Institutionalised or Deinstitutionalised? (A Paradigm Shift to Practice in Social Workers' Views)

By

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DECLARATION

I certify that this thesis does not incorporate without acknowledgement any material previously submitted for a degree or diploma in any university; and that to the best of my knowledge and belief it does not contain any material previously published or written by another person except where due reference is made in the text.

Nismah Qonitah

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ABBREVIATIONS AND GLOSSARY

Abbreviations/ Glossary	Meaning	English/ Indonesian
BBPPKS	*Balai Besar Pendidikan dan Pelatihan Kesejahteraan Sosial*	Centre for Education and Training of Social Welfare
Bhinneka tunggal ika		Unity in diversity
BKN	*Badan Kepegawaian Negara*	National Civil Service Agency
BPS	*Badan Pusat Statistik*	Statistics Indonesia
CIDA	Canadian International Development Agency	
CRC	Convention on the Rights of the Child	*Konvensi Hak Anak* (KHA)
Dinsos	*Dinas Sosial*	Local department of social service
IAIN	*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*	State Institute of Islamic Studies
IIS	Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies	
IPA	Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis	
Kabupaten/kota		District/ municipal/ city
KPPPA	*Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak*	Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection
LKSA	*Lembaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Anak*	Residential child care institution
MDGs	Millennium Development Goals	
MoRA	Ministry of Religious Affairs	*Kementerian Agama*
MoSA	Ministry of Social Affairs	*Kementerian Sosial*
Hidayatullah Muhammadiyah Nahdlatul Ulama		Religious-based organisations in Indonesia
NSoC	National Standard of Care	*Standar Nasional Pengasuhan Anak*
Panti asuhan		Residential child care institutions/ orphanage

Abbreviations/ Glossary	Meaning	English/ Indonesian
PDAK	*Pusat Dukungan Anak dan Keluarga*	Centre for Children and Family Support
PKH	*Program Keluarga Harapan*	Hope for families program
PKSA	*Program Kesejahteraan Sosial Anak*	Social assistance for cash transfer program for vulnerable children
Pondok pesantren		Islamic boarding school
Pramurukti		Care assistant
Ramadhan		Muslims' holy month
Sakti peksos	*Satuan Bhakti Pekerja Sosial*	Social workers specially recruited under contract by Ministry of Social Affairs
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals	
SPK	*Sekolah Pembimbing Kemasyarakatan*	Secondary school of community assistance
STKS	*Sekolah Tinggi Kesejahteraan Sosial*	National School of Social Welfare
UIN	*Universitas Islam Negeri*	State Islamic University
UNCRC	United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child	*Konvensi Hak Anak*
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund	

ABSTRACT

Studies following the rapid assessment post-Aceh tsunami in 2004 estimated more than 500,000 children living in institutions across Indonesia, primarily due to poverty. Humanitarian organisations raised concerns regarding the quality of children's care, urging the Indonesian government to review its child welfare system. Known as the shifting paradigm in terms of child welfare, donors and government worked together to reduce institutional reliance and improve children's care. Deinstitutionalisation, integrative service delivery and home-like care, and discouraging institutionalisation of children because of poverty, were promoted as critical contexts for social work practice.

This thesis examines social work in institutional care and the workers' perceptions of the shifting paradigm, as they work at the front line of residential care setting. This includes understanding their experiences of the change; this being in the midst of broader government system reforms. Twenty social workers from six provinces in Indonesia were interviewed. A phenomenological approach was taken with the collection and interpretation of the social workers' perceptions of the changes to policy and practice informing residential child care. Along with this, an ecological approach allowed analysis of relationship dynamics between system units across the social workers' systems, from microsystem to macrosystem, and how that may have influenced their perceptions of the paradigm shift.

Regarding the social worker's training experiences of child welfare system reform, and knowledge on the children's rights to grow and develop in their families and communities, findings indicated that they did not favour changes promoting deinstitutionalisation and criteria discouraging institutional care on the basis of poverty. The families' limited access to income, lack of infrastructure, sustained perceptions that poverty equated with child neglect, and cultural practices hindered the shifting paradigm under study.

This thesis considers social workers' perception of their role transformation in the context of the system in which they operate and the cultural perspectives that also confine their practice. Some of the social workers have embraced changes and worked towards improvements to the welfare of institutionalised children. However, ending overreliance on institutional care due to economic difficulties has not been

achieved. Ecological mapping of the research data enabled diagrammatical representation of systemic challenges for social workers in children's institutions. The decentralised government, issues with regional justice, implementation of policy and new ways of working for social workers at the front line, as well as competing social, cultural and governance systems appear to have influenced the social workers experiences and perceptions of the paradigm shift. The public mindset has either not understood or resisted the paradigm change. In terms of capacity building support, the various trainings on child issues lacked monitoring and evaluation system, indicating the government's little consideration of system's readiness. The difficulties of social workers in conceptualising practices without institution's involvement gauged the need of training improvement. Findings highlight the importance of expanding the government supports, including developing remuneration system as a part of social workers' empowerment, and innovations of social work trainings and practice indigenisation. These would potentially enhance the sustainable change agendas and the advancement of children's rights.

CHAPTER ONE
Introduction

This thesis is informed by research on social work practice change in Indonesia, specifically in residential child care in the broader child protection and welfare systems. The specific context relates to social workers' lived experiences of working in a paradigm change in child welfare; the change response is an attempt to reduce the numbers of children in institutional care and/or to improve the quality of care of children living in institutions. This change is in the broader context of Indonesia's government decentralisation and devolution of welfare to sub-level regional authorities. In seeking to interpret social workers experiences of their role transformation in residential child care in Indonesia, this thesis situates the study in a backdrop of ongoing political and welfare system change. The research framework adopts interpretive phenomenology and ecological theory to inform the methods of inquiry and analytical approach. While this is expanded further in this thesis, this introduction commences up front with the research questions and aims, it is followed by an overview of the historical social, political and practice situations in which the social work under study takes place. Finally, a chapter overview for the main thesis is provided.

This research focuses on addressing the question:

> *How do Indonesian social workers experience working in the midst of policy and practice change, specifically the social workers who have received training from the Ministry of Social Affairs on social work's role transformation, front-line practice and system changes affecting residential child care in Indonesia?*

This study aims to:

1. To interpret phenomenologically the social workers' experiences of training[1] and application of Indonesia's system-based approach in child welfare provision, and the

[1] Training experiences here include both pre- and in-service trainings. The pre-service training refers to related education taken before becoming a social worker. There are three levels in the Indonesian national education: primary, secondary, and tertiary/higher education (*Act of the Republic of Indonesia on National Education System* 2003 article 14). Fahrudin, Adi and Yusuf (2016) explain that the higher education covers academic education and professional education. While the academic education aims at the particular science development and innovation, the professional education focuses on applied science and technology that emphasises the competency and work skills development. Social work in Indonesia is offered both in secondary and tertiary education. While the pre-service training refers to formal education, the in-service training relates to trainings provided by Ministry of Social Affairs as a part of supports to social work profession development (*Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia on Social Work Profession Development* 2003).

changing role expectations[2] of social workers employed in residential child care.

2. To locate the social worker's experiences of the changes to residential child care practice in the context of the social workers' system and of Indonesia's broader socio-political transformations.

3. To analyse the social workers' experiences of working amidst change using an ecological framework, from the micro to macro systems, in the context of global trends in residential child care.

To achieve these aims, this thesis commences with briefly sharing my journey as a training facilitator at the Centre for Education and Training of Social Welfare (*Balai Besar Pendidikan dan Pelatihan Kesejahteraan Sosial*/ BBPPKS), a work unit of Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA). This chapter also provides a brief overview of the paradigm shift in child welfare, associated with transformation of social work practice in residential child care, particularly amid Indonesian changing social and political contexts. This includes the complexity of interacting demographic, political and social issues that affect the thousands Indonesian children living in residential child care. These contexts are critical to the understanding of complexity of social work specific to Indonesia, and even more so in institutional child care settings. As well, this initial context sheds light on the burdens of working in incessantly evolving systems that has led to government training intended to support social workers to transform practice in residential child care. This is a great challenge, as this study finds, since a small number of skilled social workers must work with very large populations of children who need support. Giving this context shed light on the burdens of working in constantly-evolving systems.

Introducing the researcher

My interest in social work began when I did my master program at State Islamic University (*Universitas Islam Negeri/* UIN) "Sunan Kalijaga" Yogyakarta, Indonesia. My undergraduate major was Islamic education. I had no idea about social work courses before, until I applied for a scholarship for the master's program of Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies (IIS), concentration on Social Work, which was jointly organised by Ministry of Religious Affairs

[2] Expectations here refer to the paradigm change in child welfare practice. Accordingly, the expectations come from across the child and welfare system in Indonesia and also global human rights conventions for systems to be more responsive to children's rights, development and wellbeing. This is explained later in this thesis in terms of the role transformation of social workers in Indonesia. This involves a shift in social work in residential child care from discrete caregiving in institutions to family empowerment and capacity building, and community development.

(MoRA), McGill University and Canadian International Development Agency (CIDA). This master's program was a part of The IAIN Indonesia Social Equity Project, a cooperation project to be carried out between McGill University and the State Institutes of Islamic Studies (*Institut Agama Islam Negeri*/ IAIN), which later changed into State Islamic University. Designed to enhance the students' practical, critical and analytical abilities in dealing with contemporary social problems, fundamental to the program was an emphasis on integrative analysis and interdisciplinary approaches. This included consideration of social work in the Indonesia's multicultural context. The project aimed to contribute to social cohesion and political stability in Indonesia.

