient humans. In fact, the transition to a new and reformed Indonesia required new and different humans, who are not only obedient, but more importantly, are imbued with independence, creativity, competitiveness, and a collaborative mind (NTRMS, 1999). The demand for the new population, who are quite different than those idealised and produced through the New Order education system, led to the changing image of children, teachers and education institutions. Children were not seen solely, in a narrowly nationalistic sense, as the

future generation, in their narrowly nationalistic sense; rather, they were seen as developing individuals with their own unique characteristics. Similarly, the teacher was no longer positioned as the centre of authority. A good teacher is one who is capable of creating an atmosphere where children's sense of independence, meaningfulness, and creativity can flourish. Likewise, a good learning space was no longer a place of mass purification and prevention from ideological contamination, as it was during the New Order era, rather as a site where children's development is stimulated and fostered.

In the post-Reformasi era, the new but general construct of quality inherited by the Reformasi government has been detailed into a set of measurable characteristics and codified. Indonesia in this era has witnessed and experienced a long, different course of history. Its thrust for reform and progress on the one hand, and its "bitter" experience with the pre-Reformasi period has forced it not to turn back to what had been considered as the truth of quality in the past. On the other hand, Indonesia in this era has also witnessed a global campaign for the mainstreaming of early childhood education. It has not been able to refuse the helping hand of the so-called international donors, given its inadequate political and financial support for initiating the campaign in its territory. The combination of these two has led the post-Reformasi government to the standard-oriented notion of quality, which is philosophically and theoretically derived from the objective conception of quality. The objective quality model is much more practical to adopt and replicate (Siraj-Blatchford & Wong, 1999). At the same time it is the dominant, global discourse of quality adhered to and promoted by the international funding bodies (Penn, 2011a; 2011b), not least by those who have invested their money in Indonesia. It is no surprise, therefore, that post-Reformasi Indonesian education has been marked by the publication of numerous governing standards. In short, in today's post-Reformasi Indonesia, quality is almost synonymous with standard: the more the practices of early childhood education are in line with the indicators, the better their quality.

When it comes to the three aspects of quality—children, teachers, and learning process-learning environment—on which the thesis focuses its analysis, the adoption of the objective quality model has been operationalised with a growing adoption of two major concepts: developmentalism with regard to all three aspects of quality, and professionalism with regard to teachers. Hence, the good children are perceived as those who meet the development standard, the good learning space is perceived as the one that is developmentally stimulating,

and good teachers are professionals with a strong theoretical affiliation to developmental knowledge of children.

As the thesis' genealogical readings revealed the historical nature of the policy, it illuminated the policy's reductionist notion of quality. Being a product of a particular historical stage means that the policy materials analysed in this thesis cannot escape from its historical shell and from the dominant discourse that controls that historical stage. As a result, the truth it offers is true, as only within the boundaries of its historical and discursive shell. In other words, a policy is inherently reductionist.

This reductionist tendency is even more apparent in the post-Reformasi quality standard documents across the three aspects of quality analysed in this thesis. Following the collapse of the New Order government in 1998, Indonesian children have been accorded various titles that reflect who they were seen to be and what role they will play in the future. Initially, they were identified as the capital for national advancement; recently, they have been celebrated as the golden generation. Whichever of these two visions is mandated for early childhood education, surely both require children's learning and acquisition of complex and not singular attitudes, knowledge, and skills. However, as I have demonstrated in Chapter 3 and Chapter 6, Indonesia's quality policy appears to oversimplify, or perhaps not even respond to, those visions. This reductionism is evident in the fact that the policy offers mainly a developmental notion of children's quality. Developmentalism is indeed a global discourse of early childhood education. As a recipient of global aid for early childhood education Indonesia may not be able to avoid it. Nevertheless, to adopt it as a main quality reference, while ignoring local quality elements as indicated in the quotes from Tobin (2005) that head this chapter, such as nationalism and national identity, is not only a reductionist but critically a dangerous decision.

The reductionist policy tendency is also evident in the case of teacher quality. Following the downfall of the New Order government, there had been an emerging demand for restoring the dignity and quality of teachers both in terms of their role as true educators who should not be pestered with ideo-political tasks and in terms of the improvement of their financial remuneration. The government responded to the demands by recognising teachers' professional status. In accord with their professional status, teachers would receive additional income. The income would allow teachers to focus solely on their teaching jobs and not need to look for secondary jobs. This intervention is expected to gradually improve the quality of education overall.

