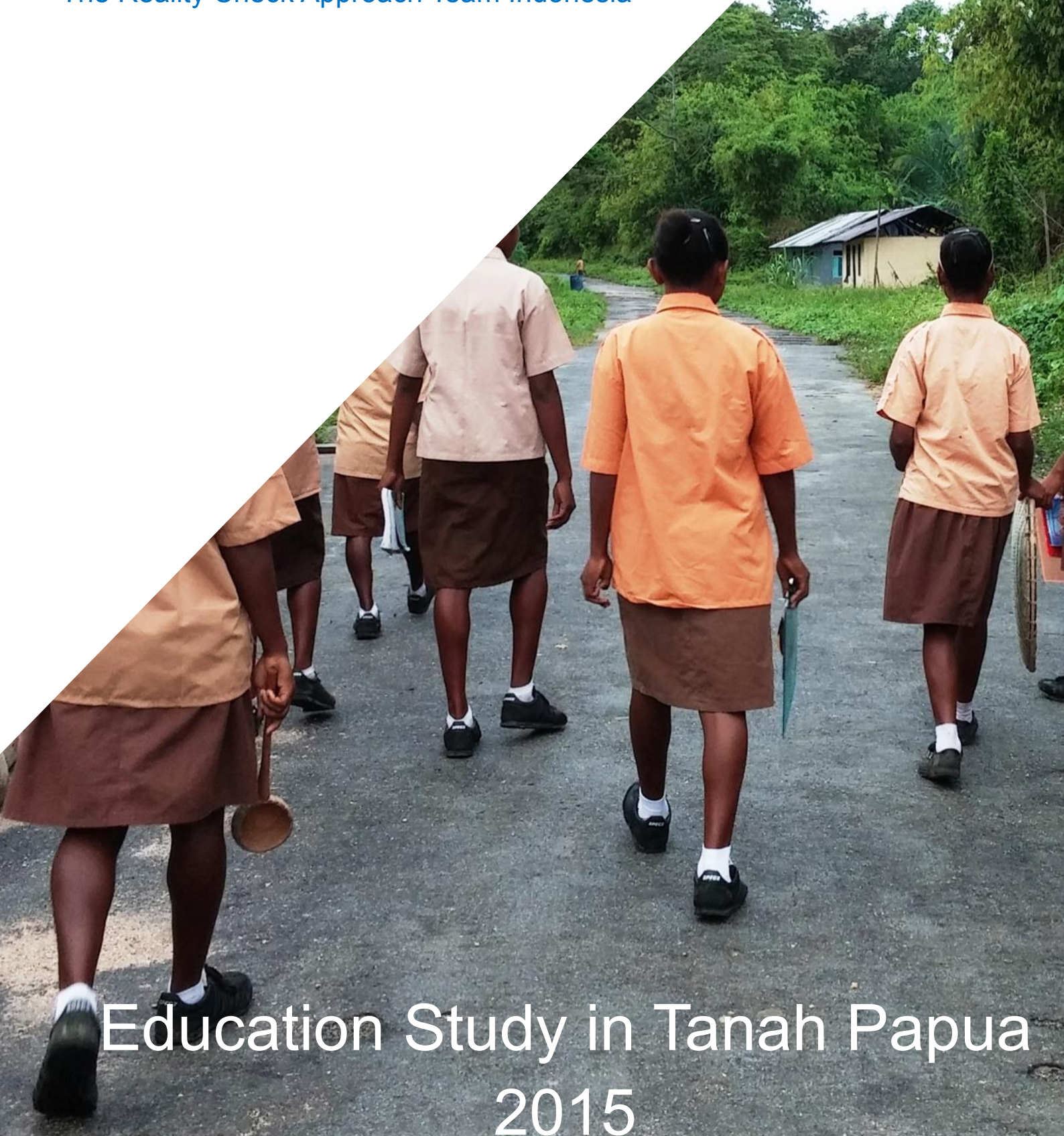




Reality Check Approach Report

The Reality Check Approach Team Indonesia



Education Study in Tanah Papua
2015

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This Reality Check Approach study has been made possible by the commitment, enthusiasm and teamwork of many. The Reality Check Approach (RCA) was originally an initiative of the Swedish Embassy in Bangladesh where it was first commissioned in 2007 and has since been adopted in other countries and other contexts.

This RCA study was commissioned by KIAT Guru and ACDP to provide insights into the situation of basic education in Papua and West Papua from the perspectives of families.

The study was undertaken by a mixed team of Indonesian and international researchers (see Annex 2). The team comprised researchers who are part of the RCA+ project which is designed to build capacity in learning about and applying RCA and their passion and effort for this kind of work is appreciated and acknowledged.

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This is a report of findings of the Reality Check Approach study on Basic Education in Papua and West Papua from 17 November to 12 December 2014. It provides the findings on people's perspectives of education programmes.

The work is a product of the staff of the Reality Check Approach Plus Project. The findings, interpretations and conclusions therein are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect the views of KIAT Guru, ACDP and the National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction, the Government of Indonesia or the Government of Australia.

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Cover Image: The Reality Check Approach Team (Indonesia)

Identifying features have been removed to protect the identities of individuals photographed.

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Terms, Abbreviations and Acronyms

ACDP	Analytical and Capacity Development Partnership
Ambon	Island in Maluku Province in Eastern Indonesia
Arwana	Dragon Fish
BaKTI	<i>Bank pengetahuan dan sumber informasi publik untuk pembangunan di Kawasan Timur Indonesia</i> (Knowledge bank and source of public information on development in the Eastern Indonesia Region)
Bamuskam	<i>Badan Musyawarah Kampung</i> (village consultative body)
Bapak	Father
Biak	Island in Northern Coast of Papua
BTS	Base Transceiver Station
Bugis	Indonesian ethnic group in South Sulawesi
Buton	Island in Southeast Sulawesi
Desa	Village
Dusun	Sub-village
DFAT	Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Government of Australia
FHH	Focal Households (neighbours of the host households)
GOI	Government of Indonesia
Guru honor	uncertified, non-permanent teacher
HHH	Host Households; where members of the study team stayed with families
Joged	Dancing
ID	Identification (card)
IDR	Indonesian Rupiah
LMA	<i>Lembaga Masyarakat Adat</i> (Indigenous Peoples' Organization)
Mama	Name addressed to married Papuan women or mother.
MSG	Monosodium Glutamate
MOEC	Ministry Of Education and Culture
Ondo Afi	Chief of clan in Papua
PAUD	<i>Pendidikan Anak Usia Dini</i> (Early Childhood Education)

PNS	<i>Pegawai Negeri Sipil</i> (Civil Servant)
PTA	Parent-Teacher Association
Raskin	<i>Program Subsidi Beras Bagi Masyarakat Berpendapatan Rendah</i> (Rice for Poor Households)
RCA	Reality Check Approach
RT	<i>Rukun Tetangga</i> (Neighbourhood Unit, the lowest level of formal community structure)
SD	<i>Sekolah Dasar</i> (Primary School)
SMA	<i>Sekolah Menengah Atas</i> (Senior Secondary School)
SMC	School Management Committee
SMP	<i>Sekolah Menengah Pertama</i> (Junior Secondary School)
SM3T	<i>Sarjana Mendidik Daerah Terdepan Terluar Tertinggal</i> (MOEC program to assign a bachelor's graduate to remote area)
SPMA	<i>Sekolah Pertanian Menengah Atas</i> (Vocational School Specialized in Agriculture)
Sopi	Traditional liquor originated from North Sulawesi or Maluku
Sorong	Coastal region in West Papua
TIK	<i>Teknologi Infomasi dan Komputer</i> (Information Technology and Computer)
TK	<i>Taman Kanak-kanak</i> (Kindergarten)
TNP2K	<i>Tim Nasional Percepatan Penanggulangan Kemiskinan</i> (National Team for the Acceleration of Poverty Reduction)
UKS	<i>Unit Kesehatan Sekolah</i> (School Health Unit)
YPK	<i>Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen</i> (Cristian School Institution)
YPKK	<i>Yayasan Pendidikan Kristen Katolik</i> (Catholic School Institution)

Exchange rate:

IDR100,000 : £ 5.19 UK pounds sterling (approximately, December 2014)

IDR100,000 : AUS 9.64 Australian dollars (approximately, December 2014)



Executive Summary

1. The Reality Check Approach (RCA) study was commissioned by KIAT Guru and ACDP in order to gather insights into the experience of basic education from the perspectives of families living in West Papua and Papua.
More than 750 other people outside of the immediate household were also engaged in conversations around basic education. Conversation time amounted to more than 820 hours (equivalent to more than 200 focus group discussions). Conversations were supplemented by accompanying children to school, spending time in schools where possible and accompanying households through their normal daily activities.
2. RCA is an internationally recognised qualitative research approach which requires the study team to live with people living in poverty in their own homes for a period of time and to use this opportunity to have informal conversations with all members of the household, their neighbours and formal and informal frontline service providers with whom they interact. The emphasis on informality within people's own space enables the best possible conditions for openness and trust and for the study team to triangulate conversations with their own firsthand experience and observations.
3. The study was undertaken in November and December, 2014 in a total of fourteen villages in distributed over three districts of Papua (8 villages) and two districts of West Papua (6 villages). Locations were purposively selected. Twenty study team members stayed with families living in poverty for four days and four nights. A total of seventeen host households selected on the basis of being poorer households in the village were included in the study (with a further seven households participating in the shorter pilot - 2 nights - providing provided important first insights).
4. Findings are presented in two sections; the first provides context which is intended to help interpret the findings presented in the second section which comprises the insights and perceptions of families living in poverty regarding education complemented by researcher observations and experience.
5. People in the study locations share a strong sense of identity which can be characterised in four distinct ways: i. ethnic Papuans who live near to their origins, ii. ethnic Papuans who have moved around Papua for education and work, iii. incomers who have settled in Papua to start their own small businesses (often kiosk owners) and iv. incomers who are posted to Papua by Government or private sector employers. Differences between ethnic Papuans and incomers are viewed more in terms of livelihoods and economic status than culture, religion and appearance. Little or no prejudice or tensions between ethnic groups were apparent in study villages themselves although outsiders often indicated prejudice. Nevertheless there is little mixing for social reasons and schoolchildren were always observed within either incomer or ethnic Papuan groupings.

Incomers are generally viewed by ethnic Papuans as 'better off' as they have regular incomes even though ethnic Papuans have access to land. Incomers dominate the civil service positions in villages. The contribution made by incomers to villages through their civil service positions and small businesses serving the community is appreciated by the ethnic Papuans and often acknowledged with gifts of food and even small plots of land. Sub-district capitals are more ethnically mixed as is to be expected recognising the larger numbers of civil servants and greater opportunities for entrepreneurial activities in these hubs which attract incomers.

6. Livelihoods are largely circumscribed by geography which supports farming, hunting and fishing but ethnic Papuans talk about their daily activities rather than in terms of occupations. The increased demands for cash, e.g. to buy rice, snacks, baby milk, toys, cosmetics, cigarettes, betel nut and alcohol have fuelled the need to seek waged work occasionally especially supplying the burgeoning construction industry with raw materials from the village (e.g. stones, sand) or labour.
 7. Study location inhabitants themselves repeatedly noted that with the high investment of the Government in their villages and the many free programmes such as housing, solar light provision, asset transfer programmes has made them 'become lazy'.
 8. Connectivity has improved enormously over the recent years with new roads, mobile phone coverage and TV access. Incomers are perceived to be particularly well networked and have been instrumental in creating business links with ethnic Papuans. Linked to this is a preference for using Bahasa Indonesia over indigenous local languages which are increasingly confined to being used only by the older generations. Use of Bahasa Indonesia is seen as a way of 'getting on' and a lack of language skills as a hindrance to being able to access entitlements and negotiate rights.
 9. While most of the villages had Christian churches, the significance of these and the few mosques apparent has dipped in recent years. The observance of religious practice was often reduced to key festivals only and was discussed as a less important aspect of community life than before.
 10. Families are complex and may be nuclear, extended or blended. Formal marriage is rare it is said because of the costs associated with wedding ceremonies but partnerships are fully accepted. Child upbringing is more 'fluid' than observed in other RCA locations in Indonesia with many children staying permanently or temporarily in a number of different arrangements outside their immediate family.
- Women often assume the bulk of the chores/ family subsistence activities as well as the income earning activities and this often entails leaving men to take care of small children.
 11. Alcohol, betel ad tobacco use is widespread and there was some evidence in some study locations of the contribution of alcohol to violent behaviour. Betel nut chew is less prevalent in West Papua than Papua villages where children as young as three were introduced to it.
 12. Education is valued by parents in the study locations primarily as a means to enable ethnic Papuans to better connect, network and negotiate rights without being cheated. It is also seen as a means to redress the balance of domination of incomers in civil service and other positions of power. Some value the opportunity to access salaried work through education, especially access to civil service opportunities.
 13. School is not well understood by parents and is often seen as a *magic box* where mere attendance will ensure progression and graduation. Failure of this process may lead to parents and students complaining and demanding their entitlement to graduation irrespective of performance. As a result children graduate from both primary and junior high school with faked scores and an inability to read.
 14. The home environment does little to support study. While there is no excessive expectation to do chores, there is also no expectation to study. Recreation especially TV watching fills the post school period. Very few children in the study locations we experienced took breakfast before going to school.
 15. Access to basic education is good in all the study locations with most villages having their own primary school and many their own junior high school. Where this was not actually in the village only relatively short journeys were required to access the nearest one. There has been conspicuous investment in school infrastructure to the point sometimes of over-resourcing given the small populations served. But while access to basic education is good the access to high school is more problematic. Costs include transport and accommodation as none of the high schools are near enough to support daily commutes. In addition parents worry about the risks of their children living away from home and supervision and early sexual activity and pregnancy seem to be prevalent in these circumstances. Furthermore as a result of the inflated scores provided at the village level (see 13), village children do not have the confidence and competence to compete in the high schools with children from other backgrounds and this often leads to children leaving school.

16. Teaching contact hours are very low as a result of late commencement to the school day, early dismissal and the inclusion of 'fill-in' activities such as cleaning the school within the school day. We noted that actual contact time may be as low as ten hours per week. Furthermore children often drift in and out of school throughout the school day. Teachers' absence is widespread and the practice of extending legitimate absences to collect salaries, attend training and meetings ubiquitous. This practice and the over supply of teachers in many schools seems to have fuelled semi-formal rotas where fully salaried teachers actually work part-time.
17. Teachers are mostly concerned with students passing grades and feel challenged by the special problems they face in village schools where language skills are poor and they feel that study attitudes are poorly developed and supported. Parents have little knowledge of what to expect from school and what to make of children's grades and school reports so have few comments on learning. Children shared that school should primarily be a place for fun and friendship. Good schools, as far as children are concerned are ones where there is an emphasis on fun, play and sports, lessons are easily understood and teachers punish less. Parents emphasis the presence of teachers as a key indicator while teachers focus on resources.
18. Corporal punishment is widespread and normalised throughout the study locations. The report provides a number of graphic examples and the teacher's justification for this. However, the level of corporal punishment in school mirrors the inter-household use of physical violence and researchers observed high levels of slapping , and hitting in fights among siblings which also were meted out as punishment, especially by mothers, in the home. The punishments at school are largely endorsed by parents.
19. Peer pressure for truancy and leaving school early is high, especially among teens. Boys often cited punishment and humiliation at school as key reasons for leaving but also the attraction of hunting and fishing. Early sexual activity, as noted above, is another key driver for both truancy and early school leaving.
20. Many teachers shared their expectation to continue other activities alongside their teaching duties. There were often visible operating kiosks (often outside the school) and other businesses such as carpentry and fishing. It was noted that some liked the freedom to do this since supervision was rare in remote areas. Others see their assignments as 'hardship posts' which they hope will earn rewards in future, 'better' postings or as a means to fast track the attainment of PNS status.
21. Assumptions around the role of tribal and religious aspects of community life which have led to the inclusion of these in proposed village decision making structures is challenged by the findings of this study. Tribal interests are declining in West Papua and even where they are stronger in Papua they seem to be confined to promoting tribal culture and preserving rights to tribal lands. The tribal leaders interest and involvement in other village decision making is minimal and often simply courtesy. Similarly, religious institutions have assumed to be important representatives of communities but the active participation of communities in religious activity has waned and some village churches, for example, represent only a handful of people. What has evolved is pragmatic, context specific ways of village decision making and it is these which need to be acknowledged when designing new interventions.
22. School management committees rarely function and parents shared that they could not conceive of a role whereby they could criticise much respected teachers. They did not feel able to raise complaints both because of a lack of knowledge about what goes on in school and for fear of repercussions.
23. The report concludes with a number of implications which emerge from reflection on the findings. These are summarised as follows:



A boy skipping school today

Summary Matrix of Findings and Implications

Report Themes	Findings	Page	Implication
How People See Themselves	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> People describe four identities: i. ethnic Papuans (traditional), ii. ethnic Papuans (mobile/more educated), iii. incomers (own initiative) iv. incomers (seconded) 	21	<p>Push-pull factors for education need to be fully understood. Dependency and easy livelihoods versus the need for cash and regular incomes (see also value of education below)</p> <p>Programmes have assumed a need for a tri-partite arrangement for village decision making including tribe, religion and village administration. If the role of religion and tribe is declining or changing this assumption may need revisiting</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Livelihoods and economic status determine difference more than culture, religion and appearance and little or no prejudice or tensions between ethnic groups 	22	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Incomers dominate the civil service positions in villages 	24	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Sub district capitals are more ethnically mixed than villages 	24	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Geography determines connectivity and livelihoods; coast/fishing, hills/farming. But ethnic Papuans often talk about their daily activities rather than occupations/livelihoods. 	25	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Increased demands for cash for daily expenses means more active search for seek waged work e.g. construction 	27	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High levels of Government assistance in villages seen by many as increased dependency and contributing to them 'becoming lazy' 	28	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> New roads, mobile phone coverage and TV access has improved connectivity significantly. Incomers regarded as particularly well networked. Preference for using Bahasa Indonesia over indigenous local languages apparent as a means to become better networked and a means to 'get on'. 	29-30	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The importance of tribe is declining : the role tribal leaders being reduced to maintaining traditions, organising rituals and land inheritance rather than involvement in other forms of village decision making. Traditional meeting halls often more or less abandoned. 	21	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The influence of the Christian churches declining and religious observance among Christians and Muslims often confined to key festivals only 	31	
Families and Households	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Families are complex and may be nuclear, extended or blended. 	32-34	<p>Administrative procedures need to adapt to this reality to ensure children can be registered in school and can access entitlements.</p> <p>Recognition that fathers are hands on parents needs acknowledgement in programming e.g. inclusion</p>
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Formal marriage is rare mostly because of the cost 	34	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Child upbringing is comparatively 'fluid'- many children stay permanently or temporarily in a number of different arrangements outside their immediate family. 	33	

Report Themes	Findings	Page	Implication
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Women often assume the bulk of the chores/family subsistence activities as well as the income earning activities and this often entails leaving men to take care of small children. Alcohol, betel nut and tobacco use is widespread. Alcohol use sometime linked to violent behaviour. Teenage sex is widespread 	<p>33</p> <p>34</p> <p>34</p>	
Demand Side's Perspectives on Education	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Education is valued by parents- primarily as a means to enable ethnic Papuans to better connect, network and negotiate rights without being cheated; a means to redress the balance of domination of incomers in civil service and other positions of power; a route to salaried work especially in civil service. School is not well understood by parents - a "magic box" where attendance alone ensures progression and graduation. When children do not progress/ graduate, parents protest. Consequently, graduation (from both primary and junior high schools) is faked and children leave illiterate. There is no excessive expectation to do chores at home but there is also no expectation to study. Recreation, especially watching TV, fills the post-school period. Very few children took breakfast before going to school. 	<p>35</p> <p>35</p> <p>36</p> <p>36</p> <p>36</p>	<p>Better understanding of the value of education for people is important in designing appropriate responses which maintain a balance of life skills and work skills. Promotion of ethnic Papuan role models may help.</p> <p>The "magic box" of school needs to be demystified with parents encouraged to learn more about what should happen in school through exposure visits, opportunities for adult and co-learning with their children and involvement in school activities.</p> <p>Consider breakfast programmes</p>
Provision of Education – Access and Infrastructure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Access to basic education is generally good Conspicuous investment in school infrastructure with some over-resourcing, (especially given the small populations served). Access to high school is more problematic with high transport and accommodation costs. Parents worry about the risks of their children living away from home and supervision; and early sexual activity and pregnancy seem to be prevalent. The practice of inflating basic education scores leads to village children having low confidence and competence to compete in high school, often resulting in leaving school early. 	<p>38</p> <p>39-41</p> <p>45</p> <p>43</p> <p>43</p>	<p>One size fits all approach to school infrastructure can be wasteful as there are other priorities according to school's and village's contextual needs.</p> <p>Preparation for high school needs to be adequate and include psycho-social preparation, as well as least cost and safe solutions for boarding.</p>

Report Themes	Findings	Page	Implication
What Happens in School? – Contact Hours, Teaching & Learning, Punishment, Peer Pressure and Teacher’s Motivations	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teaching contact hours are very low due to late commencement, early dismissal and inclusion of ‘cleaning’ activities within the school day. 	44	Teacher absenteeism is a key concern of parents. The problem is not relieved by the oversupply of teachers. Equally important but not highlighted in communities is the very low teacher: student contact hours.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Actual contact time can be as low as ten hours per week. 	44	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Children can drift in and out of school throughout the school day. 	44	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers’ absence is widespread which includes the practice of extending legitimate absences to collect salaries, attend training and meetings 	44	The issue of manipulating primary and junior high school student achievement scores to enhance pass rates must be addressed as it seriously undermines confidence and competence to participate in higher education. A more appropriate mechanism to recognise performance improvement needs to be considered.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The absence and oversupply of teachers in many schools seem to have fuelled semi-formal rotas where fully salaried teachers actually work part-time. 	45	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Teachers are mostly concerned with students passing grades, poor language skills and attitudes to study. 	45	Consideration needs to be given to more context-specific curricula including an emphasis on life skills as well as to selecting the most appropriate bridging language for the first few years of schooling.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents have few comments on learning, due to few knowledge of what to expect from school and what to make of children’s grades and school reports. 	45	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Good schools, according to children, are ones where there is an emphasis on fun, play and sports; lessons are easily understood; and teachers punish less. 	48	Students’ expectations on fun learning would benefit from the approaches to teaching that are engaging and interactive which do not only come from teachers of special programmes (e.g. SM3T, <i>Indonesia Mengajar</i>). Both teacher selection procedures and training should be able to contribute to these approaches.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Parents emphasise the presence of teachers as a key indicator while teachers focus on resources. 	48	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Corporal punishment is widespread and normalised throughout the study locations. A number of graphic examples and the teacher’s justification for this are presented in the report. 	46	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The level of corporal punishment in school mirrors the inter-household use of physical violence. 	46	Consideration of breakfast programmes at schools.
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> High levels of slapping and hitting in fights among siblings were observed which also were meted out as punishment at home. 	46	
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The punishments at school are largely endorsed by parents. 	46	
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Peer pressure for truancy and leaving school early is high, especially among teens. 	47		

Report Themes	Findings	Page	Implication
	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Punishment and humiliation at school as key reasons for boys leaving school, apart from the attraction of hunting and fishing. Early sexual activity, is another key driver for both truancy and early school leaving. Teachers' other activities alongside their teaching duties include operating kiosks, carpentry and fishing. Some teachers like the freedom to do these as supervision was rare in remote areas. Other teachers see their assignments as 'hardship posts', hoping to earn reward in future 'better' postings, or as means to fast track the attainment of PNS status. 	47 47 47 47 47	
Community Organisation – Village and School Levels	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> The inclusion of tribal and religious roles in proposed village decision-making structures is challenged by the findings of this study. Tribal interests are declining in West Papua, and even where they are stronger in Papua, they seem to be confined to promoting tribal culture and preserving rights to tribal lands. The tribal leaders' interest and involvement in other village decision making is minimal and is often simply courtesy. Religious institutions have assumed to be important representatives of communities but the active participation of communities in religious activities has waned, with some village churches representing only a handful of people. What has evolved is pragmatic, context specific ways of village decision making which need to be acknowledged when designing new interventions. School management committees rarely function. Parents shared about not being able to assume a role where they could criticise much respected teachers and raise complaints, both because of a lack of knowledge about what goes on in school and for fear of repercussions. 	49 49 49 49 49 50 50	<p>The power divide between school and parents as well as the prevalent "magic box" perception militate against the possibility for parents and students to actively participate in assessing school performance.</p> <p>Where new organisations are envisaged to promote this, attention should be given to the particular village dynamics and the need to include ordinary and youth voices. A "one size fits all" approach to promoting performance monitoring organisation is unlikely to work.</p>

Chapter I

Introduction



Background

This Report presents the main findings of the Reality Check Approach (RCA) study which was conducted during November and December, 2014.

The study was commissioned by *Kinerja dan Akuntabilitas Guru* (KIAT Guru) and Education Sector Analytical Capacity Development Partnership (ACDP) to gather insights into the experience of basic education from the perspectives of families living in West Papua and Papua.

The specific study design was developed in collaboration with two commissioning agents taking into account their interests as follows;

- KIAT Guru has the objective of improving education provision in remote/challenging areas by involving communities in monitoring teachers' performance and introducing a number of incentives to enhance teacher motivation, attendance and performance.
- ACDP has the objective of improving education service delivery and systems through better evidence and research in education.

Both organisations indicated a special interest in West Papua and Papua as education outcome indicators in these areas are particularly poor.

KIAT Guru is actively running its experiments to increase teacher attendance in two districts of West Papua and Papua; Keerom and Kaimana (as well as West Kalimantan).

The RCA works particularly well within an environment which does not have a single project focus and in this case, working in association with the two commissioning agents conferred a wide lens for the study; basic education was the focus of conversations without the potential distortion of specific project biases.

The RCA study was undertaken by a team of twenty researchers under the leadership of Revy Sjahrial. As the study was undertaken under the auspices of the DFAT-funded RCA+ project, which is designed to build the capacity of Indonesian researchers to undertake high quality RCA studies (see Annex 2), the international team leader, Dee Jupp provided advice and quality assurance for the study throughout design, implementation and analysis of findings as well as training of new researchers. Overall management of the team and logistic arrangements were undertaken by the RCA+ project.

This report is presented in two parts: the first is intended to set the scene and describe the special situation and context of Papua and West Papua in order to provide the perspective for interpreting the findings which are presented in the following second section.

Seventeen study families participated as host households in the four night main study from five different districts (fourteen villages) and a further seven households in one district in Papua participated in the shorter two night pilot study implemented in advance of the main study.

A further 75 focal households (neighbours) participated in the study and over 750 people beyond the families participated by involving in conversations around basic education.

The study design and areas for conversations are provided in Annex 1 and 3 respectively. It is hoped that this study will form the basis of a longitudinal study where the team returns to the same households over a period of years in order to understand change from the perspectives of people living in poverty.

over 750 people
beyond the families
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around basic
education



Researcher and children drawing the village map together

Chapter 2

Research Methodology





Reality Check Approach

The Reality Check Approach extends the tradition of listening studies and beneficiary assessments by combining elements of these approaches with the researchers actually living with people whose views are being sought, usually those who are directly experiencing poverty.

It could be likened to “light touch” participant observation. Participant observation involves entering the lives of the subjects of research and both participating in and observing their normal everyday activities and interactions. It usually entails extensive and detailed research into behaviour with a view to understanding peoples' perceptions and their actions over long periods of time.

The Reality Check Approach is similar in that it requires participation in everyday life within people's own environments but differs by being comparatively quick, placing more emphasis on informal, relaxed and insightful conversations rather than on observing behaviour and the complexities of relationships.

Important characteristics of the Reality Check Approach are:

- **Living with** rather than visiting (thereby meeting the family in their own environment, understanding family dynamics and how days and nights are spent);
- **Having conversations** rather than conducting interviews (there is no note taking thereby putting people at ease and on an equal footing with the outsider);
- **Learning** rather than finding out (suspending judgement, letting people who experience poverty take the lead in defining the agenda and what is important);
- **Centring on the household** and interacting with families rather than users, communities or groups;
- **Being experiential** in that researchers themselves take part in daily activities (collecting water, cooking, cultivation) and accompany household members (to school, to market, to health clinic);
- **Including** all members of households;
- **Using private space** rather than public space for disclosure (an emphasis on normal, ordinary lives);
- **Accepting multiple realities** rather than public consensus (gathering diversity of opinion, including “smaller voices”);
- **Interacting in ordinary daily life** with frontline service providers (accompanying host household members in their interactions with local service providers, meeting service providers, e.g. teachers as they go about their usual routines);

- **Taking a cross-sectoral view**, although each study has a special focus, the enquiry is situated within the context of everyday life rather than simply (and arguably artificially) looking at one aspect of people's lives;
- **Understanding longitudinal change** and how change happens over time¹.

Training and orientation on the Reality Check Approach were provided before each round of the study. The training involved a two night immersion (where researchers stay in the homes of people living in poverty) so that researchers could build confidence and experience of this approach.

Families in West Papua and Papua were very open to the approach and readily welcomed researchers into their homes and soon understood the purpose of the study and the need for the researchers not to be afforded guest status.

Through easy conversations and sharing chores, the study team members were able to engage all members of the family as well as neighbours (focal households) in conversations.

The team members also interacted informally with local power holders (village chiefs and administrators) as well as local service providers (school teachers (more than 60), health workers, religious leaders, shop and stall owners) through informal conversations (see annex 6 for the list of people met).

Each team member discreetly left a "gift" for each family on leaving, comprising food items and stationery to the value of IDR120,000–300,000, to compensate for any costs incurred in hosting the researcher. As researchers insist that no special arrangements are made for them, they help in domestic activities and do not disturb income-earning activities, the actual costs to a family are negligible.

The timing of the gift was important so families did not feel they were expected to provide better food for the researchers or get the impression that they were being paid for their participation.

Each team member kept their own field notes but they never wrote these in front of the people they were conversing with. In addition, they facilitated some joint visual analyses with members of host households on their incomes and expenditure ("pile sorting") especially to examine school costs.

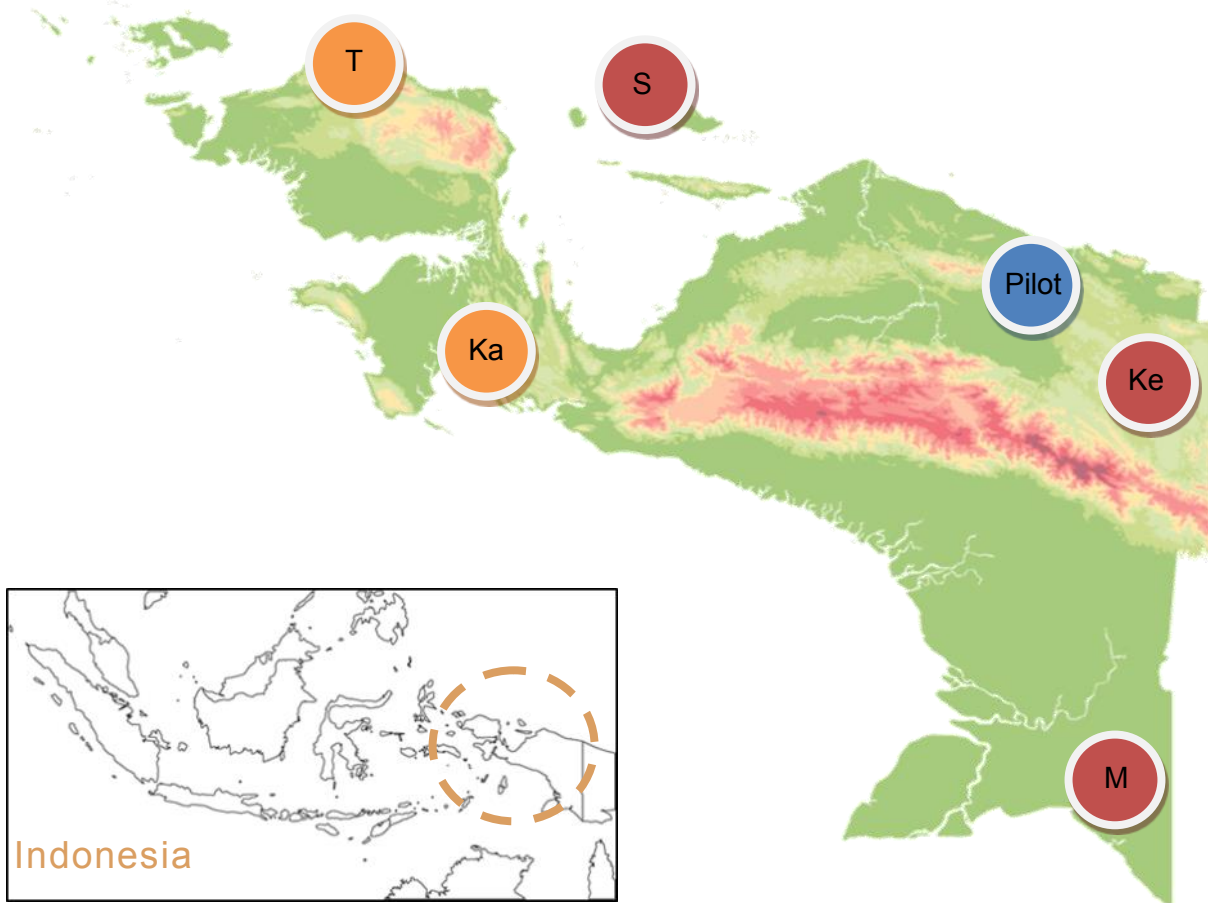
To illustrate the context of the village and the households, photos were taken with the consent of villagers but also sometimes by the villagers themselves. These narratives and visual records formed the basis of detailed debriefing sessions held with each sub-team as soon as possible after each round of the study was completed.