The IIS master's program was delivered as a joint organisation with Canadian agency and the university. The ground values of social work knowledge and practice implied in the program were derived from Western perspectives. The core focus was on developing an advanced social work intervention method with broader aspects and issues of service delivery, professional leadership, social policy analysis, and social welfare research. Accordingly, the program was arranged in four semesters. It covered Islamic studies (Qur'an, Hadith and Islamic economy) and social work-related knowledge (e.g. phenomenology, direct intervention, and community organising/ community development). The highlight of Islamic studies was a part of the program's uniqueness, and culturally relevant to the dominant Indonesian population that would form the basis of graduates' potential client and community base. Despite the adaptation of social work from Western perspective, the program's courses synchronised theoretical perspectives with Islam in such ways that they acknowledged the local culture and legacy. Synchronisation was aimed to bridge the concept of social welfare in Western and Islamic perspective, with Islam being the largest societal/spiritual belief in Indonesia. Integrating religion and social work practice aimed to build the students' capacity in supporting community development. To improve the students' critical and analytical abilities, the graduate program was completed with fieldwork and thesis.

I pursued my career by applying for civil servant position at MoSA after graduating from the IIS Social Work. I am currently on study leave, as an Australia Awards Scholar, from my employment with the Centre for Education and Training of Social Welfare (BBPPKS) Region IV Kalimantan. My roles at MoSA included the facilitation of trainings, developing training curriculum and conducting research. During the training facilitation I interacted with various groups of social welfare personnel undertaking the MoSA training, including both government and non-government social workers, social volunteers, and

other community members. Among them were diverse levels of education; primary school was the highest level of education completed by some, whereas others were university graduates. Despite these differing education levels, social work was consistently perceived as charity activities, or else, referred to working at residential-based care institutions. I observed that most of participants took their time in the trainings. They regarded trainings as intellectual refreshment, as most of them wrote in the post-training evaluation from.

During my four-years of employment with MoSA, I facilitated trainings on various topics. These included management of local social welfare development, social work profession development, Hope for Families Program (Program *Keluarga Harapan*/ PKH), Cash Transfer Program for Vulnerable Children (Program *Kesejahteraan Sosial Anak*/ PKSA), and Family Development Session. While my interest in child issues began in my undergraduate studies and continued when undertaking my master's research thesis. I investigated the influence of preschool program in the child's psycho-social development for my undergraduate thesis. I researched the impacts of custody disputes on the child's psychological development for my master's thesis. The training on social assistance of PKSA was my first involvement in delivering training focused on issues concerning children's welfare, after which I became a national trainer. The changing paradigm in child's support provision was discussed in this training. The curriculum was designed by joint team of MoSA and development organisations, including Save the Children and UNICEF.

The training for social workers assisting the PKSA was delivered annually. It aimed to advocate for the adoption of a child and family-based care approach in the child protection program (Martin, F 2013). In this training, the system-based child welfare provision was introduced. The systems approach recognises the different domains and continuum of care indicating the different levels of risk faced by children. A system's understanding contributes to determining a range of interventions through helping to identify the nature of relationships between the system parts. The training course also included knowledge on children's rights, the National Standard of Care (NSoC) for residential child care institutions, case management, and options of alternative care. The curriculum highlighted the best interests of the child. In considering the child's rights, training extended beyond basic human needs (e.g. food, clothes, shelter and education) to psychological welfare, broader environmental factors and child development needs. Rights to participation and protection from discrimination, abuse, neglect and exploitation were also explored.

There were two main challenges in this training facilitation process. The first challenge related to the training modules being translated from an English language version and, largely, adapted from Western perspectives. My observations notified the poor translation accuracy and how it hindered facilitators' comprehension of the training material. This affected their explanation of several sections in the delivery of training. The two-week training program for trainers was insufficient to grasp the contents, which was also affected by the diverse education levels and knowledge backgrounds of these cohorts. The poor understanding on the modules by the trainers, I perceived, affected the delivery and created confusion among the participants accordingly. The second challenge emerged during the training facilitation, in which most participating social workers exposed their resistance towards deinstitutionalisation. They found it difficult to conceptualise institutional transformation in favour of family-based care, and the notion that residential child care should be the last resort of support provision for vulnerable children. Societal values and religious beliefs reinforced the participants' beliefs that placing children in institutions was a noble deed, regardless of the levels of risk to children's development and welfare. The training participants firmly believed that providing shelter, basic needs, and education access for children of poor families was a part of religious teaching and heaven-rewarded, despite causing the children living away from their families.

The challenges that I encountered in facilitating trainings raised many questions about whether this paradigm change fully suited Indonesia, considering the complex social and political circumstances. The presence of residential child care institutions has longstanding consideration as an appropriate support for children who have difficulties accessing education (e.g. children from families in poverty or children in rural areas who have limited access to quality schooling). I have heard deinstitutionalisation being talked about in Indonesian society as putting the children of poor families at risk of social neglect for experiencing exclusion in education. These challenges prompted my interest in examining social workers' readiness for the implementation of a sizeable paradigm shift, particularly the changing policy and practice in residential child care. The social workers' position at the front line of social service delivery requires specific considerations regarding protection, rights, wellbeing and so forth. Their comprehension of the system-based child protection is significant in achieving the goal of enhancing the wellbeing of all children, regardless the perceived risk levels. Training experiences are influential means of shaping the social workers' understanding of the policy and practice changes. The trainings talked about here, in this thesis, include both the pre- and in-service trainings. The former is

related to the formal education taken before becoming social workers, while the latter refers to the trainings provided by MoSA that aim to support the social workers' professional development and practice transformation. In the context of the changing approach in child protection, the in-service trainings are provided by MoSA and related development organisations, i.e. UNICEF and Save the Children.

This thesis locates the social workers' position and experiences of both opportunities and challenges. The results provide valuable inputs for improvements to training curriculum, focused on child welfare system development and the potential to tailor training to achieve smaller, incremental change that is both sustainable and respectful of indigenous approaches in social work in Indonesia.

Responding to the rights of the child

Indonesia's latest census data reports that one-third of its population is aged under eighteen (KPPPA & BPS 2015, p. 8). This vast population, which represents the future of Indonesia, urges social investment to optimise their potentials. This includes the strengthening of mechanisms that will protect children from harm and secure the rights of the child in ways to enable them to grow up strong. Child-centred policies based on the ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (1989) are part of these efforts. A rights-based foundation ensures that Indonesian policies concerning the child value the following principles:

- non-discrimination
- the best interest of the child
- the right to life, continuity to life and development
- respect for opinions of the child

(CPPS 2011, p. 6).

The UNCRC (1989) mandates the ratifying countries to ensure the acknowledgement of parental roles in the children upbringing. Article 18 states:

> States Parties shall use their best efforts to ensure recognition of the principle that both parents have common responsibilities for the upbringing and development of the child. Parents or, as the case may be, legal guardians, have the primary responsibility for the upbringing and development of the child. The best interest of the child will be their basic concern (UNHCR 1989).

The Convention recognises the significance of a family environment wherein children have the right to live in and grow up. Indonesia is a signatory to the UNCRC and, like many other

developing, post-socialist or post-dictatorship countries (Ariyadasa, McLaren & McIntyre-Mills 2017; Bhuvaneswari & Deb 2016; Huseynli 2018; Ismayilova, Ssewamala & Huseynli 2014; Legrand 2015; Lisa 2013; Milligan et al. 2017), it has adopted UNCRC principles in its ongoing development of contemporary approaches in child welfare.

In recent decades, Indonesia has recognised the urgency of assuring child-based policies focused on supporting families and communities to fulfil their UNCRC responsibilities related to the rights, upbringing and wellbeing of children. There are two factors contributing to this urgency. One is the high population ratio of children to adults, and the other is the observed escalation in risk and vulnerability faced by children. This was reported in the Indonesian Medium Term Development Plan 2010-2014 and UNICEF Indonesia reports (Kusumaningrum 2011; Ortiz, Moreira Daniels & Engilbertsdóttir 2012). It was also recognised in research, as reflected in Millennium Development Goals and reinforced later in the Sustainable Development Goals, that education could make a difference (Abioye et al. 2017; Brown, NJ, Platt & Beattie 2015; Caprani 2016; Kabeer 2006; Ortiz, Moreira Daniels & Engilbertsdóttir 2012; Solberg 2015; Stuart & Woodroffe 2016; UNICEF. 2003, 2010a, 2010b). Despite this, the 2010 census data reported that half of Indonesia's children did not have access schooling (Kusumaningrum 2011). A coordinated, strategic response was critical, as global research has established clear links between inadequate access to education and child adversity, exploitation and risk (Arat 2002; Beazley & Ross 2016; Celek 2004; Doocy et al. 2007; Lestari 2017; Meer 2016; Mulinge 2002; Nordtveit 2016; O'Connell Davidson 2011; Robson 2004; Vostanis et al. 2018). Poverty in Indonesia has also been a significant barrier to moving forward in the interests of the child.