Teachers' professional status, however, was not simply given out, free of charge. In order to be acknowledged as a professional teacher, one has to obtain qualifications and professional certificates, through academic education and professional certification, respectively. In practice, the post-Reformasi teacher professional status has been understood simply as a matter of qualification, professional certificate acquisition and increased financial remuneration. This reductionism is also evident in the teacher preparation and development curriculum, whose primary contents remain similar to those of the teacher education curriculum before professional status was acknowledged. The contents of teacher preparation, both academic and professional, are dominated by the matters of children's development and the administrative and technical aspects of teaching. As a result, the contents expected to promote and develop teachers' identity as professionals are generally poorly represented.

The reductionist tendency of policy appears in the transformation of the learning centres from its general portrayal as a garden into a standardised learning space. The post-Reformasi early learning centres are envisioned as the sites where children can develop holistically. In fact, as the space and process of learning are tightly governed by the standard, the centres have been changed into places in which adults and young children are expected to demonstrate and/or perform certain behaviours, knowledge, and skills regulated by standards. In this way, children's and adults' behaviours, which supposedly are more diverse and varied in a natural and not highly standardised situation, are systematically reduced to conform to the standard. This reductionism goes against the vision of the early learning centres as the breeding ground of the future golden generation who require the acquisition of the behaviours, attitudes, knowledge, and skills that are more complex than those mandated by the existing standard.

When combined, these dwarfed, ersatz visions of quality are not only dangerous for the field of early childhood education but also for their targeted subjects and, most importantly, children as the field's ultimate beneficiaries (Layzer & Goodson, 2006). In other words, relying on standards alone as a governing tool is insufficient for achieving the quality goals, especially when the standard is inherently reductionist. Likewise, it is a logical fallacy to assume that the birth of a standard will solve the problem of quality. In fact, the standard itself, as the thesis has shown, is often problematic: what is more problematic than to rely on a problematic base.

A Need to Go Beyond the Standard

Given the reductionist tendency of standard, sole reliance on standard to achieve the goals of quality is dangerous. The thesis' genealogical reading made it possible to compare different practices of governance of early childhood education quality in three different periods. In the post-Reformasi the Indonesian government seems to lack reliable governing tools, especially when compared to the pre-Reformasi era. This is different from the use of multiple governing procedures in the pre-Reformasi era, which in many ways represented what Foucault metaphorically calls governmentality as an "ensemble" (Foucault, 1991, p. 102) to lead the population—children, teachers, and learning space.

Both the Sukarno and the New Order governments used multiple procedures, mechanisms, and tactics, often combined with violent coercions, to control the population and to align them with the government's interests. In the past, the Indonesian population and societies were less complex. They were less literate that today's society, and their access to knowledge different from that officially propagated by the government was limited. Yet, even when dealing with those situations, the New Order government would not leave any empty space, either the physical or the discursive and symbolical, unless it was filled with the "icons, monuments, fiction, trials and simulacra…[and all sorts of] artefacts…used to immortalize [sic] the…regime" (Heryanto, 1999, p. 153). Nowadays, these artefacts are still partially standing. Perhaps they will fade one day, just as their producer collapsed in 1998. Nevertheless, are not the thoughts and knowledge, through which they are propagated, recorded in the very minds of many Indonesians? Thus, if seen from today's post-Reformasi perspective, and given the increasing complexity of the Indonesian society, there will be a need for the Indonesian government to diversify its early childhood education quality governing tools. Considering that early childhood education is one of the very fruits of the Reformasi, and therefore potentially one of the available tools for achieving the goals of the Reformasi, I identify at least three policy options for the Indonesian government to diversify its governing tools. They include family development, comprehensive teacher development, and re-inclusion of national/cultural identity contents as a core part of quality framework.

Family Development

By law, early childhood education is delivered through the informal, non-formal, and formal lines. However, there has been a general tendency, which apparently is justified by the government, to relate true early childhood education to that of the non-formal and formal lines.

The increasing literacy rates of the Indonesian society has created the potential for Indonesian families to educate their own children. Even if children are enrolled in the preschool centres, family development allows the alignment between their experience at the centre and at home, and vice versa. Families reinforce what children acquire at the centre or provide what they do not obtain from the centre. Family development allows parents to become more confident as their children's first educators, and unlike the current tendency, to be more widely recognised as unprepared educators.

More Comprehensive Teacher Status and Development

At present, teacher quality and professional status are simply measured according to their nominal qualification, academic diploma and professional certificate. Similarly, teacher education and development curriculum contents are limited to the practical and technical skills teachers are supposed to utilise in the field. As a result, there are no contents specifically designed to facilitate the development of their knowledge and skills in the context of social change and transformation. In fact, the existing current teacher professional education was originally a translation of Reformasi in the education sector. In other words, as education is seen as a tool of Reformasi, so is the teacher. Thus, teacher education needs to be repositioned into its original mission, by adding into its curriculum the contents related to teachers' response, roles, and duties in and for social transformation.