Study Limitations

- Many of the Papuan villages, especially remote ones are very small which means that the usual RCA practice of having more than one researcher in a village (for good triangulation purposes) is not possible. This meant that researchers in a single sub team often stayed in separate, neighbouring villages.
- Although villagers are familiar with Bahasa Indonesia and were able to communicate well using this with us, they nevertheless resorted to using local language among themselves and this presented a challenge for the researchers who missed much of the side talk, the interactions between family members and banter when children were playing. Furthermore Bahasa Indonesia is spoken with a Papuan dialect and this could be challenging at times.
- It was the rainy season and so travel was problematic in some areas. This sometimes resulted in arriving in villages late in the day and finding host households were compromised. Furthermore, in one area it might have been better from the study point of view to have trekked further up the mountain to find a village but this was not possible due to the late arrival. The rain also inhibited movement to visit places of work and focal households.
- The second round of the study coincided with the end of school term and some schools had closed early for Christmas vacation. This meant that either school routines were not normal or we had no access to the school at all. Many teachers had left the villages for vacation and were therefore not included in conversations.
- In one village our visit coincided with two weddings which occupied the time of the villagers.
- One site was near the border with Papua New Guinea. Here, there were high levels of suspicion from villagers (not authorities) about our purpose and some threatening behaviour (especially from a teacher) which resulted in reducing the number of nights in this village. There was evidence of considerable cross border activity, probably illegal logging and stolen motorbikes (mysteriously men talked about having to go as they had 'forest to maintain') and less than cordial relations between the border guard and the villagers.
- Discussions around sensitive issues such as bullying and teasing were difficult.

¹ Assuming the study becomes a longitudinal one.

Selection of Locations



Locations were selected purposely. The determinants included a desire to include

- Not more than 50% sites where KIAT Guru is active (i.e. Keerom and Kaimana).
- Relative remoteness and mix of 'highland' and 'lowland' locations.
- Risk assessment based on a review of transport, weather and local activism activity.

Research location

Province	District	Code	No of Village
Papua	Keerom	Ke	3
	Supiori	S	3
	Merauke	M	2
West Papua	Kaimana	Ka	2
	Tambrau	T	4

Chapter 3

Findings



How People See Themselves : Identity

Origins

When people talk about a neighbour or a family member, they frequently use names which refer to their origin. This means, for example, that people are referred to as “*mama Biak*”, that “*Sorong man*” or this “*Buton kiosk owner*”. Identity is key and seems to fall into four categories:

- i) The indigenous Papuans, who continue to live close to their origin;
- ii) The moving around/returnee Papuans, who have moved in or come back from other regions in Papua;
- iii) The ‘own-initiative’ incomers, e.g. Bugis, Butonese/Ambonese, Torajan ‘*perantau*’, who have moved in for entrepreneurship purposes;
- iv) The ‘government/private sector-employed’ incomers, e.g. civil servants (PNS), (non-PNS) teachers, missionaries and transmigrants, who have moved in or nearby for particular assignments.

The first two categories are Melanesian and are referred to in this report as ethnic Papuans, the other categories include the range of other ethnicities from Indonesia.

Category (i) tend to continue the traditional livelihoods of their tribes and the older generation is less well educated than those Papuans who have travelled outside their home villages for education and work.

Amongst the ethnic Papuans, there are distinctions made between the ‘mountain’ (highland) and the ‘coast’ (lowland) people largely based on traditional livelihoods.

In Papua, people say “*you’re not Papuan if you don’t eat papeda (sago) and chew betel nuts*” more than in West Papua. People in West Papua (e.g. Tambrauw villages) on the other hand say they “*picked up the habit (of chewing betel nuts) from Biak people who come here.*” They are less likely to see sago-eating as a determinant of their ethnicity.

Tribes and tribal structures are also more apparent in Papua than West Papua. In the Papua study villages people refer to the “*Ondo afi*” (tribal leaders) as important members of the community governance structure, as opposed to more use of “*Bapak Desa*” in West Papua.

In village Ka in West Papua people told us that there is little sense of tribal affiliation nowadays and as testament to this the old tribal meeting hall has fallen into disrepair and nobody seems to worry about this.

Here in village Ka, the only remaining link with tribal identity is the language which is anyway only now used within the family.

Between the Papuans and the incomers, people identify differences more in terms of livelihoods and economic opportunities and less in terms of culture, religion and/or appearance.

Incomers are usually perceived as *“better off”* by ethnic Papuans because they have regular cash earning potential even though by ethnic Papuans own recognition, they are the owners of their land and natural resources.

The lack of access to land resources seems to contribute to incomers’ feeling insecure about their futures and tenure in their adopted homes. The perceptions are summed up in Table 1 below.

“you’re not Papuan if you don’t eat papeda (sago) and chew betel nuts”
- HHH in Papua -

Table 1. How ethnic Papuan and incomers see each other

Incomers	Papuans
Feeling of temporariness – <i>“insecure, can be kicked out at any time”</i> (incomer entrepreneurs), constantly .. <i>“moving out for next assignment”</i> (PNS, teachers). Not integrated in communities.	Recognise incomers’ contribution especially in commerce – <i>“We don’t have to go far, the kiosk has everything!”</i> and role in civil service.
Seen as resourceful/knowledgeable and well networked – providing services to locals needs irrespective of social status (entrepreneurs will meet local needs)	Feel insecure about incomers’ wider network and knowledge of the ‘outside’.
Respected and seen as role models to aspire to <i>“success”</i> – PNS, teachers, priests	Prefer advice of/consulting with returnee-Papuans first before involving non-Papuans.

Despite the lack of integration of incomers, even when they have lived in the community for a long period, there nevertheless seems to be mutual accommodation and little evidence of tensions.

More apparent was prejudice from people living outside the villages. For example our (incomer) transport providers in the pilot study area outside Jayapura warned that the villagers would be hostile *'will not feed you and will take away your women'*. Another incomer teacher told a researcher that people here (village T) were *'fanatic Christians and would not accept you in your hijab'*. None of these warnings had any resonance in reality.

In several instances the RCA study noted that incomers continue to live in original transmigrant² village settlements which are separated from the ethnic Papuan villages and continue to maintain their coded village names.

Where children of the transmigrant villages go to the same schools as the children of the ethnic Papuan villages, we noted clear segregation in walking to school and playing in separate groups. Furthermore, there are obvious differences in economic terms with incomer children well accessorised with *"nice big watches and shoes"*.

There were many examples of incomers being afforded preferential treatment by the ethnic Papuans, especially those in civil service positions. For example, the nurses and teachers were given fish by the community for free (village S) and *'if the teachers need anything, they simply ask us and we provide - for example they asked for bananas today'* (village T). These gifts are said to be in recognition of the superior status and service provided by the incomers.

"if the teachers need anything, they simply ask us and we provide - for example they asked for bananas today"
- Villager in 2D -

² From the active Transmigration period of the '80s and '90s.



Transmigrant children going home with friends from the same transmigration area

Villages (e.g. S1 and M1) which are the designated capitals of a sub-district are more mixed ethnically than smaller village. This is not surprising as there are good reasons for incomers to move into these hubs as civil servants or for business.

For example, in village S incomer nurses, police and other civil servants are in large numbers expecting to be posted there for periods of two years. An anomaly is village Ka2 where there are more incomers than Ka1, which is the capital.

This seems to have been a result of a changed decision regarding which village should become the sub-district capital. Ka2 was originally planned to be the capital, but for “unknown reasons, the official decision was eventually to make ‘Ka1’ as the capital”.

Village size also effects the likelihood of attracting larger numbers of incomers whereas smaller villagers (e.g. T1-4) all have similar but quite small numbers of incomers. Further detail is provided in Table 2.

With regard to ethnic Papuan views of tribal culture, we found that while affiliations were stronger in Papua than West Papua, the role of the tribe has diminished.

In some places there were no tribal leaders residing in the village and, while still respected, their role has changed to one of stewardship of tribal traditions and rituals rather than key village decision makers.

Tribal leaders are invited to village forums but often, we were told, more as a courtesy than as a necessity for the process of decision making. Both in West Papua and Papua, old traditional meeting places are being abandoned and left in disrepair. Increasingly it seems people link local cultures and local languages to “ceremonial” use and the need to continue to “feel connected with the ancestors”.

Table 2. Demography of RCA Villages

District	Village	Demography			
		Indigenous Papuan	Moving-around/ Returnee Papuan	Own-Initiative Incomer	Government/Private Sector-led Incomer
Keerom (Ke)	1	Majority	-	-	-
	2	Majority	Medium	-	-
	3	Majority	-	-	Majority
Supiori (S)	1	Majority	Medium	Medium	Medium
	2	Majority	-	Majority	Majority
	3	Majority	Majority	-	-
Merauke (M)	1	Majority	Majority	Medium	Majority
	2	Majority	Majority	-	Majority
Kaimana (Ka)	1	Majority	-	Majority	Medium
	2	Majority	Majority	Medium	Majority
Tambrau (T)	1	Majority	-	Majority	Majority
	2	Majority	-	-	Majority
	3	Majority	-	Majority	Majority
	4	Majority	-	Majority	Majority

Legend 1: Status in sub-district

- Capital
- Supposed-to-be capital

Legend 2: Approx. number

- Majority
- Medium
- Small

Geography

The RCA study team stayed in a total of fourteen villages (8 in Papua and 6 in West Papua). In Papua the three villages in Keerom are inland, one of which is up a hill.

Three other villages in Supiori district are coastal, while the other two in Merauke district are inland with a mix of forest and river surrounding them. In West Papua province, two villages in Kaimana district are adjacent to the sea bay, while four others in Tambrauw district are either inland near rivers or on the coast beach.

Table 3. below shows the purposeful split of RCA study villages between inland and coastal area. Geography not only determines livelihoods but has had other effects, for example on people’s mobility and connectedness.

The sub-district capitals benefit from better transport and communication. However, better access does not necessarily translate into affordable travel costs to other towns.

Geography not only determines livelihoods but has had other effects, for example on people’s mobility and connectedness.

Table 3. Topography of RCA Villages

Province	District	Village	Topography		
			Forest	River	Coast
Papua	Keerom (Ke)	1	√	√	-
		2	√	√	-
		3	√	√	-
	Supiori (S)	1	√	-	√
		2	√	-	√
		3	√	-	√
	Merauke (M)	1	√	√	-
		2	√	√	-
	West Papua	Kaimana (Ka)	1	√	-
2			√	-	√
Tambrauw (T)		1	√	-	√
		2	√	√	-
		3	√	-	√
		4	√	√	-

Legend 1: Status in sub-district
 Capital
 Supposed-to-be capital

Livelihoods

People’s origin and the geographical features of their communities are key in identifying the kinds of livelihood and connectivity they experience in daily life. Generally the highland people are subsistence farmers and the lowland practice a mix of farming and fishing. But when describing what they do for a living, men and women, particularly ethnic Papuans, will talk about the activities they do and not in terms of an occupation.

Those near forests therefore say we ‘go gardening’ or ‘go hunting twice a week with a few neighbours’. While those near river and sea resources say, some ‘go fishing with the boat when the weather is good’ and others would ‘fish with a pole’ or ‘cast a net near the dock for shrimps’. They do not see themselves as fishermen or farmers but rather view these activities as merely needed to fulfil their daily needs and are casual about whether they need to do this regularly ‘it depends how I feel today, if I bother to go to the farm or not’ (HHH-mother). The need to sell surplus is minimal albeit increasing with desire to buy snacks, baby milk, toys, cosmetics, rice etc. More often surplus produce is shared with neighbours on an informal reciprocal basis.

When larger amounts of cash are needed e.g. to meet social obligations around weddings, funerals etc., then they say, they make extra efforts for fishing, hunting or gathering produce from the forest/garden. ‘I like gardening best because I can have control of what I do,’ (Returnee-Papuan man, Ke2) sums up the sentiments of many across the RCA study locations. ‘We Papuans are **spoilt by nature**’ is much noted in reference to the easy means to gather food.

“it depends how I feel today, if I bother to go to the farm or not”
- HHH Mother in Papua -



This is his second kangaroo in one week

The aforementioned demands for cash not only for non-essentials listed above but also for health care and school costs, lead many to tell us how important newer employment schemes implemented through government assistance or private sector have become. People may be contracted as semi-skilled and unskilled construction workers or form community groups to excavate local sand and rock for contract based sales to construction projects.

For example, in village Ka formal arrangements have been made to sell rocks to local construction companies so *'everyday we can get money'* (HHH father). However we sensed a casual attitude to cash, and more than in other parts of Indonesia where we have conducted RCAs, in that when cash was available snacks, sugar, MSG, salt etc. were purchased but if there was no cash in the house, we simply went without and it did not seem to matter. For example, in HHH in village M, we ran out of sugar on day 3, salt on day 4 and despite the father promising to go hunting to earn some cash, he overslept and did not go, so there was no special farewell meal as promised to the researcher and no resultant embarrassment.

In M people spoke about being *'surrounded by corporations'* and *'we don't have any forests any more... if a bird flies across this area it will die as it has no trees to roost in now'*. Despite a buffer zone around the village, people still feel threatened by the private corporations and feel the quality of water has declined as a result of their presence.

A poster in the village noted *'If the forest goes, where will we go?'*. They themselves get very little employment benefit from the corporations although some work temporarily on the oil palm plantations (though they always return for the lucrative *arwana* ornamental fish season). In village Ke, people noted that the plantations only employ their own people on a permanent basis from outside.

In several other RCA study villages, some crops have been promoted as cash crops. For example, in Ke1 a new cocoa plantation has been developed on tribal land leased for 30 years to a private corporation. M villages are newly surrounded by palm oil plantations on leased tribal lands. In Ka, a recent government supported nutmeg production project is heralded as a *'new hope'* by the villagers, although the crops sale is still being monopolised by *'that one Chinese man who comes over once a year with a rented vehicle to buy from us all.'*

In some villages, people noted the absence of young men as they go to the city or outside for employment (e.g. village T, Ke)

By contrast, the incomers do not rely on subsistence and are all active in making cash through small businesses, (for example, most small kiosks and food stalls are run by incomers), are salaried civil servants (teachers, health workers, security etc.) or salaried staff of the many new private sector companies speculating on the resource wealth of the area.

The arrival of many of the incomer entrepreneurs from Buton areas coincides with the timing of the religious conflicts in the late nineties (especially study villages in West Papua). With generally no access to land resources, they are not involved in *'gardening, fishing or hunting activities'* and are often consequently excluded from the reciprocal arrangements that these activities spawn (for example in village Ka there was much evidence of daily reciprocity especially sharing food among the ethnic Papuans but this was not extended to the incomers). Nevertheless, as mentioned above, they may benefit from free produce provided to them by ethnic Papuans because they are *'high status'*.



Excavating sand and producing nutmeg syrup are new cash earning options in villages

Dependency

Ethnic Papuans in the study locations were often quick to point out the dependency that has been created as a result of the flood of Government (and private sector) aid programmes to the region. In village Ka there is an urgency to complete the Government housing programme. All the wooden houses are being replaced by concrete houses even for newcomers to the village. Fifteen new houses are still due and these are not replacing wood houses but good brick houses. A woman shared, *'Cindy has two houses now so she can stay wherever she wants'*. Box 1 describes other similar programmes which seem to be ubiquitous across the study locations.

In addition to housing, PNPM Respek and provincial governments have been active with other programmes, often infrastructure.

New roads, generators, toilets, bath houses, water tanks, wells, solar panels, market places are apparent in all the study locations. Many are not actually functional: toilets built without water access, water tanks constructed above the water table so they do not fill, markets which have never been used.

In addition there is ample evidence of asset transfer programmes such as cows, poultry, boats and boat engines but also much that has not worked e.g. asset transfer cows have run off into the forest, poultry has died and boats have been distributed to non fishermen.

Many of the study locations have large numbers of relatively new Government buildings and many of these are abandoned. In one pilot village near Jayapura, there were at least fourteen offices and civil servant accommodation of which more than three quarters was now unoccupied. In location T, the many empty government buildings were still lit up each night.

In village S people said *'men are lazy here because of Government assistance'* and explained that all the houses are provided free since 2012. There is a new unused market place and children tell us vaguely that their fathers *'sometimes get fish'* when asked what they do. Further down the coast this is echoed by others *'Government assistance makes people lazy – they get houses, Johnson engines, 50kg of rice per month and the Mayor gave every household 10 million in 2005 to buy tin roof, utensils, stoves.. they even get Christmas aid'* and say the source is the *'special autonomy fund'*.

Box 1

'Abundant' assistance and dependency complete

In most of the RCA study locations, people talked about the generous housing assistance programmes of the government. Not only are households entitled to concrete buildings to replace their old wooden houses, but for many this can mean having two or even more such houses.

In S, a village of about 20 households with approximately 150 people has 17 brand new houses left empty. Every year a further ten houses are scheduled to be built. So a boy reaching the age of 20 is said to be automatically entitled to a new house.