A brief demography of Indonesia's children at risk

Data on Indonesia in 2009 showed that 8.4 million children lived in extreme poverty and 44.3 million were categorised as poor (SMERU, BAPPENAS & UNICEF 2011, p. 47) . According to the Ministry of Social Affairs, from 2004 – 2009 there were between 618,000 and 1,187,000 neglected infants, between 2.8 and 3.2 million neglected children, and an increasing number of children living or working on the streets from 60,000 – 75,000 to 230,000 (SMERU, BAPPENAS & UNICEF 2011, p. 13). Education preclusion and child exploitation are sustained by the inability of families to feed, clothe, and ensure schooling for their children. Furthermore, poverty is a barrier for many families' ability to access birth registration sites. Having no national birth certificate, which is a requirement for school

enrolment in Indonesia, automatically precludes children from education. Indonesia's population in 2010 was approximately 237.6 million (Badan Pusat Statistik 2011), so one third of the population equates to roughly 80 million children. If half had no birth registration in 2010, then that means 40 million children had no access to schooling based on birth registration alone. This was a significant issue, as it was unlikely children would be able to raise themselves out of desperate situations without adequate education (Moran 1993). While significant numbers of children did not have access to schooling in Indonesia, others were known to dropping out at alarming rates.

Based on Indonesia's 2010 census data, Kusumaningrum (2011) reported that approximately 22 percent of children did not continue on to high school after completing primary school. Over forty percent of children aged 13-18 dropped out of school. Three million children were engaged in child labour in hazardous conditions, including mining and construction industry, off-shore fishing and the commercial sex trade. Thirty percent of females exploited in the commercial sex work industry were under the age of 18 years, with many being as young at ten; and approximately 12 percent of girls were forced into marriage before reaching 15 years of age (Kusumaningrum 2011). The combination of household poverty and inadequate access to education inevitably located children as the most vulnerable members of society and female children even more so. The lack of birth registration creates an ambiguity, while limited parental literacy and geographical distance inhibit citizens from providing census data. The shame and silence surrounding the engagement of children in exploitation would also contribute to under-reporting.

In terms of children's access to education, it was only during the last decade that Indonesia implemented a series of women's and children's social protection strategies aimed at increasing birth registration, school attendance and social protection (Barrientos et al. 2014; Butt & Ball 2018; Dunning, Gelb & Raghavan 2014; Pais 2009; Sumner, Cate 2015). The promotion of education as a pathway out of poverty and exploitation sourced a rise in residential child care institutions (orphanages) promising to provide basic needs and education to children (Fernandez 2009a; Filmer 2008; Suryadarma, Pakpahan & Suryahadi 2009; Wanat et al. 2010), but it was not until years later that the vast majority of children living in these child care institutions were not orphans. Events associated with humanitarian responses to the Aceh tsunami in 2004 brought about a turning point.

A paradigm shift in the residential-based care of children

The Aceh tsunami in 2004, one could suggest, is a marker of a paradigm shift in Indonesia's child welfare system. In response to a perceived rise in orphaned children as a result of the Aceh tsunami, Martin, F (2006) was commissioned to undertake a rapid assessment of children's whereabouts, to map and track children who had lost their families. She found that large numbers of children were living in residential child care institutions; e.g., orphanages and Islamic boarding. However, the investigation revealed that many children were living in institutions for various reasons other than the Aceh tsunami or orphanhood at all. This urged the Indonesian government to make further enquiries into the large number of children living in institutions.

Follow-up research was conducted by MoSA, in partnership with Save the Children and UNICEF (Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007, p. 1). This enquiry found that up to 500,000 children were estimated living across approximately 7,000 residential child care institutions. Ortiz, Moreira Daniels and Engilbertsdóttir (2012) identified that ninety percent of children living in these institutions were not orphaned as they had at least one parent who was alive; about half of the children had both parents. The first study in Aceh (Martin, F 2006) and follow up study in several other provinces (Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007) reveal an overreliance on residential child care as an intervention for children of poor families. Poverty led many parents to send their children away from their communities to institutions for the provision of food, shelter, education and other basic needs; the promise of food and education was a strategy in the recruitment of children by institutions. Due to distance, many children did not have contact with their families or communities for many years after being relinquished to institutional living. Martin, F and Sudrajat (2007) expressed concerns with the standard of care, as well as the maintenance of children's contact with family and community. Although overseen by the MoSA, government emphasis was on institutions maintaining proper documentation and legal formalities instead of implementing guidelines and monitoring to ensure quality of care at residential child care institutions, reunification with families and other needs critical to children's development (Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007, p. 2). In more recent authorship, Martin, F (2013) notes little staff awareness of the potential negative impact of institutionalisation for children. The researcher expressed concerns about the parents who had placed blind faith in these children's institutions, while the institutions might be putting their children at risk of harm.

The paradigm shift was prompted by the shocking findings of the large number children living in substandard conditions in institutions, away from their families and communities. A

systems approach was adopted by MoSA (Martin, F 2013, p. 4). Based on meeting specific goal of improving the children's wellbeing, the systems approach has important elements to achieve it: functions (governance, management, enforcement), capacities (human resources, infrastructure, budget), structures (relationship between system component and actors), process of care (case management, standard of procedure), and service continuum/continuum of care (promotion, prevention, response) (Wulczyn et al. 2010, p. 22). The current paradigm emphasises contextualisation of the child welfare system, as the differing contexts influence the support provision. Setting goals based on the problem definitions, identifying the related systems, and recognising the interaction patterns and dynamics are essential for sustainable changes (Foster-Fishman, Nowell & Yang 2007). Understanding the core problem and support capacity enables the action determination. The systems approach sets a range of service, including setting a gatekeeping mechanism, considering the diverse circumstances that may involve the children.

Along with aid agencies, this approach involved several strategies. These included the development of child welfare policies; the translation of policy to practice through the promotion of an integrative system approach towards child wellbeing; building the capacity and skills of human resources at the front line; and changing community attitudes to sustain a social image of institutional care as beneficial to children. Changes included the enactment of Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of Republic of Indonesia No. 30/HUK/2011 on National Standard of Care for Child Welfare Institutions. A result of the recommendation of the United Nations of Committee on the Rights of the Child, this national standard aims to regulate the use of residential child care as the last option of substituting family care, and to improve the quality of care, especially in the non-government institutions that have no access to social workers. Most importantly, systemic changes were argued necessary to break the over-reliance on residential child care as a support mechanism for children of families experiencing economic hardship (Engle & Black 2008). Beazley (2015, p. 34) describes the use of institutional care, as a solution, as 'inappropriate aid'.

Transforming the residential-based care model requires a range of actors, thus calling for an integrative child welfare system that is both horizontal and vertical in its design. Distribution of welfare responsibility to regions and attempts towards developing stronger pro-poor policy has been associated with Indonesia's successes and failures in its democratic decentralisation agenda, which has been ongoing since 1998 (Booth 2003; Greer 2010; Rosser & Wilson 2012; Widianingsih, McLaren & McIntyre-Mills 2017; Widianingsih & Morrell 2007). Challenges to welfare development and reform have arisen

because of the changed approach to child welfare. This new approach was instigated by relatively recent changes to Indonesia's governance system, most notably its decentralisation which placed welfare responsibility onto regional administrative units. Indonesia's social political change over the last few decades has presented significant barriers to ensuring the best interests of children.

Indonesia's changing social and political contexts

Indonesia has experienced significant social, economic and political change since its independence from the Netherlands in 1945. Later, the country's economic stability was undermined by several events. International oil price increases during 1974 to 1979 and 1980 to 1982, and the Asian fiscal crisis affecting Indonesia from 1997 to 1998, collectively had severe effects for the country's economic stability (Mishra 2002, p. 3). The Asian fiscal crisis triggered demand for Indonesia's political reform. This saw President Suharto's resignation after 32 years of rule. Despite the end of Suharto's authoritarian regime, the political transition towards a democratic decentralised system has costed the nation considerably.

Government reform challenged in scenarios where power is transferred to potentially incompetent new actors, where decision-making structures were underdeveloped, and where corruption has become rife (Bawole 2017; Espasa, Esteller-Moré & Mora 2017; Tambulasi & Kayuni 2007). According to Indrawati (2002), this is mirrored in the transforming Indonesian political context. The new government that replaced Suharto's regime comprised political members with little or no experience in holding cabinet or other government positions. Their inexperience, according to Indrawati (2002), led to lengthy debates and slow processes for achieving democratic assent. This resulted in ineffectual and weak governance. Furthermore, devolution of welfare responsibility to regional, sub-district and village administrative units has exposed difficulties with power sharing across government levels. (Bertrand 2014; Bubandt 2006; Fossati 2016) and reinforced sub-level governments dependency on centralised regulatory control (Eilenberg 2016; Fossati 2017; Haryanto 2017; McCormack 2014; Mietzner 2014; Ryan & Woods 2016; Widianingsih, McLaren & McIntyre-Mills 2017). This volatile political situation, together with the Asian fiscal crisis, has brought about a series of social impacts.