Whatever argument is used to justify the post-Reformasi early childhood education, from the NAEYC's developmentally appropriate practice to Heckman's human capital, all give out the same message: the transformative role of the education system and transformation of the education system itself. This means that teacher development should ensure teachers' acquisition of social transformation-related knowledge and skills and not only, as happens in the current teacher education and development curriculum, the narrow technical know-how of classroom practice. This, of course, is not undermining the importance of the skills related to classroom practice, but an overemphasis on these types of skills apparently marginalise knowledge and skills related to teachers' professional identity. As highlighted in the section on

post-Reformasi in Chapter 4, the current professional development program, for example, excludes teachers' personal and social competencies from its curriculum. Yet, by law, teachers' professional status covers four competency domains—pedagogical, professional, social, and personal. Last, but not least, the current emphasis on teachers' technical know-how of classroom practice might have blocked the possibility to include major issues and concerns that teachers should ideally have a firm philosophical and professional stance. These include, but are not limited to such issues as social justice, human rights, and sustainability. These issues have been presented in numerous policy documents (DONE, 2005; MOEC, 2013c; 2015b), but have not been formally addressed in both teacher education and professional training.

Re-inclusion of National/Cultural Identity Contents

With the removal of the contents of nationalism from the early childhood education curriculum, practically no official national identity is propagated in early childhood even though education has been regarded as a tool through which this identity is nurtured. Removal of national identity contents, essentially not only violates the nationalistic function of Indonesian education but also could be dangerous for the unity of Indonesia's highly diverse societies.

Since the Reformasi, Indonesian national unity has been continuously tested. Communal and religious tensions and conflicts have occurred frequently (Tadjoeddin, 2002). In post-Reformasi, social tensions and conflict have found fresh new triggers, which unfortunately are the very fruit of *reformasi*: direct political election of the district and provincial leaders (Tadjoeddin, 2012) that are often seasoned with religious and racial sentiment. While unlikely to tear the country apart or turn it into a failed state (Harvey, 2002; Wanandi, 2002) continuous social tensions and conflicts are tiring for the nation. Above all, albeit no formal report is available, it is no longer a secret that the entire education system, from preschool to university, has become part of the seeding ground of these sentiments (LibForAll Foundation, 2009; Wahid et al., 2015). By proposing re-inclusion of national identity, I do not intend to advocate a superiority of the government over civil society, nor do I promote the ignorance of the indeed multicultural nature of the Indonesian societies. Rather, my intention is to urge that the presence of the government in these three areas is crucial for providing clarity to the sector about the direction to which the country would advance, with early childhood education as one of the locomotives.

Concluding Comments: Quality not Standard

Since the Reformasi, the public in Indonesia has been encouraged to believe that standard is the key to quality. In support of this belief, various measurement tools and techniques have been introduced in the last one and half decades. Along with the mobilisation of this discourse of standardisation, which defines quality as a measurable set of characteristics, there have emerged the ideas and thoughts, which advocate that the meaning of quality is in no way confined to those set forth in the policy documents. Teachers' quality, for example, does not solely mean having academic and professional certificates, but rather knowing how and what to teach the children.

Towards the end of the second decade of the post-2000 early childhood education campaign, the Indonesian government has begun to think about quality. At least in 2014 three quality-governing documents were published (MOEC, 2014b; 2014c; 2014d). At the same time, changes have occurred in the global landscape of early childhood education. The world's education leaders have re-gathered, and not only emphasised the importance of early childhood education as they did in 2000 (World Education Forum, 2000), they also urged for the quality of early childhood education (UNESCO, 2015). Meanwhile, the early childhood education reconceptualists have produced numerous critical comments and articles on the very notion of quality (Arndt & Tesar, 2016). There is, of course, no necessity for Indonesia to follow or to reject either of these two perspectives. Openness and willingness to engage in dialogue is critical to provide a solid foundation for the aspired early childhood education quality. In my view, such dialogue could be achieved if the Indonesian early childhood sector is concerned more with broader understandings of quality and not just with the standard.

Dialogue is not always easy, partially due to the current relative homogeneity in the quality perspective among Indonesian academics, researchers, teacher education institutes, and policy-making circles. But it is not impossible. The window of opportunity for such dialogues may be more open with teachers. By regulation (DONE, 2007c; GOI, 2003a), teachers engage in continuous professional development. Similarly, teacher educators are expected to engage in community service with teachers. A mutual service arrangement could be the medium for collaborative study and professional learning. This could lead to opening up to different, contextual, and more substantial notions of quality.

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