In one of Ke villages with 40 households there are five empty houses, yet there are plans to build another 25 Government funded houses in 2015. In a Ka village, there are 15 new houses allocated from the government, while there are only two wooden houses left to replace. Housing funds are reported at *'IDR 50 million per house,'* based on a standard design of three rooms without toilet or kitchen as people deem these additions to be *'high cost'*. In T sites, villages received solar panels both from the government and private sector.

They are installed in all public government buildings, even those which have remained unoccupied for a long time as well as provided to every household.



Household's solar panel from the government



New road construction has just finished

Connectivity

Connectivity has improved enormously over the recent past, mostly due to massive investment in roads and mobile phones. Of the fourteen study villages all but those with purely sea access had new roads accessing them making significant differences to connectivity e.g. in village M it used to take ten days to reach the village but since the road was built in 2010 this is reduced to 5 hours.

Despite most RCA villages still having poor or no phone reception, ownership of mobile phone is very high (90% of the RCA HHH had at least one mobile phone). This is explained by comments such as *'we'll use it when we're in a more connected spot'* or *'at least we'll already have one when a new (BTS/transceiver) tower is built near our village.'* But sometime the mobiles are simply used to listen to music (e.g. T where there is no reception). Many also have TVs which help people to feel connected and knowledgeable about the 'outside', although electricity provision is intermittent and mostly dependent on cash availability to buy gasoline for the generator.

In many RCA villages, TV watching was the main collective activity when electricity was available, either in people's homes or at kiosks.

Incomers are often seen to function as important intermediaries to wider earning opportunities for ethnic Papuans by virtue of their expanded networks of information and communication. For example, people in M1 enjoy the season of *Arwana* fish mediated through the incomers networks. We *'...sell them through the kiosk or directly to the transmigrant villages. The latter will give us IDR 2-3 thousand more,'* (HHH father, M1). Similarly, people in M2 *'sell sap sheet to the kiosk at IDR 14 thousand per kg which will then be sold to a trader from outside,'* (FHH man, M2).

In some areas, regular trucks ply taking workers to plantations or to a construction work and provide a link to outside information and often provide free transport. In Ke2 where it is relatively more isolated than the other RCA sites in Ke, they *'wait for the Java truck-man to pass so we can hitch hike to the next village.'*

Language

There is a clearly discernible trend in the use of local language across the RCA villages with its use increasingly confined to the older generations. Young generations prefer to speak Bahasa Indonesia and use it amongst themselves rather than the local language.

They use colloquial spoken Bahasa Indonesia which is distinct from formal or written Bahasa Indonesia. The preferred use of Bahasa Indonesia over local languages is in pursuit of improved livelihoods and greater connectivity; and awareness and proficiency of it are further strengthened by exposure to TV. Indigenous languages are regarded, especially by the younger generation, as a hindrance to 'getting on'.

As spoken Bahasa Indonesia is becoming universal, albeit with a local dialect, there is no incentive for the incomers (entrepreneurs, civil servants and teachers) to learn the local language.

Bahasa Indonesia is ubiquitously used at kiosks, schools or other public facilities where services are provided. As the primary means of communication there is increasing prestige associated with speaking Bahasa Indonesia. Interestingly, earlier efforts to translate the Bible into local languages are now regarded as largely redundant. In villages S2 and T2, the locals told us that they 'don't know the meaning' or 'confused about how to read it'

Box 2

Language to adapt & adopt – you say “*tidak*”, we say “*tra*”

The spoken version of Bahasa Indonesia in Tanah Papua has its own accent and uses many different terms, distinct from the formal version. People contract words, making two syllables into single ones, e.g. “*pu*” for “*punya*” (have) or “*sa*” for “*saya*” (I/me). But words like “*kasbi*” for “*singkong*” (cassava) or “*meti*” for “*surut*” (low tide) are purely local in origin.

Adapting to this spoken version is not too difficult for incomers when they immerse in the everyday life of Tanah Papua. It seems to be rather difficult the other way around, where the local versions of Bahasa pose problems for ethnic Papuans in more formal settings like at schools.

Young generations prefer to speak Bahasa Indonesia and use it amongst themselves rather than the local language



Only poster in Bahasa Indonesia is used at school

Religion

Religious identity does not seem to be as strong as the existence of places of worship. Staying within the families for several days, the RCA team had anticipated a bigger role for religion in people’s lives than was apparent. For example, there was little use of prayers to start each activity at home, even when children go to Christian schools.

Few ethnic Papuan religious leaders stay in villages, for example in M1, T1 and T3, while other villages are occasionally served by incomer-priests from outside, particularly to hold services on special commemorative days. Generally there was little religious activity with some Christian lay-preachers and church-goers active at the weekend and a few Muslim men attending Friday prayers in several villages.

In Ka villages where the majority, both incomers and ethnic Papuans, are Muslim there was little overt head covering or other Islamic observance. In village Ka1, the Muslims say they are Islamic in name only.

The majority of community members in predominantly Christian villages attend church only for special religious celebrations such as Christmas and Easter, if at all.

Some churches appear to make excessive demands for cash contributions but mostly these are accepted by the community. For example a HHH in village Ka told us *‘I would rather not eat than not contribute to the new church’* and is contributing more than 15% of his income.

“I would rather not eat than not contribute to the new church”
- HHH in Village Ka -

Table 4. Religion in the villages

Village	Catholic	Protestant	Pentacostal	Islam	
Papua					
Ke 1		-	-	-	
Ke 2	-		-	-	
Ke 3			-	-	
M1					
M2				-	
S1				-	
S2	-		-	-	
S3	-		-	-	
village	Catholic	Protestant	Pentacostal	Evangelist	Islam
West Papua					
Ka 1	-		-	-	
Ka 2	-		-	-	
T1	-		-	-	-
T2	-		-	-	-
T3	-	-	-		-
T4	-	-	-		-

	majority
	minority
	Small minority



Families and Households

Nuclear, extended or blended family

Families may be essentially nuclear, blended or extended but child upbringing could be described as 'fluid'. Although common in other parts of Indonesia, the incidence of families taking care of others' children seems more prevalent than in other areas. The reasons include orphaning, divorce, being closer to school but there are also less clear reasons as illustrated in Box 3.

Sometimes, it is an effort to secure inheritance of lineage. A child may be seen as an asset with the function to help out with work inside and outside home, and a potential function to earn and support family economy once graduated.

Elderly usually live independently in separate houses rather than with their relatives. More older women live on their own than men (e.g. in Merauke, Kaimana and pilot sites in Jayapura district) and they keep active, collecting food from the forest and fishing to provide for themselves. Sometimes, grandparents take care of their grandchildren as their own children work away or have divorced or separated.

Box 3

The 'fluid' child upbringing

The following are examples of children being moved around from family to family and the impact this has on the child.

The father has been widowed twice and had no children. His third wife is a university graduate in office administration and they have a young daughter of four years. All attention and resources are lavished on this girl with special expectations regarding her education. However, there is another girl who lives with the family, the mother's niece. She is 11 years old and moves from relative to relative since her mother divorced. While staying with this family she is expected to help with most of the household chores, look after the younger girl and receives none of the attention and treats showered on the younger girl despite being ranked third in school, her aunt says '*she doesn't know anything*' (Ka field notes)

The family has three small children under six years old but there was another girl who would be four now but was sent hundreds of miles away to live permanently with her uncle when she was just a baby. The uncle has a 14 year old daughter who claimed she wanted a baby to look after and so this arrangement was made to please her. The real parents do not seem to have had much influence on this decision and it was plain to see that it still pained them that they had no contact. (Jayapura pilot HHH)

The eldest son of HHH is now 20 years was adopted by a relative until he was 13 years and he did not know his younger siblings until then. His mother collected him when he dropped out of SMP and he has lived with them these last 7 years. He is always busy cleaning the house, farming during the day and fishing during the night. Yet, the rest of the family call him 'lazy'. His younger siblings do virtually no chores. (S, HHH)

Family organization

The traditional practice of women moving to their husband/partner's village once they are together is practiced by many, but for some the decision where to start a family life is negotiated based on purely pragmatic reasons rather than gendered traditions, e.g. land access, need to care for relatives.

Throughout the RCA study locations, the researchers observed a similar division of labour where mothers go to the forest, fish or bring sacks of sands to sell to contractors, while fathers take care of young children, perhaps very occasionally joining a construction group or hunting.

This active caring role of fathers is different from what the RCA has observed in other parts of Indonesia. In terms of family expenditure, it is not uncommon that *'kitchen-related expenses are known only by mama'*. Small nuclear families with young children adopt fairly structured shared arrangements for chores but larger families have less structured arrangements.

Nuclear families, particularly ones with younger children, eat together from the same pot. Who sleeps in the house seems more flexible with neighbours, relatives sleeping on the floor especially if electricity has kept them at the house watching TV until late.



The fathers role in child upbringing

Box 4

Typical division of labour

It is durian season again, and those durians have been falling from that productive tree in the backyard for the last three days. Mama Marince just cannot wait to have them all sold. This morning, before "meti" (low tide), she is determined to get her rowboat ready and row it to the nearby kampong to sell her durians.

'There is no competition if we sell durian there,' she has assessed and *'a small durian would sell for IDR 10 thousand.'* So after the whole family help pack the durians into the boat, off she rows, and comes back home in late afternoon having sold fifty.

On another day, she is busy shovelling the sands papa has collected for days into used sacks they keep at home and lugs each of seven large sacks to her rowboat and she rows them to sell to the village bridge construction company. Papa spends more time looking after the three small children and says he is proud of his wife who is *'strong and quick in making money'*. (Ka Field Notes)

An elderly mama goes fishing twice a day in the river telling me *'it's my hobby'*. Her adult son, still single, does all the cooking and house cleaning for their home. Other women in the village go fishing once a day in the early morning, as do some small children. Using a rod and worm as a bait, they sell their catch of small fish for IDR 20 thousand per bunch. Seasonal fish, like snapper, can be sold for IDR 50-100,000 depending on the size. Mama is the envy of fellow fisherwomen this morning as she's got 17 big fish. (M Field notes)



Fishing is Mama's hobby

Partnership instead of formalized marriage

Apart from blended and extended families as common family structures, people shared with us how partnership instead of marriage is common between a man and a woman in Papua. Most say it is due to the high cost of weddings, as a young man shared *'it is summed up in a popular Papuan song how expensive a dowry can be,'* then sang it to us. Some mentioned how the bride-to-be's family asks for compensation or an exchange for the mother's milk (*'uang susu mama'*) which can be proportional to the bride's level of education. A young woman in Ka2 said *'it is supposed to be linked to how much the family has spent for her education, but most of us are SMP graduates and we don't spend that much until SMP because of the mostly free schooling.'*

The partnership, while widely accepted in the community, has some consequences when dealing with formal administration. For example, since there is no official record or birth certificate when children are born, they enrol at school with an approximate age. Partnerships occasionally embrace multiple relationships, either consecutive or concurrent and also contribute to the complexities of blended families.

Recreation

Alcohol was used a lot in the study locations, especially by men and young people. This comprises local palm spirits and *'sopi'* as well as canned beers. Some alcohol related disputes were talked about or witnessed during the course of the RCA study but in others although alcohol was used it was in moderation. In location M, people talked about how during *'money season'* (the *arwana* fish collecting period) people *'drink until they fight'* and sometimes this declines into domestic abuse.

About five recent deaths due to liver disease, the mothers said *'we are relieved of these drunks and their abuse'*. Despite a police post in the village, not only do they not intervene but are actively involved in the *sopi-sopi* alcohol trade. In village T, Christmas parties were in full swing and despite the warnings from the pulpit and the local woman priest about drunkenness, *'remember that this year few people have died but if you get drunk during these celebrations then I will curse you and it will not only be the elderly who die this year'*, much palm wine was consumed. In village M, all the school windows are broken — smashed by drunks recently.

One incomer woman shared her fear of living alone and said *'if we have no husband then we always try to have someone to stay with us or keep it a secret that our husbands are away.'*

"most of us are SMP graduates and we don't spend that much until SMP because of the mostly free schooling."

- Young woman in Ka2-

She had experienced harassment from village men who had even tried to break in and molest her, she says these were mostly drunk men in their 20s and 30s. She added *'these people have no shame'*. The head of the Bamuskam in location S was drunk by mid morning and empty beer cans were conspicuous in the village.

Parties are frequent forms of recreation in many of the RCA study locations and involve loud music until the early hours and drinking alcohol. These involve the entire village and lead to sleeping late the following morning and children sometimes miss school. Young people in one of the pilot location indicated that their recreation centred around getting drunk and then sleeping the following day.

Betel nut chewing is prevalent in the Papua villages but less so in West Papua. In the former, people told us that children as young as three years old were introduced to betel nut and in some locations it was cited as *'making teeth stronger'*. We observed young SD aged children actively chewing betel nut in several locations.

The habit is seen to provide a stimulant and is just as much practiced by women as men. *'Tonight I am tired but if I have pinang then I could speak to you all night'* (HHH, T). Tobacco use was also prevalent, although predominantly among men, women also smoked. Some indicated that they spent as much as IDR600,000 per month on cigarettes.

Pre-marital sex was overt in many of the RCA locations. In location Ka, the places where *'we do it'* were openly pointed out and one HHH parent says that he sometimes patrols the empty boats at night but *'if we catch all of them there would be lots of marriages in the village'*. Pregnancy usually means expulsion from school although girls are allowed to return to a different school. Boys too may get expelled, especially if there is a complaint to the *kepala desa*. In location T, *'dating'* was blamed as the main reason for children to cease going to school. Pornography can be easily downloaded in towns and, for many parents, is another reason for increasingly promiscuous behaviour among teens.



Perspectives on Education

This section presents the perspectives and experience of education as shared by the study households and others in the community.

Why Education? – The Demand Perspective

Education Relevance

There is a prevailing view shared by the people across RCA study locations regarding the value of education and what it means to be an ‘educated Papuan’.

This view consistently relates to the criteria (livelihoods and connectivity) noted as key above in the contextual discussion and the relationship ethnic Papuans have with incomers. Ethnic Papuans tell us they want that future generations will ‘...*not to be cheated by the people from outside*,’ (Man, M2) and hope that educated children will be able “*to deal better with corporations on land negotiation*,” (Man, M1).

In village M people talked about being ‘*spoiled by nature*’ but nevertheless felt overlooked by the Government compared to the transmigrant settlements nearby. They are concerned that most civil servants are incomers and worry about this domination.

Education means ‘...*more Papuans can become PNS*,’ (Man, T1). The priest in the service we went to in location T noted that people should value education so that ‘*children can become PNS and not rely on outsiders*’.

Children are much influenced by the civil servant role model and often talk about aspiring to be an “*army officer*”, “*nurse*”, “*police*”, “*teacher*”, while parents often cite “*becoming a pegawai* (employee)” as having prestige and a good future. In location M they noted that there were many new corporations coming to the area and ‘*don’t want incomers to take all the positions in the company*’.

In sum, education is primarily seen as a means to avoid being exploited or cheated, as a means to ensure ethnic Papuan interests are valued and, if one is a good student as a passport to a salaried job. Only a few suggested that investing in childrens’ education ensured the parents’ future care, ‘*once employed they will send money back, perhaps a million a month and that is a good thing*’.

Expectations from school

About half of our HHH parents themselves had limited or no experience of education - and this shapes their expectations from school for their children. They want a better education for their children but do not know what this really means. Their expectation can be likened to a “**magic box**” where children merely have to turn up (preferably regularly), progress from year to year and then graduate with a certificate at the end. Even if it takes more repeat years, there will still eventually be a graduation certificate.

This understanding suggests that minimal individual effort or home support is needed. There is little connection made between study and success and numerous examples to 'prove' that all it takes is tenacity and time rather than study and application.

For example, in S2, a 9-year-old boy who still cannot read well tells us he wants to go to agriculture senior high (SPMA) as his father wishes, despite having no clear idea of how to get there. His father sees it as *'a process funded by the government, all one needs is finishing one level after another'*. Another 12-year-old primary student who *'likes singing and guitar'* realises that *'mom wouldn't want me doing music for a job,'* so *'I want to become a PNS after graduating from the university.'* And simply assumes this progression.

Further promoting the sense of entitlement is the dependence culture which people tell us has grown over the years. This is attributed to special autonomy status granted to Papua as well as the private sector ingratiating itself with communities in order to explore resources. Both have resulted in passive participation and has been discussed above. The notion that everything from personal housing to solar lamps to new infrastructure simply happens further reinforces the view of school and entitlement to certification. So when the 'magic box' appears to fail and (rarely) children are not allowed to graduate then parents and children may take matters into their own hands and protest at the school and demand their entitlement.

For example, some students told us, *'There are often demonstrations at school if there's no graduation. Teachers feel threatened, especially the incomers teaching in SMP/SMA,'* (Students, M1). Teachers shared that they are under pressure at the end of a school year, for example it is *'challenging to teach the indigenous children who find it difficult to absorb lessons, but parents would come with machetes if I tried to discipline the kids and made them repeat class,'* (Primary teacher, Ke1). Graduates from the SD and the SMP schools in M1 cannot read but this did not stop parents threatening the teachers with machetes to insist on graduation.