Since the end of Suharto's rule and the Asian fiscal crisis, the number of Indonesians living below the poverty line had increased from 20 per cent 35 per cent (Suryahadi & Sumarto 2003, p. 52). Unstable economic conditions drove up the prices of most

commodities. People who were previously not poor fell below the poverty line (Levinsohn, Berry & Friedman 2003). The economic crisis led to worsened conditions of poverty and vulnerability of people across Indonesia (Dhanani & Islam 2002; Suryahadi & Sumarto 2003). The downfall of Suharto's regime provoked the regions to demand local autonomy. The regional discontent and deepened local divides in the regions (Ascher & Mirovitskaya 2016) was associated with regional economic inequality that they had experienced (Dhanani & Islam 2002; Suryahadi & Sumarto 2003). Resentment came from regions rich in natural resources, which were designated by Suharto's centralised governance to subsidise the poor regions. The failure of the regime to create the trickle-down effect eventually caused particular disappointment among the rich provinces, including Aceh, Papua, Riau, and East Kalimantan, which triggered conflicts between regional and central government (Tadjoeddin, Suharyo & Mishra 2003, p. 4). The new devolved governance model, post-Suharto, however, has not sufficiently responded to inequity across regions and this has become a vehicle for regional authoritarianism, discrimination, inequity and cross-regional conflict (Karianga 2016; Khemani 2007; London 2018; Tidey 2018). Main concerns are to do with regional autonomy.

The 1998 Indonesian Reformation endorsed a shift from authoritarian to democratic governance. The demand for regional autonomy resonated, and the power redistribution was cited as a key to local social and economic development. The pressure to end central government control and for development order was fuelled by demands for participatory governance from citizens, governments, non-government organisations and influenced by international donors (e.g. IMF and World Bank) (Bunnel et al. 2013; Green, K 2005; Widianingsih, McLaren & McIntyre-Mills 2017; Widianingsih & Morrell 2007). In particular, Green, K (2005), described how the central government was criticised by regional voices and held responsible for the Indonesian economic collapse. The solution was to enable sub-level governments to determine their own future. Local governments demanded more authority to develop local policies relevant to their own regions, since they had deep knowledge of their needs. Demands for freedom were coming from natural resource-rich regions, such as Aceh and Papua that believed themselves to have been exploited for their mineral resources but left behind the rest of Indonesia in terms of development aid (Bunnel et al. 2013). However, under the notion of democratic devolution, reformation actions have propelled regional dissatisfaction. Both vertical and horizontal government conflicts have emerged. Public expressions of dissatisfaction with government are well recognised as a serious "disintegration threat" to national economic and socio-political stability (Braga 2017;

Sanityastuti & Trijono 2003; Tadjoeddin, Suharyo & Mishra 2001, 2003; Warokka 2013). These issues show that Indonesia's government reformation over the last twenty years are still ongoing.

Understanding the nature of 'doing' social work in residential child care settings, or more broadly in Indonesia's child welfare system, must be understood in the context of systemic transitions – political, economic, societal and professional. These understandings are critical to this thesis and, considering that Indonesia has only experienced three democratic election cycles since the demise of Suharto's regime, this thesis offers an original contribution to understanding social work in the context of residential child care, welfare paradigm change and Indonesia's political shifts. It is important to briefly appreciate the benefits and pitfalls of decentralisation here (this is expanded in the literature review chapter). Theoretically, Indonesia's government decentralisation, and devolution of welfare, is a worthwhile endeavour as it would seek to ensure democracy, freedom and human rights, promoting efficiency and better social services, and for advancing social and economic development (Basta 1999, p. 34). While the central government lessens its power, decentralisation grants autonomy to sub-level administrative units to make decisions about local resources, policy development and service delivery. Beneath the broad umbrella of the central government's political agendas, democratically elected sub-level authorities understand the local situation and are assumed to be able to govern according to community and local economic needs.

Some of the benefits of a decentralised government include the development of local constituencies to advance regional economies and local production, and to provide supplies for meeting local demands, which may attract investors and thereby lower taxes (Thornton 2007, p. 65). McCarthy (2004) suggests that central government remains critical, providing a solid centre with well-defined guidelines and legal frameworks for the process of control distribution. Guess (2005) adds that central government should remain responsible for financing regional specific innovations, and for developing evaluation mechanisms for regulation and monitoring. However, decentralisation remains a complex and enduring task, owing to the vast population spread across Indonesia's archipelago, and the cultural differences across regions (Rosser & Wilson 2012). Workers are exposed to exhaustion, as they are active in the context of reformation, decentralisation and devolution of welfare to the regions, in a constantly changing system in which none of these agendas are complete, even with the introduction of policy beneficial to the poor.

National reformation has not only brought about systemic change but also created a political-cultural lag. Indonesia's relatively new democracy had generated freedom of speech and political expressions, and invited partnerships in change from outside the country. This is visible in the increasing number of non-governmental organisations (NGO), including those with international funding. Despite public statements towards poverty reform in Indonesia, scholars have noted that government officials in Indonesia's regionally framed, devolved governance systems, continue to disregard the welfare of ordinary people (Hatherell & Welsh 2017; Jakimow 2018; Kartasasmita 2014; London 2018; Setiyono 2015; Tidey 2018). Antlov, Brinkerhoff and Rapp (2008) list a series of significant challenges for democracy in Indonesia for the NGOs participating in driving forward improvements to social welfare:

1. Corruption is considered the biggest challenge to improving social welfare in Indonesia. The public has lost trust in political elites and law enforcement.
2. The spirit of reformation has apparently lost its direction and has little influence in the bureaucratic reform. Educating public servants to improve services and to value professionalism is an ongoing task.
3. Despite the progress in creating laws and regulation, these have not fostered sufficient change among Indonesia's societies, due to the lack of reinforcement.
4. The loss of mutual trust among public, government, and private sectors has hindered democracy development.

Transparency and accountability are conditions necessary to ensure functioning democracy and that public services sufficiently meet the citizens' needs (Bubandt 2006; Dale 2015; Dhani, Lee & Fitch 2015; Diamond 2015; Hadiz 2004; King 2003; Pietsch & Clark 2015). As a product of democracy, these are intended to enhance local participation and improve local governance. Conversely, Takeshi (2006, p. 141) and others (Ascher & Mirovitskaya 2016; Booth 2003; Greer 2010; Rosser & Wilson 2012; Widianingsih, McLaren & McIntyre-Mills 2017; Widianingsih & Morrell 2007) assert that Indonesia' decentralisation is representative of a different story. Reports on the corrupting cases, money politic, and other cases related to power abuse has increased since the regional autonomy was enacted. Even grassroots welfare governance is not immune to poor administration and practice (Aspinall 2010; Booth 2003; Ganie-Rochman & Achwan 2016; Hadiz 2004; Manaf et al. 2016; Yusuf 2018). Reformation, therefore, has resulted in ambiguous power relations and implications for social work practice under Indonesia's new socio-economic and political order.

In relation to social welfare, decentralisation has mandated the take-over of residential child care institutional service provision. Overall responsibility for social welfare is located under MoSA; while local 'persons with social welfare problems' (*Penyandang Masalah Kesejahteraan Sosial* PMKS) are the responsibility of in sub-district and village governance. While MoSA provide the framework for action, sub-level governments are responsible for policy development to do with social welfare (including residential child care) and budget allocations. Social workers' capacities to fulfil their roles are limited by their accountability to different institutional management bodies and government levels. They are also required to meet central government outcomes and constricted by sub-level budgeting. Furthermore, democracy has brought with it five-yearly elections and a government personnel employment rotation system (Widianingsih, McLaren & McIntyre-Mills 2017). Constant change in staff, work philosophies, skills, and styles all present additional challenges for social workers employed in government residential child care institutions and for social workers in NGOs working under government guidelines and policies.

Research so far has focused on political and governance shifts in Indonesia over the last two decades, since the demise of the Suharto regime. As its original contribution to knowledge, this thesis proposes that the challenges and experiences of social workers working amidst constantly evolving paradigm, policy and practice changes. The experiences of social workers tasked with the roles in residential child care, in the context developed above, are central to this thesis and which also contributes new insights to the academic community.

Transforming social work practice in a challenging environment

The shifting political context in Indonesia, arising during national reform, has led to systemic changes across the social welfare system. While the decentralisation agenda intended to advance sub-level authorities' autonomy and devolve responsibility for welfare to the regions, serious challenges face both central and sub-level government activities. The child welfare system, in particular, is situated in a context of changing authority distribution and hierarchical relationships between MoSA and local governments. As a result, central umbrella policies do not necessarily play out as intended at the regional levels. The majority of sub-level governments, afforded certain levels of political autonomy under decentralisation, have not developed policies, implementation strategies or monitoring mechanisms aligned with the central government's broader agenda informing a paradigm shift in child welfare (i.e. decentralisation). This may indicate local authorities' lack of

concern towards child welfare, issues with local skills to administrate policy following decentralisation or human resources management.

Turner, M, Imbaruddin and Sutiyono (2009) argue that goals in the organisation of Indonesia's decentralisation are best achieved by having the right employee in the right place. They found that employees were assigned to particular positions unmatched to their expertise and background. They argued that this forgotten dimension of decentralisation in Indonesia has had implications for accountability and performance. Others have since noted issues arising from poorly-placed employees in sub-level governance and associated with administrative deficiencies (Tjiptoherijanto, Prijono 2014). This has been researched across areas for regional governments, such as economic administration (Holzhacker, Wittek & Woltjer 2016); forestry, mining and environmental governance (Ardiansyah, Marthen & Amalia 2015; Hamidi 2015); policy and system developments in health and elder care (Cooke & Bartram 2015; Roman, Cleary & McIntyre 2017); and leadership in Indonesia's education systems (Holzhacker, Wittek & Woltjer 2016; Pradhan & de Ree 2014). There is likewise a large gap in the availability of suitably skilled workers for the range of welfare social work practice in welfare. From 2012-2016 there were 665 certified social workers in Indonesia (YST 2016). This is an extreme limitation considering the large number of children living in care and considering the many residential child care institutions in Indonesia.

Despite the last decade's changes to policy and practice in Indonesia's child welfare system, the more recent systems approach in child welfare provision has not been widely promoted. Along with the limited number of social workers in the residential child care sector, this may account for the limited uptake of changes. The MoSA's website has little information on system-based child welfare approaches. When information is not available, social workers cannot be blamed for being unfamiliar with the design, intention, and function of the child welfare system.

Various stakeholders are also unaware of Indonesia's the systems approach in child welfare provision, ironically including many who should be inextricably linked to the child welfare system. The Department of Social Services, which is a sub-level authority located in each of Indonesia's municipalities, has brought about a significant impact in the implementation of the NSoC locally. Problems with the availability of personnel capable of understanding, implementing and sustaining policy and practice have become the decelerating factors of putting the shift into practice.

A study undertaken in Semarang, Central Java, showed the insufficient effort of Department of Social, Youth and Sport in promoting the current standard of care (Wijayanti, Rengga & Santoso 2015). The findings show an indefinite schedule for socialising the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs No. 30/HUK/2011 on National Standard of Care for Child Welfare Institutions, and the lack of competent personnel involved in the monitoring system and assistance towards the non-government residential child care (Wijayanti, Rengga & Santoso 2015, pp. 6-7). Impoverished families continued to send their children to institutions. Workers unfamiliar with the paradigm shift still conflate child protection with institutionalisation, unaware of alternative intervention options available, including preventative approaches.

The limited endorsement of family-based care or homelike environment in the trainings for social workers has also hindered its promotion. In-service training is given substantial government support, as social workers are the potential front-liners in advocating child deinstitutionalisation and bridging the gap between policy and practice. Developing workers' capacities requires recognition of their needs and understanding how they perceive the shifting paradigm in the use of residential-based care as a child alternative care. This includes acknowledging their position, interaction patterns and dynamics in the organisational context. Doing so will shed light on the challenges and needs to be addressed by the policy maker.

Thesis Structure

This thesis is divided into six chapters. I commence the thesis with introducing myself as the primary instrument for making sense the participating social workers' perceptions and experiences at the time of the changing policy and practice in residential child care. It is then followed with a brief overview of the situation of Indonesian children, the shifting paradigm in the provision of support to children, and the changing practice of social work in Indonesia's current challenging social and political contexts. This is essential, as a broad view of contemporary Indonesia reveals the interrelated circumstances that affect the changing policy and practice of child residential care provision, as well as workers' experiences within those circumstances.

After introducing this study, Chapter Two reviews the literature discussing contemporary residential child care and social work practice. I begin by exploring studies explaining the contexts of children's placement in institutional care globally. A wide range of literature identifies various reasons for parents and families sending their children to

institutions. In this section I include studies presenting different images of residential child care across societies. While societies commonly regard placing children in institutions as for their well-being, some studies have identified potential negative impacts of institutional care on children's psychosocial development. Furthermore, I address related aspects of social work practice in today's world, discussing studies on the development of social work as a profession and how it deals with social change. The globalised world presents challenges to people's social welfare; I discuss how the literature urges indigenisation of social work practice to cope with globalisation's diverse impacts, along with how social workers manage the shifting practice and their challenges adjusting with the change. Chapter Two ends by describing the rationale and significance of this study.

In the next chapter, I discuss the research methodology and theoretical frameworks to gain a deeper understanding of social workers' perceptions of changing policy and practice in residential-based care provision. The research design section explains the use of the phenomenological approach, the data collection and analysis tools, the participants, and my role as researcher. I specifically apply ecological system theory and critical social work theory to analyse the findings, to understand the intersystem interaction and relationship dynamics through a critical lens. I also set out the ethical concerns serving as a control mechanism.

Chapter Four focuses on the research findings. Using phenomenological approach, I present the interview findings that include participants' demographic details, working experiences, and knowledge of children's rights, and, importantly, social workers' perspectives on the changing paradigm. The chapter also reveals the challenges and opportunities for social workers in managing changing policy and practice.

In Chapter Five I present the discussion; I analyse the findings using the perspective of ecological system theory and critical social work. Putting the social workers in context as developing people, the discussion is delivered in ecomaps, portraying the social workers' ecological system and the intersystem relationship patterns. The maps depict how the social workers' external factors link and influence their internal, contributing in shaping their perceptions of the changing paradigm in residential child care. Those outer layers are classified into microsystem (e.g. family, children under care and their families, workplace, and colleagues), mesosystem (e.g. relations between family and children under care, workplace and the children's families, etc.), exosystem (e.g. local and central government and development organisations), macrosystem (e.g. government policies, societal values, and social work's body of knowledge), and chronosystem (expected and unexpected life

events). The ecomaps are presented in comparison before and after the paradigm changed, showing the dynamic of the intersystem relationship patterns and how those affect the social workers' perceptions.

The final chapter concludes this study. It considers the research question in light of the existing body of knowledge and the findings, while presenting original contributions to knowledge arising from the current work on the changing policy and practice in residential child care and in developing the role of social work practice in challenging social and political contexts.

CHAPTER TWO
Literature Review

This chapter explores the academic literature on policy and practice transformation in residential child care. In most countries, such transitions have taken place in the context of political reform (post-war, post-socialism, post-dictatorship, as part of foreign aid agendas, and so forth). Hence, developments in child welfare systems are contextual. In Indonesia, transformations have taken place alongside ongoing political efforts to achieve a well-functioning decentralised government system. This double burden for social workers is explored first via the existing literature. A review of the literature on residential child care and social workers' professionalism has been an ongoing process throughout the research.

This chapter presents a review of empirical literature and theoretical writings on residential child care institutional practices. It covers diverse practice in countries that have hosted shifting paradigms in provision of care to children. Social workers' professional roles are discussed, particularly professional expectations and responses associated with protecting the rights of the child. It is evident from the literature that the contexts of social work are complicated by shifting social and political systems. Included in this literature review are qualitative and quantitative academic journal articles, conference and workshop papers, higher degree theses, and reports by international non-government organisations. They concern residential child care institutions; the care practices they host; and efforts to align with the UNCRC conventions that include the best interest of the child. They also discuss the social image (discursive constructions) of children's institutions that sustain institutional practice. Literature was located via searches of academic social and political sciences databases (Informit, JSTOR and ProQuest, ScienceDirect) and the Google Scholar search engine, plus citation tracking.

There is limited literature focused on social work in residential child care institutions in the post-Suharto Indonesian political context, nor on shifting practice paradigms in favour of achieving deinstitutionalisation and/or children's rights associated with residential child care. These issues are considered in light of trends in institutional care reported in developed and developing countries. While global historical trends in the changing nature of residential child care is not the focus of this thesis, the chapter develops a brief literature review of child care reform, mostly in Central and Eastern Europe. It provides a foundation for understanding the debate around attempts to redistribute responsibility for the children's care from central government to sub-level and regional administrative units.

In respect to children, the Guidelines of Alternative Care (2010) set by the United Nations define residential care as:

> Care provided in any non-family-based group setting, such as places of safety for emergency care, transit centres in emergency situations, and all other short- and long-term residential care facilities, including group homes (2010, p. 6).

In association with the principle of best interest of the child[3], residential care is intended for children in high risk situations and who need special protection, when appropriate care cannot be provided by family, kin, or by family-like alternative care arrangement. Despite this, residential care is frequently used for different purposes and targeted at different populations of children. This section presents a research-derived understanding of why children live in institutions, and the uses of residential child care across countries. This understanding is essential for examining the context surrounding institutional care of children and the role of social workers amidst Indonesia's continuously changing political paradigm. Trends across Europe are examined first, followed by an observation of literature on residential child care in Asia, and finally in Indonesia specifically.

Explanations for children's institutional care

There are differing reasons why children come into care across different countries; nonetheless, poverty, disaster, disability, and civil conflict are consistently cited as variables most often associated with children's placement into institutions (Alexander, Chan-Halbrendt & Salim 2006; Hatta & Sarkawi 2011; Heltberg 2007; Trani & Cannings 2013; Wanat et al. 2010). Other reasons cited in the literature include family violence or family breakdown, parenting capacity (Francis, Kendrick & Poso 2007; Lazaro 2016; Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007; Sellick 1998; Seneviratne & Mariam 2011). Literature from across Asia highlights that parental adversity has a role in children being abandoned (Hong, I 2018; Legrand 2015; Nasir & Khalid 2015; Raj & Raval 2013; Razali et al. 2016); Indonesian focused literature further explains additional reasons for abandonment. Shame associated with premarital sex, unplanned pregnancy, single motherhood and potential interruptions to mothers' education or work are common reasons (Bennett 2001; Jauhari 2014; Shaluhiyah & Ford 2014; Sundayani & Koswara 2017). Abandonment and placement in institutions is

[3] "States Parties shall ensure that a child shall not be separated from his or her parents against their will, except when competent authorities subject to judicial review determine, in accordance with applicable law and procedures, that such separation is necessary for the best interests of the child. Such determination may be necessary in a particular case such as one involving abuse or neglect of the child by the parents, or one where the parents are living separately and a decision must be made as to the child's place of residence" (UN CRC article 9.1.)

not limited to children of third world or developing nations, and nor is this a recent phenomenon.