In location Ke teachers told us they *'inflate the scores, which are actually under 30, so that parents do not threaten us'* and the Principal in location T never organised exams and simply faked the scores for the authorities.

The SM3T teachers in T are trying to introduce a proper performance evaluation process but the Principal opposes this as the scores will then look worse than before. Even the records of the niece of one of the teachers who had been absent for nearly 50 days were forged to halve this number.

Part of the magic box perception includes the notion **that teachers know best** about whatever happens in school on a daily basis and that parents have no knowledge or experience of what should go on during a school day or what constitutes quality education.

Home Environment

Children are not expected to do excessive chores, as noted above these are usually fairly shared and would not impinge on study time although studying is rarely done. Children do spend morning time on sharing house chores (sweeping, washing clothes and dishes) before preparing for school and older children will help in the kitchen or do laundry after coming home from school. Evenings are spent watching TV starting between 6-7 pm if and when there is electricity (and money to buy gasoline for the generator) and can go on until late at night on a regular basis. Recreational activities trump home study which is not prioritised - not in a single household was homework undertaken while we were staying with the families.

Another issue which might affect learning is feeding. Most children have no breakfast before going to school, and children do not eat until the schools break mid-morning when students go home to eat. In location Ke2, children set off for the 1 ½ hour walk to school without any breakfast and took no food or water with them. They bought snacks on arrival with the IDR 10,000 pocket money they each brought with them. Some, even as young as 8 years old, chewed betel nut along the way and it was frequently shared that *'if you eat pinang (betel) all the time you don't feel hungry'*.

"challenging to teach the indigenous children who find it difficult to absorb lessons, but parents would come with machetes if I tried to discipline the kids and made them repeat class"

- Teacher in Ke1 -

Some other children eat leftovers from the night before, some eat fried bananas, some simply take tea or coffee, albeit heavily laden with sugar and some take spoonfuls of condensed milk. Others only drink warm water and eat in the late morning. A few buy bread from kiosks to eat before school. In locations M mothers and grandmothers discussed that there were only three families in the entire village who were really supportive of their children as they *'wake up early, prepare breakfast and take the children to school - others wake late and the children get up earlier and go off to play'*.

In some study locations there were some classic signs of poor nutrition, notably protruding bellies and red pigmented hair. Most people in RCA locations say they prefer nowadays to eat rice³, which in most cases they have to buy. A few in T mentioned that they receive the government Raskin allocation *'in very good quality.'* A typical main meal on a daily basis would be rice and one type of vegetable, with easily harvested cassava leaves being the most ubiquitous. Only after fishing or hunting which is not a daily occurrence will this be supplemented by fish, seafood or meat. For some households, MSG is considered essential even though *'it is said to make us forget easily, but it makes food tastier.'*

In some study locations there were some classic signs of poor nutrition, notably protruding bellies and red pigmented hair.

³ Despite the assertion in section 'origins' that you are not a true Papuan unless you eat papeda.



MSG and Papeda considered essential food in some Households

Education : Supply Side

School coverage and physical access

Basic education coverage in all of the RCA locations is good. Almost all villages have primary school (SD) located actually in the village. Only two villages do not have their own SD; one of which has a new school under construction and another one which is abandoned. From location Ke2, the walk to the nearest SD is about 40 minutes and parents felt it was too far for young SD-aged children.

Five locations have junior secondary school (SMP) in their village, while children in a further five other villages spend between 30 minutes to an hour – either by walking or using a vehicle – to reach an SMP in the next village.

Children in the other three villages – all in T – have longer journeys to go to SMP either in a bigger village or in the district capital. Although distances to SMP are not that long there are still concerns about girls, in particular, walking these distances.

In location Ka, the access to the SMP is through the forest – there are some issues with girls

taking this route and some local stories about abductions (though this might be to keep people alert because this is also favourite spot for assignments).

Six out of the 14 RCA locations have Early Child Development (PAUD) centres which is usually combined with kindergarten (TK).

Table 5. below provides further details of school coverage and access in each of RCA villages.

From location Ke2, the walk to the nearest SD is about 40 minutes and parents felt it was too far for young SD-aged children.

Table 5. School coverage & access based on school level

District	Village	School Level		
		PAUD/TK	SD	SMP
Keerom (Ke)	1	-	√ (under construction), currently go for 20mins walk/5mins motorbike	40mins by motor-bike
	2	-	40mins walk to Ke3	
	3	√	√	√
Supiori (S)	1	√	√	√
	2	-	√	An hour walk to S1
	3	√	√	2hrs walk
Merauke (Me)	1	√	√	√
	2	-	√	30mins raft to M1
Kaimana (Ka)	1	√	√	√
	2	√	√	45mins walk to K1
Tambrau (T)	1	-	√	-
	2	-	√	-
	3	-	√	-
	4	-	√	√ (1-y.o. SATAP)

Legend 1: Status in sub-district

Capital

Supposed-to-be capital



School Infrastructure

As illustrated by the pictures above, most schools in RCA study locations have very good (often relatively new) buildings with tiled floors and are well maintained. Houses for teachers are an integral part of the school complex which are ready for use, with only a couple of schools about to complete furnishing of the houses as an exception. One SMP even provides a dormitory for students from outside the village as it is serving approximately five other villages around the area.

Function-based rooms which include classrooms, library, teaching staff room and toilets are the universal blueprint for the school compounds, with a few also having a health unit (UKS) room. More than half of the schools we visited have extended/additional new classrooms, additional library facilities and new teacher houses.

The 'one size fits all' standard which has been used in different contexts does not make sense to people. For example in village S, there are only twenty families and yet there is a seven-classroom SD and four unoccupied teachers houses.

Toilets are built as part of the blueprint but are often unable to function because there is no water access. As a result, we were told (and observed), children *'do not use the toilets, just go to the bushes or trees behind the school.'*

In the picture below, a new library room (the orange building on the right) has been built next to the old library. It has never been used and remains locked.



a new library room has been built next to the old library which has never been used and is locked

Human Resources

Based on opportunistic conversations with teachers or principals and in many cases triangulated with students, we were able to create Table 6. which details the ratio of teacher to student in several SDs and a few SMPs in the study locations. Out of ten SDs only three have more than 20 students served per teacher, with village M1 having 23 students as the highest number. The other seven have one teacher teaching between 7 to 14 students. All of the four SMPs visited have very low teacher to student ratios i.e. a ratio of between 5 to 14 students per teacher.

In two locations there were SM3T volunteer teachers assigned making the ratios even lower. Box 5 describes some of the impact of their one year secondments. We also came across situations where *guru honor* are said to do all the work. For example in location M, the PNS teachers were described as ‘*very lazy and don’t come*’. The poorly paid⁴ *Guru honor* are consequently said to be under stress and ‘*hit a lot*’. In location M, the SD had closed for over nine months because the three *guru honor* posted there had not been paid and refused to stay.

In location M, SD had closed for over nine months because the three *guru honor* posted there had not been paid and refused to stay.

Box 5

New teachers scheme

Before the study we had heard about various voluntary teachers programmes operating in Tanah Papua, but had the opportunity of direct interaction in Tambrau with some of MOEC’s *Sarjana Mendidik di Daerah Terdepan, Terluar dan Tertinggal* (SM3T) teachers. There are two SM3T teachers assigned in T2 and T3 each and a total of five in T4. Looking at the Table 7 below, their presence should have brought the ratio of teacher to student even lower. However, the reality is that many of the permanent teachers are not present in school. Five out of the seven permanent teachers in T2 were either “*on training*”, “*had family visiting*” or “*sick*”; while the two SM3T teachers were “*reporting on their progress in district capital*”, leaving only one teacher who chatted with us and the principal. In T3, out of the three permanent teachers, only one accompanied by the two SM3T teachers are still actively teaching, but the latter say “*we will leave in June*” as they complete their assignment. There was a hint that the PNS teachers could be taking advantage of the presence of the SM3T teachers and extend their absences. It was also more than coincidence that a new PNS had stayed only two weeks and another moved recently saying she ‘*doesn’t like the village*’ (but remains on full salary) since the arrival of the SM3T teachers.

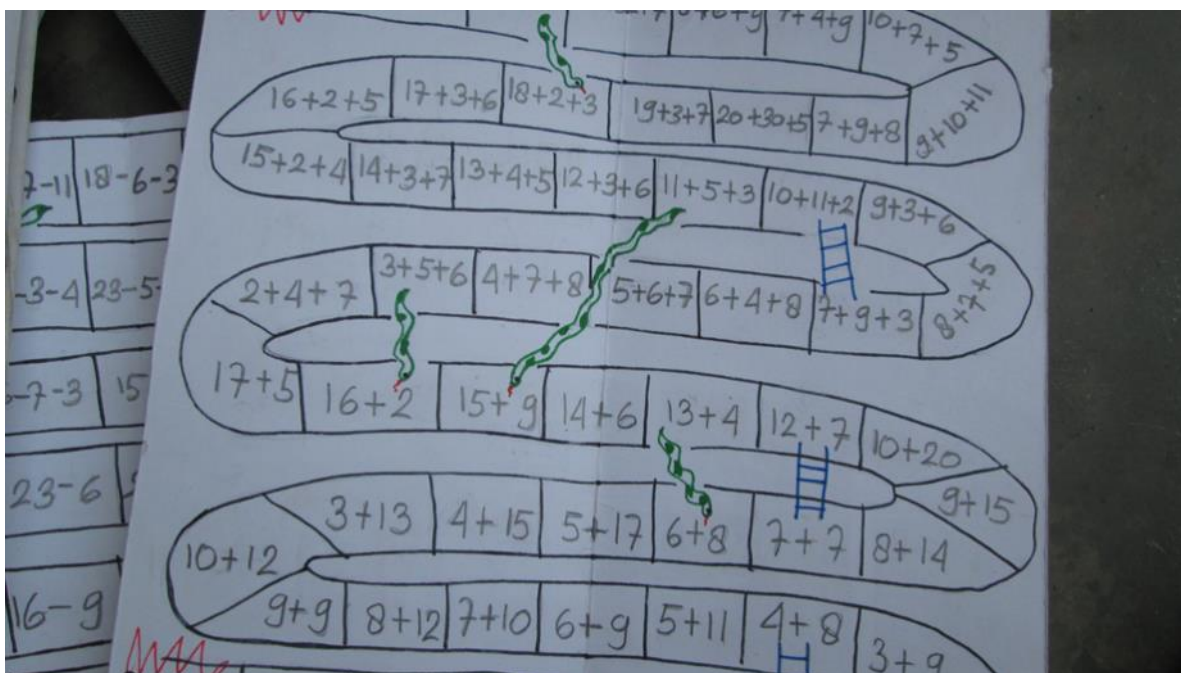
We watched the interactions between these volunteer teachers and the students and they have a special rapport with the students inside and outside of school. Each evening the entire village turns out to play or watch volleyball and the volunteer teachers actively take part. One of the women teachers plays hopscotch with the children daily. Students talk about ‘*learning by playing “snakes and ladders” with the (SM3T) teacher*’ or ‘*we get to use the books – which have long stayed in the box – in the library for storytelling,*’ due to these actions of these teachers. In T4, they introduce ‘*social star of the month*’ to motivate students’ good attitudes.

The teachers themselves told us they want to “*make a difference in the area*” but also were clear about their personal objective “*to be a PNS teacher, and SM3T programme provides a stronger assurance for it.*” And compared themselves to their fellows of the “*Indonesia Mengajar*” programme whom they admire because ‘*their motivation is not linked to becoming a PNS.*’

⁴ Said to get paid IDR 400,000 per month.

Table 6. Ratio of teacher per student in some schools of RCA study site

School Level	Teacher : Student (enrolled) Ratio		Class Arrangement	
SD	Ke1	5 : 106 =	1 : 21	Some schools have 2-3 combined classes, as 2 different grades are taught by one teacher in a classroom.
	Ke3	4 : 30 =	1 : 7.5	
	S2	6 : 70 =	1 : 12	
	S3	3 : 32 =	1 : 11	
	M1	6 : 140 =	1 : 23	
	Ka1	4 : 86 =	1 : 21.5	
	Ka2	4 : 55 =	1 : 14	
	T2	7 (+2 SM3T) : 57 =	1 : 8	
T3	3 (+2 SM3T) : 37 =	1 : 12		
T4	6 : 52 =	1 : 9		
SMP	Ke1	11 : 73 =	1 : 7	
	M1	13 : 186 =	1 : 14	
	Ka1	11 : 84 =	1 : 8	
	T4	4 (+5 SM3T) : 20 =	1 : 6	



SM3T teacher using “snakes and ladders” game to teach math

Appropriateness of Teaching Resources

The curriculum used is the national one and many teachers shared that it was not suitable for a village context. SM3T teachers in T3 and T4 told us, the *'curriculum should be context specific and language adapted. Cannot apply the Java-based curriculum here.'* These teachers had attempted to adapt the curriculum and had worked hard to urge parents to support them, even to holding children down a grade when the required standard was not reached. Similarly other teachers shared with us that *'material of social sciences uses examples which are more in Java context.'*

In an SMP, a set of laboratory equipment was distributed from the central government to the school while *'we don't actually have a laboratory.'* They have been kept in a box and placed unused in the library. Another SMP teaches TIK (IT and Computer) only through *'written work in our own notebook,'* since there are no textbooks or a functioning computer for the students to practice with. Most SMPs have a computer in the staff room for administrative purpose but this is not allowed to be used for study purposes.

In some villages, there is much store set by learning to live in the village context rather than learning school subjects. This was particularly strong in location T where children were actively encouraged by parents and relatives from an early age to get involved in daily chores including using machetes and sharp knives. An example of resourcefulness encouraged was a girl of ten who manages her own kitchen garden in order to raise money for snacks. Similarly in location Ka, local life skills were emphasised. *'If children have to ask others for money it is the parents fault - they did not explain things to them, teach them how to farm and earn from the land,'* (Man, Ka2).

Although there is an understanding about the need to contextualise teaching materials and standards, teachers explained that there is actually no incentive at present to adapt the teaching and/or behaviours to respond to such needs, because schools' and teachers' performance is evaluated from the top using nationwide parameters.

In location M, a teacher shared the challenges she faced teaching children who were non literate. Even with extra lessons, they were difficult to motivate. *'These children have no shame - they eat at the teachers' home and then say they are sleepy and want to go home,'* and they flagrantly *'go fishing with their parents in front of the school during school time.'*

"curriculum should be context specific and language adapted. Cannot apply the Java-based curriculum here."

- SM3T Teacher in T3 and T4 -



Helping mom opening a coconut using machete

Issues of Higher Level Education Access

The good infrastructure provisioning at basic education is commonly acknowledged and people tell us *'we don't have to spend that much money until SMP.'* Primary schools are nearby and can accommodate all the local children. Furthermore people tell us that basic education is possible due to *'free tuition'* and unlike other areas of Indonesia⁵ there seems to be an intention to minimise the number of uniforms required (or provide them from the school) or provide these mostly for free and many have relaxed rules about footwear. *'We only buy two sets of uniforms, the red-white and the scouts, while the other two are provided by the school'* and schools *'have once distributed a free pair for each student'*. In location T, children do not wear shoes at all to school and are only required to have a single uniform.

However, access to secondary school poses the challenge. As noted above, SMP access in terms of distance to school is more problematic and SMA worse still (see Table 7 below). Families face high costs of transport and/or local accommodation and worry about the risks due to lack of supervision when children have to live away from parents and guardians. Accommodation is often in *'a shared rented place with fellow students'* which carried attractions for the students but also risks. About six girls who went away to school from location Ka became pregnant because, it was said *'they were outside'* and because of a *'lack of self control'*.

Moving from the village school to a town school also exposes the children to competition which they had not previously faced. Local SMP graduates are not sufficiently prepared academically to integrate with the students coming from the town. Several parents and teachers shared how children *'struggle to compete for entry or scholarship programmes to the higher-levels of education.'* In location Ka there is only one child in SMA as *'many failed because they could not compete with the city children.'* In location T, ten children had managed to progress to SMP in town but many had since dropped out as they had *'lost confidence because of the different culture and the language gap.'*

The current state of SMA provision within each area of RCA study sites is provided in Table 7 below.

"(In higher-levels of education) many failed because they could not compete with the city children."
- Parent in Papua -

⁵ Other area of Indonesia typically require 4-5 different uniforms. (see RCA Reports "Listening to Poor People's Realities about Basic Education, May 2010")

Table 7. How far is SMA from each of RCA study sites

District	Village	How far is SMA
Keerom (Ke)	1	2.5-3hrs by car*
	2	
	3	
Supiori (S)	1	-
	2	-
	3	-
Merauke (M)	1	2km away
	2	2hrs walk to M1, then 2km more
Kaimana (Ka)	1	To the district capital, 3-4hrs by motorboat*
	2	
Tambrau (T)	1	To the district capital, 30mins to 1.5hrs by car*
	2	
	3	
	4	

Legend 1: Status in sub-district
Capital
Supposed-to-be capital

What Happens in School?