Francis, Kendrick and Poso (2007) conducted research comparing reasons for children's institutionalisation in Finland and Scotland. Studying the period of 2002-2003, they noted the main issues leading to children's institutionalisation in Finland was child poverty, economic hardship of families and social exclusion. Their data showed that the number of Finnish children living in institutions significantly increased from 5,379 in 1995 to 9,151 in 2004. In Scotland, on the other hand, there were only 1,916 children living in residential care (Francis, Kendrick & Poso 2007, p. 344) at the time of the study. Despite this, Scotland saw recent dramatic increases in the number of residential child care institutions. In 2004 there were 12,608 children's institutions compared to 3,807 ones in 1989. It should be noted, however, that many of these were for planned, short-term cases, and mostly for intervention for children with disabilities (Francis, Kendrick & Poso 2007, p. 344). This coincided with a change in institutional child care practices that prioritised reunification of children with their own families or into family-based care (e.g. foster care) as opposed to longer term care. There was also a shift towards housing smaller numbers of children in institutions and instead in more home-like environments. Since these studies, other European researchers have persisted with the message that while residential care of children cannot be completely avoided, they should at least be home-like to ensure the best interest of the child in terms of safety, socialisation and healthy development (Ausserhofer et al. 2016; Leloux-Opmeer et al. 2016; Söderqvist, Sjöblom & Bülow 2016).

Some historical trends in mostly European countries, outlined here, reflect current situations in some Asian countries. For example, Sellick (1998) examined the use of residential-based care of children in European countries in the late 20th century. He divided his analysis and discussion into Western, Central and Eastern Europe, and found that most institutionalised children in Western Europe came from single-parent families, living in poverty due to unemployment or for being conflict with the law (e.g. substance abuse). The children were not orphans, but from families experiencing various adversities (Sellick 1998, p. 303). In the context of Central and Eastern European countries, Sellick (1998, p. 305) reported that a large number of children were living in institutions (about 700,000). Children with disabilities were most often abandoned to these institutions; furthermore, the poor quality of care has resulted in many remaining children developing disabilities as well. While poverty was noted as the major problem, according to the authors, pressure from

international humanitarian organisations encouraged Central and Eastern European countries to mobilise deinstitutionalisation agendas.

Several studies have since confirmed research by Sellick (1998) that the main reasons for institutionalisation in European countries were poverty, family adversity and that institutions could provide what parents could not. Factors inhibiting deinstitutionalisation also contributed (Kendrick, Steckley & McPheat 2011; Rodrigues, S & Del Valle 2014; Sindi 2016; Stepanova & Hackett 2014). Although most studies are relatively dated, they describe social phenomena relevant to current Indonesian contexts in which some policy favours and sustains institutionalisation, in conflict with the child welfare paradigm change. In a review study, Kendrick, Steckley and McPheat (2011) compared residential child care across developed and developing countries in Europe, Asia, Africa, Australasia and the Americas. The authors compared the influence of different practices in residential child care and its decline in some countries. This included factors such as political history, diverse economic states, social and cultural situations, and legal frameworks. Kendrick, Steckley and McPheat (2011) identified arguments across the literature suggesting that residential child care was needed for children in specific circumstances, such as war, civil and economic instability, poverty, domestic violence, or natural disaster. Since therapeutic efforts were often adequate, the authors emphasised the urgency of improving the quality of care and services as necessary for the children's rights, wellbeing and development. The study concluded that well-resourced residential-based care would not only address children's short term needs and/or vulnerabilities, but also enrich children's resilience and skills for the future.

Three other studies contribute to debates on the use of institutional care. Focused on European countries, including Portugal (Rodrigues, S & Del Valle 2014), Russia (Stepanova & Hackett 2014), and Estonia (Sindi 2016), these studies show that institutional care was still a popular option. These studies indicate that the attempts by Sellick (1998) and others to promote the changing paradigm in favour of deinstitutionalisation have not been successful. In the three countries studied, family-based alternative care was underdeveloped. Children's placement in institutions has been sustained by limited options for substitute care, and the poor availability of government support in the community for specific cases (e.g. children with a disability). In Russia, Stepanova and Hackett (2014, p. 369) showed how residential care is largely used to provide supports for children due to poverty, abuse, abandonment and neglect. Rodrigues, S and Del Valle (2014, p. 28) conducted research involving 66 out of 114 children living in six residential child care in Portugal and, with difference, most children had experienced neglect. Other reasons for

institutionalisation were physical abuse, economic and family break-up. Research focused on Estonia by Sindi (2016, p. 10) suggested that the majority of children in residential child care institutions had disabilities. These studies indicated that despite the shifting paradigm that promoted family-based care, residential child care in institutions remained a primary option. Here, too, insufficient government support is cited as the reason for slow progress towards achieving deinstitutionalisation. This includes the inadequate promotion of alternative care, family-based care, or adoption that would see children living in home-like situations as opposed to these institutions. They suggest that a lack of training of appropriate practice for caregivers and social workers is a barrier. In this thesis, these concerns will be discussed with respect to Indonesia's unique political context. It is the combination of Indonesia's decentralisation, religious and cultural values, and sustainability of donor-led change that is critical to the originality of this thesis.

Likewise, child placement in institutions in Indonesia is most often due to economic hardship. Martin, F (2006) undertook a rapid assessment of children's whereabouts following the Aceh tsunami in 2004 and found many children living in institutions. While many had lost their parents due to the tsunami, others still had either one or two parents. The researchers came to learn that most children in Aceh were institutionalised long before the tsunami. This mobilised further inquiries into the reasons for large numbers of children in residential child care institutions; later inquiries focused on Aceh and five other provinces in Indonesia (Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007). This subsequent assessment examined 37 child care institutions. Data was collected from service providers, care workers and children through questionnaires, in-depth interviews, focus group discussion, and observation at each institution. The researchers found that, regardless of whether the children's status was orphan or abandoned, there was little difference between contexts of institutional placement (e.g., poverty, access to education). Furthermore, the average time that children spent at children's institutions did not differ. According to the authors, children of poor families comprised a large number irrespective of coming from one or two parent households. Martin, F and Sudrajat (2007) reported that these children were accepted by institutions due to concerns of potential neglect deriving from either parental hardship, or social neglect associated with lack of services and schools in the regions where their families lived.

Martin, F and Sudrajat (2007) that poverty has become a core reason for admitting children to the institutions studied. They explain that education is highly valued in Indonesia and, therefore, parents who cannot access schooling preferred to send their children to residential child care institutions, which sustains the practice of child abandonment to

residential child care. This practice has become reinforced by a common interpretation of Article 34 of Indonesia's Basic Constitution. Article 34 states, 'the poor and abandoned/neglected children are under the care of the State'. Interpretation of this Article locates neglect as both a parental and social state, such as when children are denied access to education, health care and other services necessary for development. In this context, Martin, F and Sudrajat (2007, p. 106) explain that the best interest of the child are interpreted in Indonesian society as the State taking responsibility for children in institutions, not necessarily in the children's families or communities. Martin, F and Sudrajat (2007) argue that emphasis on physical needs, such as daily meals, shelter and a bed for sleeping, and education, was often to the demise of children's psychological and emotional welfare. The notion of poverty as a reason for institutionalisation outweighed notions about quality of care of children that is more holistic in terms of meeting children's broader development and life needs. There have been recent attempts in Indonesia to train social workers and promote deinstitutionalisation, assisting parents with parenting capacity, family reunification and community-based care (O'Leary et al. 2018; Tilbury, O'Leary & Walsh 2015), but it seems from this literature that Indonesian society (inclusive of social workers) have found it difficult to conceptualise a shift away from reliance on residential child care institutions.

Long-standing practices of placing children into residential child care institutions due to poverty is not unique to Indonesia or Asia. Bilson and Cox (2007) studied children's intuitional care across Sri Lanka, Bulgaria, and the Republic of Moldova, and likewise found poverty as a causal factor. The inability to pay for food, clothing, educational, and health needs drove many parents in these countries to give up their children to institutions. In most cases, abandonment was an act of desperation. Despite there being no suitable infrastructure or support for parents to keep their children, they argue that parents' inability to afford their children's needs should not be a reason for institutionalisation. They affirm that families should be supported in their children's care and that services, support and facilities should be made available in the regions where these families live.

The three case studies exposed a rescue mentality that was behind the excessive use of residential child care in the context of poverty. Parents not only perceived that their children needed rescuing, but that the State was the most capable entity to do so. Parents expected the State to develop the resources and capacity for them to keep their children, or for alternative families or the parent's communities to assist with care. The entrenched mindset of citizens, reported Bilson and Cox (2007), was that the State knew best what the children needs, could provide care and stability for children, and that the State was regarded

as making the right decision. Hence the case studies by Bilson and Cox (2007) display the power of discursive constructions informing that the State could parent better than the parents in poverty could. Bilson and Cox (2007) suggested that policy makers and practitioners have generally accepted the status quo. This is consistent with the recent research and theorising by O'Leary et al. (2018); Tilbury, O'Leary and Walsh (2015) in relation to social workers working in residential child care in Indonesia and difficulty conceptualising such a paradigm shift. Further, Bilson and Cox (2007) note in their case studies that the State had made little effort to improve support to children living in families in poverty. They highlight how, as in many other developing countries, institutional care has historically been perceived as an appropriate form of child welfare service and that this frequently remains unchallenged. Poverty, the rescue mentality, bureaucratic indifference, and a lack of imagined alternatives for children have all slowed the shift away from institutional reliance. The presence of many residential child care institutions, and the normalisation of institutionalising children, creates barriers to changing practices.

In another research study from Asia, Seneviratne and Mariam (2011) reported on the use of institutional care in Sri Lanka. The researchers noted that the number of institutions rose from 142 in 1991 to 223 in 2002 (Seneviratne & Mariam 2011, p. 19). While mostly due to poverty, national economic and political stability, civil war contributed another layer to Sri Lanka's child welfare crisis. War intensified economic difficulties and political instability, thereby forcing thousands of Sri Lanka's children to live away from their family. Slow recovery in the aftermath of war has prevented the same children from returning to their families. The study methods of Seneviratne and Mariam (2011) involved five days of observations at 86 children's institutions and, in total, 2,901 children. They learned that only eight percent of children at these institutions were orphans (Seneviratne & Mariam 2011, p. 22). Most of the institutions fed and sheltered the children, but gave inadequate attention towards the children's education, socialisation or psychosocial development. A key concern was the failure of the institutions to maintain relationships with the parents and children's relationships with their parents, families or communities. At the institutions, Seneviratne and Mariam (2011) observed large numbers of children and, small numbers of caregivers, noting bonding with caregivers. The physical environments were not home like. Ariyadasa and colleagues (Ariyadasa 2018; Ariyadasa & McIntyre-Mills 2015; Ariyadasa, McLaren & McIntyre-Mills 2017) in subsequent studies of Sri Lanka's rating system of children's institutions, and comparison with residential child care across the Asia Pacific, also found how the physical needs of children tended to be emphasised over the psychological and

emotional needs of children. Efforts are currently being made to support children's return to their families and, when not possible, to ensure that children's institutions meet appropriate standards of care based on human rights conventions.

Shifting form institutional practice to home-based or community care is time consuming, costly and often difficult. Governments frequently rely on donor supports to achieve deinstitutionalisation. This requires improvements to family and community resources, implementation of prevention mechanisms, and processes informing child reunification. Sellick (1998) identified, in European orphanages, that due to poverty and children's disabilities prior to entering, and arising from neglect while in institutional care, deinstitutionalisation was complex, slow, and frequently impossible. This was because the public mindset maintained that institutionalisation was the easiest solution, especially when poverty was a significant social feature in the countries under study. It was also difficult to encourage families to take back their children, or for family-based carers to foster or adopt children with disabilities as they are perceived to be more difficult to care for.

In Indonesia, many parents in poverty rely on relinquishing their children to institutions to give them an education. Institutions approach communities and recruit children; families freely relinquish their children to institutional life; and the practice is sustained by government funding and private donations to the institutions based on the number of children in their care. This has served to sustain institutions as the normative child care and protection model (Tilbury, O'Leary & Walsh 2015). O'Leary et al. (2018) report on the context of child protection in Indonesia, drawing on research reported on the partnership efforts between UNICEF, MoSA and Australian academics from Griffith University, to mobile the paradigm shift in child protection (Tilbury, O'Leary & Walsh 2015). Aware that social work is central to child protection, Tilbury, O'Leary and Walsh (2015, p. 11, cited in O'Leary et al. 2018) report on the training of social workers in residential child care, that aims to educate them on the paradigm shift involving the 'need to move towards community-based care' and with recommendations for a stronger emphasis on deinstitutionalisation and reunification. It seemed, according to report from the research (O'Leary et al. 2018), that the social workers found it difficult to conceptualise a child care and protection approach that was different to how the system currently is. While the current thesis findings are consistent with observations of Tilbury, O'Leary and Walsh (2015) and O'Leary et al. (2018), this thesis offers an original contribution through its analysis of the perceptions of social workers subsequent to training and following their attempts to apply learnings on the paradigm shift into their residential child care practice.

Institution-based care varies from one country to another. The United Nations advocate the provision of support for children at risk of abuse, neglect and abandonment. Risks arises from the personal to political; for example, individual or family poverty and war to national instability and economic crisis. The diverse use of residential care due to the different economic, social, political and cultural circumstances has made comparing the institutional care practice across the globe challenging. Additionally, societal values differ and there are discrete interpretations of a range of international statements on the appropriateness of institutionalising children in residential child care. Interpretation of documents such as Convention on the Rights of the Child (United Nations 1989), Stockholm Declaration on Children and Residential Care (2003) and the Malmo Declaration made by delegates of the 1986 International Federation of Educative Communities (FICE) influence the social image of residential child care as discussed in the next section. In the next part of this chapter, literature informs how social images of residential child care can be pitched in positive light and therefore be discursively constructed and sustained, or alternatively rejected, by a given society.

The social portrayal of residential child care

Empirical research evidence supports that family-based care (in one's own family or another family) should be prioritised over residential child care. This is based on long standing knowledge that children fare far better when living with their families, even where 'good enough' care may not exist (Bryson 2015; Choate & Engstrom 2014), in environments characterised by adult adversity (Beazley 2015; Mayberry et al. 2015; Scott 2009) and across cultural contexts (Duca 2014; Hodgkinson, Pouw & Lubis 2017; IOD PARC Unicef 2015; Ismayilova, Ssewamala & Huseynli 2014; Lu et al. 2004). Despite the evidence, contemporary studies show how social images serve to construct residential child care as beneficial. These images are sustained in society and they discursively influence perceptions that children's residential care may actually be in the best interest of the child. Positive social images of institutional care are emphasised by contrasting adverse images of poverty, hunger, life hardships, or other harm to children. Social images of the 'goodness' of residential child care are reinforced by professional responses that guarantee meeting the needs of vulnerable children (whether the institutions actually can or not) (Groza & Bunkers 2017; Lopes et al. 2017; Rodrigues, S, Barbosa-Ducharne & del Valle 2013; Wendt et al. 2017). Residential child care is reinforced as a suitable option by professionals in the field promoting the benefits of institutional resources to young people living away from their families (Anderson et al. 2018; Dickens 2017; Sunell, McFarlane & Biggar 2017). This

section provides an overview of literature analysing the social image of residential child care institutions.

Calheiros et al. (2015, p. 161) conducted a study in Portugal involving 176 people having no direct connection to residential child care, intending to examine the social image of alternative care. They found that that participants characterised child care institutions as supportive, comfortable, secure, disciplined, affectionate and with other positive attributes. The participants provided general descriptions of what they perceived as ideal residential-based care provision[4]. The researchers found that participants' positive images of institutions were biased were affected by their views of their perceived worth or deservedness of the child resident population. Further study by Calheiros and colleagues (Rodrigues, L, Calheiros & Pereira 2015) involving an online study to measure 195 professionals' assessment of risk, likewise found that preconceived notions about children's and families' risk influenced perceptions that reinforced positive images of residential child care. With both lay and professional persons, institutions were constructed as a solution, helping problematic children who had come from risky family contexts. When positioned as a solution, adverse practices are sometimes difficult to change.

Raj and Raval (2013), Khoo, Mancinas and Skoog (2015), and Thoburn (2016) carried out research into the institutional experiences of children and young adults in Malaysia, Mexico and the United Kingdom. Taking one institution as a sample, Raj and Raval (2013, p. 200) observed that the children appeared to be happy and 'at home'. Several aspects of care were found to contribute to a positive social image of children in these institutions. The institution met the children's basic needs, provided schooling and structure (routine and rules), and employed carers who were understanding of the children's needs. Similarly, Khoo, Mancinas and Skoog (2015) learned from their study that the children were perceived as being grateful to live their life with structure, supports and having a shelter in which to live. Consistent with studies cited earlier (Rodrigues, L, Calheiros & Pereira 2015), living in an institution provided a social image in contrast to living in environments that were not supportive or perceived as harmful. For some children with specific circumstances, Thoburn (2016) argued, residential child care came with an image of offering the stability that children

[4] Children and youth residential care constitutes one of the services aiming to protect and safeguard the fundamental rights of children and youth who, in their natural living environments, are exposed to conditions prejudicial to their development. This institutional care service involves the placement of children and youth in the care of an entity with facilities and equipment required for permanent care, and a technical team guaranteeing care in accordance with their needs, in order to provide the conditions enabling their education, wellbeing and comprehensive development [legal definition of residential care, Diário da Republica (Portuguese Official Gazette), Law 147/99, 1st September].

needed. The home-like environment and regularity of caregivers were perceived to enable relationships of trust to form and these experiences were reported as valuable to counter the effects of trauma.

In the study by Whetten et al. (2009), the researchers compared orphan and abandoned children living in institutions and family-based care. The background of this study was the global effort towards shifting the paradigm from residential-based to family-based care; reunification or otherwise. The shift was informed by evidence, cited earlier, that institutional care was more likely to result in negative outcome for children when compared to family-based or homelike care. Whetten et al. (2009) conducted their study in Cambodia, India, Kenya, Tanzania, and Ethiopia. The first research sample consisted of 1,357 children aged 6-12 years of age who were living across 83 children's institutions. The comparison sample was 1,480 children of similar age living in family care. The children were tested using analytical survey techniques to enable assessment of cognitive functioning, emotion, behaviour, physical health, and growth. Using linear mixed-effects modelling, Whetten et al. (2009) estimated variables attributable to the study sites and concluded that the development of children living institutions was not worse that those living in their community. Their research outcomes challenged the global movements at that time that were campaigning in favour of family-based or home like care, and which were advocating that institutional care should be the last option due to potential negative impacts on children. Whetten et al. (2009) concluded that multiple variables determined the quality of care in any setting, and that residential care settings could potentially provide environments for children's development that was just as good as quality family-based care. Variable characteristics of institutions and of the caregivers was used in analysis to support the authors' conclusions. Findings such as this may serve to buttress the social image that generalises residential care of children as optimal.