Timing, contact hours and holidays

Students and teachers at the schools in our study areas cited an official start time between 7 to 7.30 am and finish time at noon for SD or 1 - 1.30 pm for SMP. However, over the several days of our stay, schools never started before 8 – 8.30 am.

Schools in several RCA sites ring a bell twice in the mornings; first at 7 am as a reminder to students to get ready and then half an hour or an hour later to indicate the actual start of the class, although it starts later.

Teachers come late despite living in the provided housing nearby, because it is *'no use to start early because the students will have not arrived,'* (Primary teacher, S2) and others say *'people around here don't follow schedules'*. Similarly school often finishes early officially or children simply leave early *'because I want to'* (Location Ka).

Some schools take an official break time at around 10 am and this can be an opportunity for students to go back home, particularly for the ones who do not have breakfast, to eat. Late return further cuts into the school day. Some students told us they don't bother to return after the break.

We also observed a regular daily cleaning and grass-cutting routine for students during school hours in most of the RCA study locations which can take as much as one hour of the weekday morning and more on Saturdays.

With a late start, breaks and 'clean up' activities the actual teaching contact hours are effectively reduced to approximately 2 hours on weekdays for SD, and around to 3-3.5 hours for SMP. In location T, actual teacher-student contact time at the primary school is less than 10 hours per week.

Many SDs in the RCA study locations have combined classes which join two grades together in a single classroom taught by one teacher, where in one session *'one grade studies maths, while the other grade studies Bahasa Indonesia.'*

As well as routine short school days, because we were undertaking the study in some locations in early December we also observed that Christmas school holiday had already commenced, at least two weeks before the standard period for holidays.

Box 6

Teacher contact hours in one SMP

We analysed the contact hours for a particular SMP

Teaching hour: 40 minutes per class session

Each class has 3 subjects, with each subject having 2 class session = A total of 6 sessions per day.

However, some teachers teach double subjects* in a session which count for 12 sessions per day. Yet, this does not change the actual amount of time spent for teaching in a classroom.

In a given day,

**2 to 3 teachers have only 2 class sessions per day,
3 to 4 teachers do not teach at all in a day
The remaining 5 to 6 teachers teach only one class session per day**

*Double subjects include Religion and Art; PE and Art; Local Content (Culture, Language, etc); Religion and Bahasa Indonesia.

Both students and teachers told us quite openly that teachers are regularly absent when wanting to collect their salaries (*'teachers' payday'*), *'training days'* and *'ceremonies'* which involve inviting teachers to come in to town or the district capital. In location S, teachers were invited to a district meeting one day we were there. All the students turned up at school, even the Principals' daughter, as the meeting had only been arranged the previous weekend and no students were informed of the closure. They spent the day playing football and hanging around.

Tellingly, in location Ka people said the teachers *'always teach when they are there'* heavily emphasising the word *'when'*. These absences are often extended with teachers exploiting opportunities to be absent citing the high cost of transport and the time it takes to justify longer absences. A teacher in location M had left to attend the funeral of her parent but had not returned after forty days. Girls from the same location shared that they had not been to school for over three weeks and could not see the point since *'there are no teachers there'*, referring to the fact that although there were supposed to be nine teachers only two came regularly.

There seem to be semi-official rota systems working in several schools which have been worked out between the teachers. For example, *'teachers only come 2-3 days per week, when they come they give passages to copy down then leave,'* (Primary students, S3). Or *'nine teachers - all PNS - take turns and alternate days to come to the school, because they live far from here,'* (Junior high teacher, Ke1). In location Ke, there are 13 teachers for a SMP of 73 students. Nine of them have arranged a rota system where they take turns to stay in the three school houses and teach effectively part time while drawing full PNS salaries. In location Ka, the SD teachers often cover for other absent teachers. When they go to the city to collect their salaries they generally stay away for two weeks at a time. Two of the six teachers remain and give work to the other classes. But parents of junior secondary in Ka1 say *'teachers are less absent than at SD, because the administration is better. The principal is strict with the schedule, so no one go anywhere without informing her'.*

Guru honor in location Ke were not entitled to teachers housing and so they explained that they are often late because they live in town some 2 ½ hours away and *'have to hitch rides with passing trucks'.*

There were some examples where parents, themselves with limited education, had decided to send their children to fee paying schools saying *'the teacher is always absent at the local school.. we want our children to have a better education than we did — we are stupid ('bodoh') but since we have the cash we will pay for education,'* (HHH, Ke).

Children come and go from school at will. If they feel humiliated, dislike class or are bored or hungry they seem to be able to drift off home with few sanctions. In location M, we saw boys playing in the water in front of the school on a school day and yet they were still planning to appear for the imminent exams. In the pilot area near Jayapura, groups of children wandered up and down the main road all day, often using the excuse that they were accompanying a friend who was sick or on some teacher's errand.

Teaching and Learning

What teachers share...

Teachers told us that what is important to them is getting students to pass the grade standard but are concerned that this is particular challenge in village schools. For example, a PNS teacher in T1 shared *'passing grades at village schools should not follow the city standard. If 50% pass is a must, then bringing 25% up to 45% would still be seen as a failure.'* This expresses other teachers frustration that improvement is not recognised and only the pass/fail ratio is taken into considerations.

Teachers in T2 voiced what other teachers also shared with us, *'indigenous children have a high motivation to attend school compared to the incomer-kids, but are hard to teach due to their low fluency in Bahasa Indonesia.'* But other teachers shared that *'it is challenging to teach ethnic Papuan children as they find it difficult to study and absorb lessons'* and hinted that ethnic Papuan children were *'lazy and parents did not push them'.*

The SM3T teachers told us about their success making school more interactive and less class room based. They had emphasised sport *'sport is their (students) most favourite subject.'* And conducted many classes out in the open *'the relationship between the students and their teachers is key. So we walk around the village together, for instance, to study biology.'*

What students/parents share...

Primary students told us that school is primarily about having fun and friendship if *'teachers let us play,'* and *'we like school because friends are there'* rather than study and learning. They endorse the informal less class room based style of teaching e.g. SMP students (S3) told us, *'we like our Principal who teaches music and drawing. Also the lady teacher of natural sciences because she takes us out of class when teaching it.'*

Parents want children to do better than they have but they have little knowledge of what should happen in a school. In location T, parents literally said *'we do not know what happens in school'* and did not open the school reports delivered to them during our stay. In location T, one HHH mother had no idea what a textbook was and thought it was something she needed to pay extra for even though they were provided free. In location Ke, parents (and students) had no concept of the school grading and ranking.

"the teacher is always absent at the local school.. we want our children to have a better education than we did —we are stupid but since we have the cash we will pay for education"

- HHH in Ke Village -

Punishment

Corporal punishment in schools in the study areas is widespread and expected by students and parents alike. Slapping is the most common type of punishment and, as these examples in Box 7 show, this is often executed with force, *'teachers punish by slapping fingers with ruler until bleeding,'* (Primary student, S1). Parents usually accept that teachers punish in school hours, and most agree that children should be punished because children are *'rebellious'* and *'need to be controlled'*. One HHH mother whose son gets beaten regularly told us *'it is probably because he is naughty'* and continues to give fish to the teacher. However, despite the endorsement, parents will complain if their children come home crying and in location S, teachers have threatened children with more excessive punishment if children tell their parents. Teachers often shared that it was necessary to beat the students especially as they like to *'fight all the time'*. A particular teacher explained *'we punish within the conditions of the Child Protection Act'*. But this seems to often involve requiring students to inflict pain on themselves (e.g. punching their own hands).

The level of punishment meted out at school needs to be put in the context of home based punishments. Staying with families, it was clear that parents and siblings use a lot of physical violence on a regular basis. Slapping on the head is common and most often delivered by mothers and very rarely fathers or older men.

On the other hand, the SM3T teachers tell students that they *'do not like to give punishments, so better just listen to what we say.'* A nun who teaches in a village school admits that *'even if they (students) get punished, nothing changes.'* Children have normalised this level and regularity of punishment and often shared that *'it is not a big deal'* and *'we are not really scared'* of getting punished.

Two older teenage boys in S3 told us they were expelled due to getting drunk and smoking. When discovered by the teachers, they *'slapped the cigarettes we were smoking onto our face'* and *'forced us to smoke the whole cigarette including the filter.'* Three 5th grader-boys in Ka2 were caught smoking in school area, so *'the principal asked them to "joged" in front of the class,'* (Primary student, Ka2).

In location S, girls told us that more girls are more likely to continue at school because the boys get *'humiliated by Ibu Guru'* who makes them read in front of the class. They frequently get up and simply walk out. They are also punished for not wearing shoes and punishment involves slapping or picking up litter. Boys often seem to get singled out for punishment and this did appear to be a contributing factor in their decisions to leave school early.

Box 7

Punishment

While slapping – with rattan stick or ruler – is the most common type of punishment, there are a range of other forms which do not always involve corporal punishment.

Amongst others are *'jemur panas'* or standing in the sun, *'doing laps of the school yard'*, *'standing while holding the opposite ears'* or *'standing with one leg'* in front of the class or *'kneeling on thorny fruit in the hot sun'*. Younger students also cite *'pinching or pulling ears'*.

In location Ka, boys explained three types of punishment: saluting the flag for up to six hours in the sun (for not completing homework, lateness and absence), punching the wall until the knuckles bleed (for smoking) and being beaten across the palm with a bamboo stick (for not paying attention or coming late). Children told us they had stopped going to school especially because of the wall punching punishment.

We were in the (SD) classroom with the children when the ethnic Papuan teacher walked in and berated them for making a noise. He sent one of the girls to collect a stick and beat her in front of the others as "an example" until she cried. He continued, *'are you dogs pigs or humans? You are noisy like dogs so I should beat you like dogs until your head is peeling. If you run away like pigs I will catch you and tie you up and drag you back to the class. Are you dogs, pigs or humans?'* Once the teacher left the children dissolved into giggles and despite the researchers feeling traumatised, they explained it *'happens all the time. He slaps us on the cheek and the leg. He even holds the jaw as he slaps so as not to dislocate the jaw'*.

Later the teacher tried to explain his actions, *'these children need to be melted with violence, only verbal punishment will not work'* and asked what evokes such punishment he said, *'lateness, not returning to school after breaks, having wet uniform, not wearing shoes, laughing, not wearing uniform - that sort of thing,'* (SD teacher, S).

The religious teacher, according to the students, like to punish with a stick to the point of drawing blood. She obviously is volatile as she also smashed the windows of the school following an argument with the Principal (location T). The Catholic nun teacher in location M concurs that it is necessary to beat the children sometimes but says even then *'nothing changes'*.

Peer Pressure, truancy and leaving school early

Peer pressure seems to be quite strong especially around truancy and drop out, particularly at SMP level and higher. As noted above, boys in particular do not advance as quickly or as high as girls. They are attracted by other activities including hunting and fishing and often shared poor school experiences with us, including being picked on by teachers and humiliated as reasons to leave school.

In location T, both mothers and teachers told us that the main reason for children ceasing to go to school was *'dating'*. The nurse indicated that *'dating starts at SD level because of what they see on TV and mobile phones'* and even primary school children told us *'if you start dating, you'll get pregnant,'* (T1). *'Good phone reception, so every teen has a mobile phone, and TV watching'* are often blamed for the promiscuous behaviour of teens. Teachers in T4 noted that *'free sex is the main reason for absence.'* While teen boys in Ka1 openly shared, *'these are the places where we "do it",'* pointing to the boats and areas in the wood where teens have sex.

A mother said she has *'slapped her daughter regularly for not going to school but she would not go – now she is married with a baby'*. Early sexual activity was cited as a key reason for leaving school early in other locations too (e.g. T, M). One HHH daughter has just been expelled from SMP for getting pregnant. The man was merely visiting the village and has no intention of staying with the girl. Nevertheless the mother says the girl has *'never looked happier'* than since she was forced to leave school.

In location M, parents indicated that in the past children were more motivated for school even though getting an education was harder because of poor road access. *'Now children refuse to go, becoming a true person involves education but they are not pursuing this,'* shared one uncle referring to his adopted nephew of 11 years who refuses to go to school.

Teachers' Attitude and Motivation

Teachers attitudes to working in Papua and West Papua are insightful. Much is made of the ability to carry on with other activities while teaching, a best of both worlds attitude. So for example, many of the kiosks operating in villages are run by teachers e.g. *'Ibu guru's kiosk is the only one selling popsicles since she is the only one in the village who owns a fridge'* (Parent, Ke2). In the study villages, 30-40% kiosks are run by teachers. Teachers also maintain businesses in town which they visit on their official trips to collect their teacher salaries and others openly shared that working in the

"Now children refuse to go (to school), becoming a true person involves education but they are not pursuing this"

- Uncle in M village -

village meant less supervision and consequently freedom to do what they wanted e.g. *'I prefer to work here in the village since it's easier to moonlight. I can go fishing with the Johnson boat,'* (Teacher, S2)

For PNS teachers, many see an assignment in a village as a means to "earn" a higher chance of being assigned to better locations in the future, in other words these hardship postings entitle them to something better. *'We expect to move schools regularly, and if we are absent a lot we can get posting to a "worse village",'* (PNS teachers, T1) and *'I'd like to move out because the communication is poor here,'* (PNS teacher, Ka1).

For some teachers yet to be confirmed as PNS, teaching in the rural area of Tanah Papua is often regarded as a fast track to PNS status. *'There are two teachers from Java here, one came to get her PNS status because she couldn't get in Java. Both study in Open University and stay away for 1-2 months to get full PNS certification,'* (Parent, M2).



SM3T teacher interacting with students

Quality and Outcomes of Schooling

What is a Good School?

What the students say

A good school is *'where teachers don't punish and can play with us,'* (Students, S3-M1-T1-T3) typifies the key response from other study locations too. It is also *'where teachers can explain difficult lessons, like maths, clearly and make it easy to understand,'* (SMP students, Ka2). Asked about dream schools, children often described or drew places with flowers and colourful paint, sometimes with animals such as chickens and ducks *'the school must have many flowers in front and it must have a flag,'* (10 year old HHH child, Ke). Older children frequently noted the importance of play field for sports activities and computer facilities.

What parents say

Parents focus on the teachers and their presence in school with comments such as *'if teachers are there they make our kids smart,'* (Parents, Ke1-Ke3-T2). Some also hint at the need for some kind of grievance mechanism when teachers are absent, *'can we blame the kids if the teachers are not there for a month? Who should we blame?'* (Parent, M2). The "magic box" expectation that a good school will result in graduation and a good job is not always borne out in reality as the examples in Box 8 illustrate.

What teachers say

Teachers are more focused on the infrastructure and physical elements of a school *'there are computers to get information,'* (PNS teacher, T2) or *'a bigger library and a laboratory,'* (SMP teacher, Ka1) and *'swanky classrooms,'* (Teacher, T1).

"(good school is) where teachers don't punish and can play with us"

-Students in S3,M1,T1,T3-

"can we blame the kids if the teachers are not there for a month? Who should we blame?"

- Parent in M2 Village -

Box 8

The "magic box" – what happens after graduating from the university?

A college graduate is just a porter for the district officer. The family nevertheless seems proud that he is so close to the *'prestigious'* PNS official. He describes his main responsibility as *'carrying his (the boss') bag and documents whenever he asks me.'* (S field notes)

One HHH son, a university graduate in environmental engineering from Yogyakarta, had spent a while in West Java working in a strawberry farm and dried fish production. He since returned home to work in palm oil plantation but after a short time, he is now *'unemployed occasionally is involved in land negotiation with the corporations.'* (M field notes)

A graduate from a reputable state university in Java has come back to Ka village to *'fulfil the duty to develop my land and my people'* but finds it difficult to do things with minimum infrastructure, e.g. transport and communication, and investment. He is helping the community to sell traditional/herbal medicines.

Community Organisation

This section presents findings on how the study villages are organised and make community decisions and is intended to provide insights which may be relevant to how school management committees and school monitoring arrangements may be best supported.

The official Village Governance System

Village administration was often absent or minimally functioning. For example in village T the village office was shut and one of our HHH who worked there explained that *'they were on vacation'* but then further elaborated that *'if the head is not there then the feet cannot walk'* and confided that the *Kepala Desa* is never there. In location S the village office was also permanently locked except on the day solar lamps were being distributed. In Ka only junior staff were ever present and seemed unclear of their role.

Some study villages, particularly the bigger ones, are applying the village governance systems introduced by the Government which require involvement of designated community representatives. The most recognised system adopted is the *Badan Musyawarah Kampung* (BAMUSKAM), the Village Deliberation Board, which plays a role mostly to manage various Government assistance programmes. Also evident is the *Lembaga Masyarakat Adat* (LMA), the Traditional Community Association, which functions particularly to deal with tribal land lease or sale negotiations to private corporations.

Both bodies present challenges in terms of actual implementation. They are supposed to function in a participatory manner involving the wider community directly in their deliberations. The Bamuskam has a formal representative structure which includes the tri-partite representation of village administration, traditional tribal power structures and religious organisation. As observed in the villages, the religious organisations often minimally represent the community voice as active membership has declined. For example in location M, the head of the Pentakosta Church has an official position on the Bamuskam but her congregation has dwindled to five people. In Papua, where tribal affiliation continues to be important, the study found that clan leaders may represent other minor clans, some clans may lack representation or have temporary arrangements. Even though tribal identity is important the clan heads see their role primarily as promoting tribal culture (e.g. arranging ancestor days and feasts, deliberating on marriage and inheritance) and preserving tribal land (and are therefore active in the LMA). They are less interested and involved

in community projects and deliberating on other community issues. In fact in many instances, the study found that they were not part of village decision making or they were invited to public and committee meetings largely out of courtesy. In West Papua where the study found declining tribal identity, the leaders play insignificant role in community decision making.

The LMA in village M is composed of clan heads and acted as negotiators for the sale of village land to private corporations. They feel they have managed to *'hold back the forest'* but others criticised their self interest and their lack of attention to the decline in water quality since the private corporations moved in, a threat to their lucrative *arwana* fish industry. People complained that they did not trust the relationship between the LMA and private sector corporations and would prefer to sell to the Government because they *'care about our future'*.

Both the Bamuskam and LMA organisations are heavily dominated by those who can speak Bahasa Indonesia well. Ordinary citizens are not part of the committees and tell us that they are only summoned to public meetings in order to endorse decisions made by the elite.

Young people and teenagers are not encouraged to attend these public meetings and feel they are excluded from village decision making. In some locations women indicated that they have no say in the financial decisions of the Bamuskam which is dominated by men.

We did not come across especially active RT (Rukun Tetangga), except in village Ka in West Papua where they are active in pricing local resources such as rocks which they are selling to local contractor. These two RTs were also active in discussing the problem of electricity generation from the community owned generator. It had stopped working because of a lack of maintenance. In village S, the Bamuskam takes on the task of negotiating the prices to be paid for local sand and rocks sold to local construction companies.

In some cases, it was clear that individuals had assumed leadership irrespective of tribal or local government affiliation. For example in village T, the teacher was regarded as the source of decision making. A SM3T teacher commented that *'these people need a strong (decisive) leader like him - without this nothing gets organised'* and cited how the nurse could not support her when she got malaria soon after arriving. This leader sorted the problem out. Similarly, while we were there a man died and it was this leader who personally organised the making of the coffin and the funeral ceremony.

School Management Committees in the study areas rarely function. The few which are claimed to be functional are mostly dominated by the school personnel rather than parents or students. Anyway, the high level of respect bestowed *de facto* on teachers makes participation in these structures, power imbalanced.

Parents cannot see the potential for sitting on these committees as equal members let alone envisage a role of criticising teachers. Some local administrations shared that they were reluctant to get involved in school matters as '*it is their business*'. They nevertheless acknowledged the new regulation for approval of absence (*surat jalan*) but saw this only as a formality not something which needed supervision, e.g. location M.

In location Ke, the researcher accompanied his HHH to the parent teachers meeting but it was an occasion to inform the parents of the exam schedule not an opportunity to raise issues. The teacher leading the meeting was distant and hostile.

In location T, parents were invited to receive their childrens' school reports while we were there. This was first postponed because of the

community Christmas party where parents were reminded to attend the meeting. Even so only two parents turned up.

There was no evidence of any grievance or complaint mechanism working in any of the study schools except that of direct (and physical) action taken by students and parents when there were suggestions that their children would fail to graduate.

Parents generally endorsed actions of the teachers with '*they know best*'. Some in location Ka said that everything was fine at the school but queried what they would do if it wasn't. They did not feel they had a voice.

Others were concerned that raising complaints, e.g. about absenteeism, might result in the teachers leaving altogether. Some incomers shared that they felt particularly unable to raise complaints. The heavy dependence on Government handouts (e.g. housing, village grants etc.) is also perceived to have an effect on the willingness to raise complaints in that doing so may adversely affect the flow of aid.



Implications of Findings

This section adopts an authorial reflection on the findings of the study.

Teacher absenteeism and contact hours

The study confirms that teacher absenteeism, which is prioritised by KIAM Guru for attention, is the issue which concerns parents most about the education of their children. The study also shows that many schools have an over supply of teachers and this appears to further fuel the practise of absenteeism even in some cases with teachers arranging semi-official rotas to cover their absenteeism. Care needs to be taken not to create further problems of oversupply and concomitant reduced commitment of permanent teachers by assigning further *guru honor* or volunteer teachers such as SM3T.

Indonesia's National Law No. 14/2005 Article 30 states that teachers can be dismissed if absent from their jobs for at least a month, but district-level administration has the authority to enforce⁶. The study indicates that this provision is almost never evoked.

Less highlighted by parents but equally important is the low contact time between children and teachers resulting from late school start, early dismissal and the inclusion of a range of non-academic activities such as school cleaning.

De-mystifying the “magic box”

The study repeatedly points out that parents do not understand what is supposed to go on in school and this leads to expectation of graduation resulting automatically from attendance. This “magic box” perception of school is also alluded to by Anderson (2014). He notes parents *‘do not have an adequate concept*

of what classroom education is intended to impart,’ and thus, *‘for illiterate parents, education is not the acquisition of practical knowledge through systematic instruction.’*⁷ He goes on to cite examples of programmes where parents became so keen on knowing what their children are learning in a particular NGO-run school, that this school created evening classes for the parents⁸.

Inadequate preparation for high school

The study provides evidence of teachers manipulating student scores either to meet expectations and avoid threats of parents or to appease their own education authorities. This results in ethnic Papuan children not having the confidence or competence to integrate in high schools where they mix with children from other, including urban, backgrounds. The study notes that the outcome is often finding ways to leave school early and disappointing parents aspirations. The ‘magic box’ perception assumes that all schools produce equally qualified children capable of going on to higher education and securing civil servant employment. Where standards are purposely faked, parents and students alike are left bewildered. A more appropriate mechanism to recognise performance improvement needs to be considered.

The study notes that children not only feel ill prepared for the academic challenges of high school but are also ill prepared for some of the psychosocial challenges. Safe, affordable boarding arrangements and mentoring programmes could be considered to ameliorate this transition and prevent early drop out.

⁷Anderson, B., *Men-eropong Sistem Pendidikan di Papua*, BaKTI News, No.99, March-Apr, 2014

⁸Ibid

⁶Anderson, B., *Men-eropong Sistem Pendidikan di Papua*, BaKTI News, No.98, Feb-March, 2014

Contextualised curriculum

The study indicates that ethnic Papuan parents have high expectations of their childrens' education and yet the majority of students indicate that they intend to stay in the village and continue what is seen as a comfortable and relatively easy life where food is never short and friends and family are plentiful (and Government provisions are generous).

This begs the question of the relevance of the national curriculum and echoes some parents comments that the teaching of life skills is more valuable. Conversations and observations with children indicate that they clearly respond to interactive, non-class room based teaching as well as sports and physical activity. The observed efforts of the SM3T teachers are encouraging in this regard.

The standards required for higher education (see comment above) should not be compromised but a more contextualised approach to teaching and learning would likely bring benefits.

Quality of teaching

Following on from the implication above the study also indicates that teachers from special programmes (SM3T, *Indonesia Mengajar*) are often appreciated by parents and children for their approaches to teaching. They are engaging and interactive and were often provided as examples to express disappointment with PNS teachers. These special programme teachers and *Guru Honor* are also noted by the community as being more regular in attendance and committed than many of the PNS teachers. This is less a matter of quality of local versus outside teachers and more to do with the motivation of the incumbent teachers and the style of their teaching. The SM3T teachers met in the study shared their passion for finding ways for children to learn and our observations would suggest that both selection procedures and their training had contributed to this.

The problem of poor internet/mobile phone service provision in some of the study locations has implications for the possibility of use of distance learning resources for teachers and students.

Language issues

The study highlights the wide adoption of local Bahasa Indonesia which is not compatible with formal language requirements of school. This is the 'Papuan Malay' language referred to by ACDP and used by approximately one million speakers as a mother tongue, and also as a second language by many others⁹.

The study found that the use of other local languages is declining with many children using instead the language they use at school and among peers, relegating their mother tongue language use to colloquial family use only, if at all. As families shared that use of Bahasa

Indonesia is considered a means to enhance connectivity, integration and life chances, it would be important to emphasise proficiency in this. Careful consideration needs to be given to selecting the most appropriate bridging language for young students in their first few years of entering SD. This study would suggest that the use of local mother tongue languages which are in decline may not be the most efficient. The clear increased engagement of children by the young enthusiastic SM3T teachers, especially through the use of games and visual materials and without the use of local language (see 'quality of teaching', above) may point to complementary ways to help ethnic Papuan overcome linguistic barriers they may have.

Problems with 'one size fits all'

The study points out that there are many schools with underutilised or redundant physical facilities. This implies that greater importance needs to be afforded to listening to communities and adjusting supply with demand rather than provision of 'blueprint' school facilities. Furthermore, savings on unnecessary physical facilities could be channelled into the kinds of physical infrastructure children indicated they would like to have and which would encourage them to stay in school, especially sports facilities.

Breakfast

The study has indicated that few children take breakfast before going to school. In some cases this meal is delayed until mid morning when children return home but the result is that most children complete at least two hours of school without having eaten and the learning implications of this are well known.

Is there a case for school based breakfast programmes to ensure a good start to the day? This may even have implications for improved punctuality.

Role model and livelihood options as the push-pull factors

Incomers' occupations and their networks acts as pull factor for ethnic Papuan children and parents' aspirations for their children. But, as indicated above, the ease with which ethnic Papuan families manage to subsist with observed little effort and the growing dependency on Government and private sector aid is a disincentive to effort applied to studying and effectively pursuing these aspirations. Within the study locations there are few industrious role models within the ethnic Papuan family and fewer still examples of ethnic Papuans who have made a success equivalent to the perceived successes of incomers.

⁹ACDP 039, *Educational Planning for Isolated Papuan Language Communities*, Strategic Planning for Basic Education in the Rural and Remote Areas in Tanah Papua vol. 2, Ch.3, p.28, 2014.

Efforts to expose ethnic Papuan children to successful role models may help to bridge this gap between aspiration and realisation of aspirations, and help to highlight that schooling is not simply a ‘magic box’ process

Community monitoring of schools

As long as teachers continue to be regarded with high reverence and as authoritative figures in the community and parents know little about what is supposed to happen in schools, the opportunities for genuine performance monitoring of teachers by communities seem challenging. Furthermore, the study points out that parents generally do not feel able to criticise teachers or raise their voice on any matters related to the school. As noted in some locations, parents were not even able to understand the ranking system of the children or the school reports.

Community organisation

The study points out that assumptions about the importance of tribal and religious representation on community decision making bodies are questionable. Villages organise themselves pragmatically and differently according to the context. In Papua, where tribal affiliation

continues to be important, the study found many fluid arrangements. Trends were towards tribal leaders only being concerned with promoting tribal rituals and preserving tribal lands rather than being actively engaged in other community issues.

In the West Papua study locations tribal identity has declined and the involvement of traditional leaders has largely waned. Similarly, the study found that the former strong religious features of community life are also in decline. Inclusion of representatives from different denominations in formal committees does not now provide for the expected level of community representation.

Newer forms of community organisation designed to follow blueprints (e.g. Bamuskam) are weakly inclusive. When thinking through the organisation of SMCs and school monitoring arrangements, the assumptions about tribal and religious representation should be challenged and thought given to inclusion of student, youth and ordinary parent voices to avoid the domination of more educated, Bahasa Indonesia speakers with assumed status.



Reading an upside-down book

Annexes



Annex 1 : Study Design

Overview of Reality Check Approach (RCA)

The Reality Check Approach (RCA) is a qualitative research approach which extends the tradition of listening studies and beneficiary assessments by combining elements of these approaches with actually living with people, usually those who are directly experiencing poverty. It could be likened to **'light touch' participant observation**. The key elements of RCA are **living with** people in their own homes rather than visiting and **informal conversations** which put people at ease. The combination of this with firsthand experience of living with people and observing and accompanying them through their everyday interactions leads to very high levels of triangulation. RCA also has the advantage of understanding lives in context rather than through project, programme or sectoral lenses. Taking place in people's own space rather than in public or invited space means that power distances are reduced between the family and the researcher. The trust and informality that ensues creates the best possible environment for open disclosure. See www.realitycheckapproach.com

Background of the Study

Since the two RCA studies conducted in 2009/10 for the Australia-Indonesia Basic Education Program (AIBEP), there has been growing interest to utilise RCA for wider application in Indonesia's development work to inform policy.

Since April 2014, a new project has been established in Indonesia funded by DFAT, the RCA+ project, which seeks to build capacity of Indonesian researchers and research organisations to undertake high quality RCA studies and use these to influence policy-making. This project has assumed a *'learning by doing'* model which requires researchers new to the approach to work through actual studies to gain experience in the approach. In the first phase of the project, budget has been allocated to three such studies.

One of these is proposed to be focused on education in eastern Indonesia responding to requests from two organisations with a keen interest in Papua, in particular. This region is characterised by remote access and, consequently, very poor education outcomes.

This short concept paper is written to outline proposed scope of the study.

Proposed Objectives of the Study

Focusing on primary and secondary education, this RCA study will explore:

1. Aspirations of people living in poverty in Papua about the value of education, both in the long-term and what they expect to obtain from education in a shorter/medium term.

Exploration also looks at how these aspirations evolve from the household level to the community/village level;

2. Actual education service provision in Papua from the perspective of in-school and out-of-school children and their families – what people experience and think they are getting from school – as well as service provider perspectives and expectations – what people experience and think they are providing at school;
3. The gaps between the differing perspectives, not only on education provision but also what types of education are preferred in which circumstances – education vs. schooling, mainstream schooling vs. community-based education, etc. Gaps are also explored by looking at the context, nature and history of interface between schools and communities surrounding them;
4. Challenges in education service provision and uptake, from understanding the multi-perspectives of parents, children and teachers, as well as communities as a whole.

With the aforementioned objectives, the study proposes to listen to the multi-perspectives of the stakeholders mentioned above on the hindering and helping aspects of accessing the "right sort" of education, within several areas of inquiry below:

- Access to education in the broadest sense, which includes costs, distance, discrimination, punishment, rules and regulations, (dis)incentives and opportunity costs for getting and continuing education, etc.
- Quality of education, which includes teachers, facilities, students, principal/ leadership.
- Community dynamics and local power structure, encompassing use of different languages/dialects and exploring how they all affect any possible involvement in school activities and processes.
- Household dynamics such as health, nutrition, language used at home and schools, also siblings which may affect children's readiness to learn.

Who are Involved

Commissioning organisations

The objectives and areas of inquiry developed above respond to the interests of two programmes, i.e. *Kinerja dan Akuntabilitas Guru* (KIAT Guru) of TNP2K and the Education Sector Analytical and Capacity Development Partnership (ACDP) Indonesia.

KIAT Guru works on improving education service in remote areas particularly by facilitating community involvement in monitoring teachers' performance, as well as linking teacher allowance payments to their attendance and performance quality.

ACDP aims to improve education service delivery as well as strengthening the education system through the production of better analysis and research in education.

The RCA Team

Team Advisor: Dee Jupp will be responsible for providing technical advice throughout the study and will assure quality.

Team leader: Revy Sjahrial will lead the 6 sub teams during both rounds of the study and will be responsible for the distillation of findings and report writing.

Field Co-ordination: Debora Tobing will be responsible for the planning and logistics.

Field Teams: 6 teams comprising 3 researchers each will undertake the field research based in people's home. Researchers will be drawn from networks of the commissioning organisations as well as from networks of the RCA+ project with the objective of building RCA research capacity.

Interpreters: The number of interpreters required will depend on the locations selected for the study. SIL Indonesia will be approached to assist with this.

Study Participants

Host households (HHH): between 18 host households will be identified *in situ* through conversations with villagers in order to identify poorer families, where researchers will stay and have their most detailed interactions.

Focal households (FHH): refer to the constellation of HHH neighbours with whom the research also interacts in some depth. Usually this amounts to 4-5 per HHH, i.e. 72-90 FHH

School service providers: informal interactions with teachers, principals, SMC members

Others: informal interactions with other members of the community, in particular but not limited to those associated with a school e.g. cleaners/caretakers, snack vendors, photo copy shop owners, stationery suppliers etc.

Location & Time

KIAT Guru is conducting its pre-pilot activities in

- Keerom district , Papua Province.
- Kaimana district , West Papua Province.

ACDP has networked and collaborated with a number of local-based research organisations and universities, such as Summer Institute of Linguistics (SIL) Indonesia, Universitas Cendrawasih (UNCEN) and Universitas Negeri Papua (UNIPA), all of which aggregate a wide network coverage across Tanah Papua districts.

Since RCA fieldwork is proposed for 6 different locations, RCA + project suggests that not more than 3 sites are pilot areas of KIAT Guru and the others are selected based on criteria negotiated with ACDP and KIAT Guru and are likely to include:

- Remoteness
- Ethnicity / religion / mix of incomers and locals
- Mix of schools available / coverage
- Current levels of education outcomes

It is proposed to have:

- Pilot training: 16 – 20 November 2014. A preparation stage, especially for participants who are quite new to RCA.
- Round 1: 21 – 30 November;
- Round 2: 5 – 14 December 2014;

Within each round the following is proposed: a briefing process which usually takes 1 – 2 days' work, main field study usually of around 4 nights, and debriefing of around 2 full days.

Management and Logistics

As this study is undertaken under the auspices of the RCA + project, it is anticipated that all costs incurred related to fieldwork, i.e. transport, accommodation (during transit and training) and per-diems will be covered by the RCA+ project. Only if the locations proposed are particularly difficult and costly to access, will a variation in budget be required.

Annex 2: RCA Study Team Member

Team Leader		Revy Sjahrial			
International Team Leader		Dee Jupp			
	Code	Location	Role	Name	
Study 1 (Papua)	1a	Keerom	Sub-team leader	Revy Sjahrial	
			Member	Fajar Djati	
			Member	Siti Alifah Ahyar	
	1b	Supiori	Sub-team leader	Neha Koirala	
			Interpreter	Rizqan Adhima	
			Member	Kholid Fathirius	
			Member	Dian Safitri	
	1c	Merauke	Sub-team leader	Rida Ratnasari	
			Member	Denny Firmanto	
			Member	Iqbal Abisaputra	
	Study 2 (West Papua)	2a	Kaimana	Sub-team leader	Koli
				Interpreter	Denny Firmanto
Interpreter				Niwa Dwitama	
Member				Danielle Stein	
2b		Kaimana	Sub-team leader	Revy Sjahrial	
			Interpreter	Yarra Regita	
			Member	Sean Mulkerne	
2c		Tambrauw	Sub-team leader	Lewis Brimblecombe	
			Interpreter	Hanesty Forisa	
			Member	Siti Alifah Ahyar	
2d		Tambrauw	Sub-team leader	Martin Bjorkhagen	
			Interpreter	Paulina Popy Kirana	
			Interpreter	Fajar Djati	
			Member	Adama Bah	

Annex 3: Areas of Conversation

CONTEXT : About the family/household

(mostly from observation/experience)

Who's who (Family tree) - ages, relationship, live at home/away, level of education, religion,
 Language(s) used at home and between family members
 Map the house - no. of rooms, who stays where, building material, photo of the house (exclude people).
 Livelihood - main and supplementary income sources (subsistence and cash).
 Key assets - agricultural/fishing equipment, livestock (pigs, chicken, cows, goats, etc.), electronic equipment, valuable things, etc.
 Water supply - arrangements for toilet, bathing, drinking, washing, seasonal effect?
 Food - what to eat, how many times, who gets more/less,
 cooking fuel, effects of season change
 Light & power supply – source, seasons' effect?
 Distance from essential public facilities [walking time] - school, health centre, market

CONTEXT : About the village/community

(from observation, (mapping) as well as chats)

Geographical location – coastal/mountain/flat, road access/type, transport choices, nearest town-frequency of trips of town/seasonality

Public facilities - schools, health centre, market, transport, water, electricity (access/distances)

Social : Approx. size of community. (HH) Religion/ethnicity, main family type, incomers/local/tribal (differences/interaction), social organisation (belonging e.g. clubs, groups, kin,) social cohesion (reciprocity, support etc.) trends.

Economic: Main livelihoods, natural resources (in use/prospects), who are poor & why? Trends.

Power - leadership (traditional/administrative/religious) trends, power dynamics between leadership interests, information/voice/dispute resolution. Current/past levels of community decision making/participation (what works/does not).

Home environment (support/hinder schooling)

(mainly chats/observations with parents, children teachers)

How the community/family perceives the school, teachers, principal. Social norms around schooling, importance attached to education. Decisions around which children are supported and why?
 Access to external support (BSM etc – significance of this in decisions around schooling)
 Expectations of child's contribution to family- work, chores (gender/age/position in family differences)
 Children's agency- who decides what they do?
 Nutrition- food patterns for school age/pre-school children- breakfast, snacks, types of food etc
 Space, lighting, help etc for home study
 Views on school vs other obligations e.g. visiting relatives, attending social gatherings, farm work etc.
 Access/costs (money & opportunity)
 seasonality issues – rainy season access

Paint a vivid picture by

Exploring, chatting, listening, probing, drawing, playing, imagining, presenting 'what if' scenarios, explaining, introducing debate with 'some people think...'

CONTEXT: About the schools

(From visiting (1 team member only), chatting, drawing)

Type/no. (Govt, community, Church etc)
 Physical location, access, history, affiliation, buildings, size, condition, future plans/projects, local/GOI and other support
 Assets; classrooms, furniture, teaching materials, play space, teachers accommodation
 Human resources: teachers (local/outsider, gender, approx. age, yrs of service, level (guru honor/full etc), (what people think about the level of human resources)
 Student numbers, student /teacher ratios (what people think about this). Trends.
 What does a good school look like?
 School costs (cash/opportunity costs)
 School governance; school planning/decision making. Level of community involvement/interface with school. Raising complaints. What's changed in terms of governance? Why?

About aspirations

Dreams for their future (children/parents/teachers/leaders),
 Hopes for children- what will they do/marry/be.
 What is good change? What is preventing this change now? What would make a difference to the process and speed of change? Who do they know who has followed dream/changed for better. How did that happen?Helping/hindering process. Concerns/worries for the future

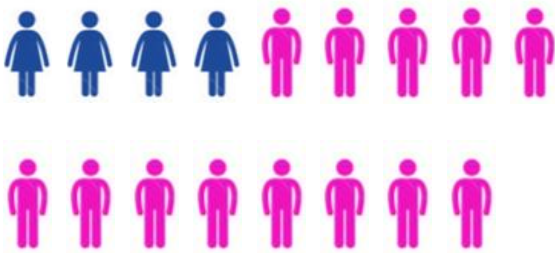


Annex 5: Host households' information

*Total no. of host household = 17

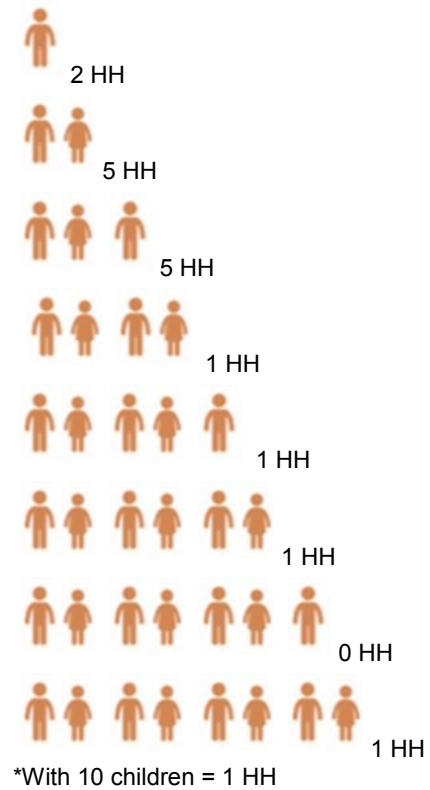
Family	
Nuclear	Extended
12	5

Head of household

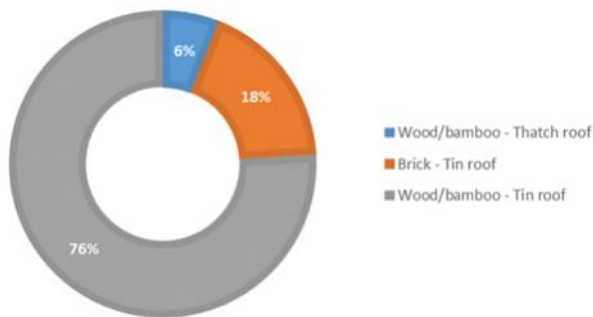


4 women, 13 men

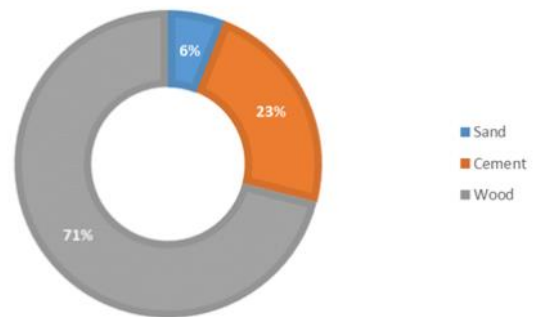
No. of children currently living in house



House Type



Floor Type



% with Electricity	
Metered electricity	29%
Generator	47%
Solar panel	18%
No electricity	6%



% with Toilet	
Toilet outside	47%
Toilet inside	18%
No toilet	35%

Distance from facilities

	Walking time		Time by motorbike / car / boat	
	< 15 mins	15 – 30 mins	< 15 mins	15 – 30 mins
School	13 HH	4 HH	13 HH	4 HH
Health centre	14 HH	3 HH	14 HH	3HH
Market	2 HH	15 HH	2 HH	15 HH



Main Livelihood

Farming	Fishing	Day labour construction	Informal business	Hunting
11	2	1	2	1

Additional livelihood

Additional Main	None	Fishing	Farming	Construction	Village admin	Hunting	Agricultural services	Informal business
Farming		2		1	4	1	1	5
Fishing								2
Construction						1		
Informal Business	1	1						
Hunting				1				

Only 1 of 17 HH has single livelihood

Annex 6 : Number of People Met

Category	Total	
	F	M
HHH adults	20	16
HHH children	19	23
FHH adults	55	52
FHH children	29	39
Principal	3	3
Teachers (accredited)	10	5
Guru honor	25	8
NGO/Church principal	1	2
NGO/Church teachers	5	3
Caretakers/cleaners	0	2
Kiosk operators (outside school)	11	2
SD students	63	67
SMP/SMK students	39	48
Out of school (SD age)	19	33
Out of school (secondary age)	25	45
Kepala desa	0	9
Kepala dusun	0	1
Kepala suku	0	1
Ondo afi	0	3
Health workers	9	7
Church leaders	2	7
Farmers	2	7
Fishermen	22	26
Transport operators	0	5
Catholic nun	2	0
Corporation/Plantation worker	0	5
District office staff	0	2
Informal product seller	1	1
RT	0	2
	362	424
Total	786	

Annex 7 : KIAT Guru and ACDP Programme Summaries

KIAT Guru

Teachers' Performance and Accountability (KIAT Guru) is a TNP2K initiative to improve education service in remote areas through several approaches, including community participation in education, improved mechanisms and transparency in teacher allowances, and allowance payments based on teacher attendance and quality of service provided.

TNP2K in collaboration with BAPPENAS, the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Finance and several regional governments mapped out several main issues that have resulted from the KIAT Guru pilot.

The district governments of Keerom (Papua), Kaimana (West Papua) and Ketapang (West Kalimantan) welcomed an invitation to collaborate with TNP2K during the first phase of a pilot test. The three districts have a special focus on education and on the improvement of teacher welfare and performance. Ketapang has allocated additional allowances from the state budget to all teachers. Meanwhile, Keerom and Kaimana have allocated special autonomy funds to provide additional allowances for teachers in remote areas.

Two main mechanisms emerged to improve the availability and quality of education services:

Engage in community participation to provide support and monitoring for education services.

- Establish education service agreements that are developed collaboratively by teachers and community members, and authorised by district education offices.
- Engage community participation in providing support and monitoring of teacher attendance and quality of education services.

Tying the payment of allowances with teacher attendance and quality of education services.

- Accurately indicate teacher attendance using electronic devices.
- Community members to score the quality of services based on indicators from service agreements.
- Improve criteria, target recipients, transparency and mechanisms for the payment of teacher allowance.

(<http://www.tnp2k.go.id/en/programmes/kiat-guru/about-kiat-guru/>)

ACDP

The Government of Indonesia (represented by the Ministry of Education and Culture, the Ministry of Religious Affairs, and the Ministry of National Development Planning / BAPPENAS), the Government of Australia, the European Union (EU), and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) have established the Education Sector Analytical and Capacity Development Partnership (ACDP).

ACDP is a facility to promote education policy dialogue and facilitate institutional and organizational reform to support national strategic priorities and education performance improvement. The EU's support, through the Education Sector Support Program (ESSP), also includes sector budget support along with a Basic Education Minimum Service Standards capacity development program. Australia's support is through Australia's Education Partnership with Indonesia. Implementation of ACDP is expected to continue to 2016.

The purpose of ACDP is to contribute to the Government's medium to long term education goals, to strengthen the education system and sustain organizational performance improvement by modernizing the education system, improving service delivery, and enabling better regional and international competitiveness. ACDP will contribute to the achievement and monitoring of education objectives and targets in the National Medium Term Development Plan and the Strategic Plans of MoEC and MoRA.

ACDP has three outputs:

- Policy and operational research papers and proposals for legislative and regulatory reforms related to basic and post-basic education policies and financing.
- Policy and operational research papers and proposals for selective organizational change and capacity development in central, provincial, and district agencies, schools, TVET institutions, and universities.
- Improved information and communication systems to establish and sustain robust processes for building knowledge management and organizational learning processes.

Activities supported by ACDP include research, studies and evaluations; knowledge sharing, learning events and strategic dialogue; and systems and capacity development.

(<http://www.acdp-indonesia.org/en/about-acdp/about-indo/>)

Annex 8: RCA methodological consideration: offsetting bias

Like all research methods, the Reality Check Approach takes note of and attempts to offset potential bias. The following is an analysis of the potential for bias and the way the researchers in this study and through the approach itself sought to minimise these biases.

Bias from being researched

The approach benefits from being low key and unobtrusive. It seeks to provide the best possible conditions to listen, experience and observe ordinary daily lives and deliberately seeks to reduce the biases created by an external research presence. The team members take time to get to know the families they stay with, work alongside them and adapt to their pace and way of life. Ideally they seek to listen to family conversations and interactions rather than engage in lengthy question and answer sessions. Considerable effort is made to ensure the host families feel comfortable and at ease so they tell their own stories and explain their realities in their terms and in their own way. This goes some way to ensuring that the families do not feel their answers should be filtered, measured or in any way influenced by the presence of the outsiders. The team members actively suspend judgment. Considerable effort is made in pre-field team training to make the researchers aware of their own attitudes and behaviour which may be conducive or obstructive to openness and trust among those they interact with.

Bias from location

At least three team members stayed in each village (*desa*), each living with a different poor family. All homes were at least 10 minutes walking distance from one another (and most were considerably more than this) so that each team member could maximise the number of unique interactions with people and service providers in the community and avoid duplication with other team members.

Researcher bias

A minimum of three researchers were allocated to each village but they worked independently of each other thus allowing for more confidence in corroborating data. Each village team underwent a day-long debriefing to review information and findings emerging from each location immediately after completing the immersion.

This enabled a high level of interrogation of the observations, experiences and responses and reduced the possibility of individual researcher bias. Furthermore, following completion of the entire baseline study, a validation workshop was held with the entire research team to analyse and confirm the main findings and ensure that both specificity and diversity in the findings were captured, along with more generalisable findings.

Evaluation framework bias

Rather than using research questions which can suffer from normative bias, the team used a broad thematic checklist of areas of enquiry. These themes, summarised in annex 2, provided the basis for conversation topics rather than prescribed questions. The team members engaged with family members and others at appropriate times on these issues. For example, while cooking the meal, opportunities might arise to discuss what the family usually eats, when they eat and who eats what and while accompanying children to school, field opportunities arise to discuss access to, cost and experience of schooling.

Triangulation

An integral part of the Reality Check Approach methodology is the continuous triangulation that ensues. Conversations take place at different times of the day and night allowing unfinished conversations or ambiguous findings to be explored further. Conversations are held with different generations separately and together in order to gather a complete picture of an issue. Conversations are complemented by direct experience (for example, visits to health clinics, accompanying children to school, working with families on their farms) and observation (family interaction/dynamics). Cross checking for understanding is also carried out with neighbours, service providers (for example, traditional birth attendants, community health workers, school teachers and teashop owners) and power holders (informal and elected authorities). Conversations are at times complemented with visual evidence or illustrations, for example by jointly reviewing baby record books or school books as well as through various activities, such as drawing maps of the village, ranking household assets, scoring income and expenditure proportionally, and so on. In the course of four intensive days and nights of interaction on all these different levels, some measure of confidence can be afforded to the findings.

Confidentiality, anonymity and continuing non-bias in project activities

The study locations are referred to by code only and the team is at pains to ensure that neither the report nor other documentary evidence, such as photos, reveal the locations or details of the host households. Faces of householders and images which reveal the location are either not retained in the photo archive or identities are digitally removed. This is partly to respect good research practice with regard to confidentiality but also has the benefit of ensuring that no special measures or consideration are given to these locations or households in the course of the programme. All families are asked to give their consent for their stories and photos to be recorded and shared.

Annex 9 : Reference

ACDP 039, *Educational Planning for Isolated Papuan Language Communities*, Strategic Planning for Basic Education in the Rural and Remote Areas in Tanah Papua vol. 2, Ch.3, p.28, 2014.

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Musyaddad, Achmad et al. *Tata Kelola Pemerintahan Kampung*, Kemitraan, 2012.



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