Other authors build upon the findings of Whetten et al. (2009) and strengthen the social images that institution-based care is beneficial for children. For example, Carpenter (2015) examined one orphanage in Cambodia in response to the challenge proposed by Whetten et al. (2009). Carpenter (2015) observes that that the children's well-being was adequately supported and noted several factors contributing to the positive outcomes at this orphanage. Children were housed in small groups, with the houses located in and surrounded by community. The orphanage adopted a family-like environment in which the children had their own physical spaces, and were taught social skills through shared work, and other life skills. Reciprocal relationship between the orphanage and the surrounding community was

beneficial to both. The institution enabled the children to develop socialisation skills as members of a community. Likewise, the institution welcomed community members and encouraged them to access the resources at the orphanage. While these findings are limited to one orphanage, the study offers the unique variable of community reciprocity as enhancing positive experiences for institutionalised children, while also building a positive social image for the institution.

Alemu, Anna-Maija and Raija-Leena (2017) also draw upon the study by Whetten et al. (2009) to examine similarities and differences between the outcomes of children living in child-headed households, orphanages, living in the street and foster homes in Rwanda. Authors considered the quality of care and demographic factors in assessing orphans' psychosocial well-being. The study sample of 430 children found that children living in orphanages had higher levels of emotional well-being and lower levels of distress and risk-taking behaviour, compared to the other cohorts. Children of child-headed households exhibited advanced decision-making abilities. Alemu, Anna-Maija and Raija-Leena (2017) observe that children in orphanages had better living standards than child-headed households and street children, concluding that the nature of children's environments are directly related to the children's physical, psychological and emotional states. When the children's basic needs were met, and children felt safe, their psychosocial well-being improved.

In contrast to others, Van Ijzendoorn, M, Bakermans-Kranenburg and Scott (2015) criticised Whetten et al. (2009) on the research known as the Positive Outcomes for Orphans (POFO) study. Van Ijzendoorn, M, Bakermans-Kranenburg and Scott (2015) argue that life in institutional care was not necessarily better than family-based care. With the POFO study focusing predominantly on single-mom families, Van Ijzendoorn, M, Bakermans-Kranenburg and Scott (2015) argued that findings by Whetten et al. (2009) offered an inadequate portrayal of foster care and incomplete picture of home-based care. Van Ijzendoorn, M, Bakermans-Kranenburg and Scott (2015) drew from literature finding that children living in residential child care were likely to be experiencing challenges in their physical growth, psychosocial and cognitive development and attachment security issues. They argued that there was a significant chance of experiencing violence, abuse and neglect as it was known to frequently occur in institution-based care. Van Ijzendoorn, M, Bakermans-Kranenburg and Scott (2015) compared children in residential child care with foster care arrangements. They suggested that permanency and stability, which foster care offered, were more conducive to the children's development and that this was supported in evidence.

Nevertheless, there remains variation in the social image of residential care that would also be influenced by cultural variables.

McCall and Groark (2015) offers a perspective on the construction of social images. They explain how society's perceptions of worth and images of residential child care are culturally influenced and discursively formed. They argued that imposing a child care model on a given community, if it was incompatible with the dominant social image, would be futile irrespective of an evidence base informing of the benefits of either institutional or family-based care. Whatever the model, McCall and Groark (2015) asserted the importance of political supports, professional social work/care worker infrastructure, and a range of integrated services to deliver special facilities to children with special needs. The range of support provision, relevant to a given community's perceived and/or articulated needs, is substantial to the successful development of an integrated alternative care system that emphasises the best interest of the child and which is culturally relevant.

Other studies that positively represent the social images of residential child care in a positive way include Wanat et al. (2010) and Nourian et al. (2016). These studies were undertaken in Indonesia and in Iran, respectively, and both resulted in similar outcomes. They found that institutional care contributed to the development of self-resilience among the young people who resided in these facilities. Wanat et al. (2010) observe that, despite the lack of psychosocial support, children and young people in residential child care aspired to achieve a better future. Having come from adversity, they were instilled with hope and faith that life could be better. In particular, Wanat et al. (2010) found that religious belief was a primary strength that enabled the children to cope with their circumstances. Likewise, Nourian et al. (2016) write that subjects' faith in God was a mechanism that enabled them to confront their challenging environments. Faith in God and, as in Wanat et al. (2010), hope for a better life was undeniable. However, Nourian et al. (2016) explain that taking self-responsibility for achieving a better life was founded upon Iranian cultural beliefs. An excerpt from an Iranian poem, they said, served to motivate the children to accept their adversity and to take responsibility for achieving in their futures:

> Treasure will not be gained without suffering/ morning will not emerge until the night is through (Nourian et al. 2016, p. 7).

Serving as a dominant discourse, cultural idioms, proverbs, parables and poetry also reinforce cultural beliefs and influence the social image by outside the institutions (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Işık 2015; Penfield & Duru 1988; Sumner, Claude 1999). They reinforce or

embellish certain messages and thereby influence social images as they relate to matters including determining the value of life for children in different care contexts. This is evident in the study by Nourian et al. (2016) where the belief that working hard and being tough is reinforced in poetry as being good for children. The social image of a hard life, even in residential child care, is thought by the Islamic groups studied to provide pathways for disadvantaged children to achieve success.

Both Wanat et al. (2010) and Nourian et al. (2016) argue that life hardship has a particular role in shaping children's resilience. Other authors cited in this subsection argue that the social image of residential child care has been influenced by a range of variables that include religious or cultural beliefs, perceptions about the value of institutions when contrasting against children's former environments (abusive or neglectful households, child-headed households, street living, etc.) and building resiliency and/or self-reliance amongst the children. What the literature agrees upon is that positive images of residential child care, and what is perceived to be in the best interests of children, is not necessarily consistent with empirical evidence on the biological, psychological, social and spiritual needs of the developing child.

Empirical perspectives on residential child care

In contrast to the literature reporting on discourses influencing positive social images of residential child care, there are alternative knowledges. Extensive research describes the adverse aspects of institutional care about the quality of care and the value of different care contexts to children and young people's current and future lives. Negative images of institutional care, however, derives predominantly from the research community.

Key concerns of residential child care are consistently raised in relation to children's physical growth, cognitive and psychological development (Ahmad, A. & Mohamad 1996; Bakermans-Kranenburg et al. 2011; Browne 2009; Juffer, van IJzendoorn & Bakermans-Kranenburg 2017; Kang'ethe & Makuyana 2014; Maclean 2003; Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007; Miller et al. 2005; Van Ijzendoorn, M, Luijk, MP & Juffer, F 2008), and often based on deprivation studies related to institutionalised children in Romanian, Russian and other Central and Eastern European countries (Chisholm 1998; Kaler & Freeman 1994; Morison, Ames & Chisholm 1995; Morison & Ellwood 2000). Furthermore, there are numerous follow-up studies and visual media on the improvements to children's development after transitioning away from institutions where they experienced deprivation (e.g. Romanian or Kurdistan orphans) (Ahmad, Abdulbaghi et al. 2005; Chisholm 1998; Chugani et al. 2001;

Groze & Ileana 1996; Kumsta et al. 2015; O'Connor et al. 2000; Zeanah et al. 2017). Children's improvement after moving to family-based care reinforces the negative social images and evidence about poor outcomes for children in residential child care.

Extensive authorship cites on children's development of attachment being one of the biggest challenges for children living in residential care settings (Ainsworth & Bowlby 1991; Hermenau et al. 2014; Hermenau et al. 2015; Masciantonio, Hemer & Chur-Hansen 2018; Mesman, van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz 2016; Mota & Matos 2015; O'Connor et al. 1999; Sigal et al. 2003; Stovall & Dozier 1998; Zeanah & Smyke 2015). While cultural variations exist in relation to caregiving and child attachment (Mesman, van IJzendoorn & Sagi-Schwartz 2016), it is well recognised that filial relationships, social networks and a sense of identity is important for children (Criss et al. 2002; Grotevant & Cooper 1985; Sen & Broadhurst 2011), including for children in residential child care or alternative care settings (Atwool 2013; Parkinson 2003). Authors such as Browne (2009) and Kang'ethe and Makuyana (2014), in their studies of children in residential care settings observed that children who are deprived from their families and communities, and who are prevented from either retaining or developing social networks, are more likely to have signs of developmental delay. Others have identified that adverse consequences for institutionalised children are increased because of the earlier their age on entry to care (Bakermans-Kranenburg, Van IJzendoorn & Juffer 2008; Hermenau et al. 2014; McCall 2013; Sheridan et al. 2012; Wolkind 1974).

Historical studies have engaged in comparing the cognitive and emotional development of children living in institutional care and foster care. For example, two studies by Roy and colleagues (Roy & Rutter 2006; Roy, Rutter & Pickles 2000) indicated that children having institutional care experiences from an early age faced more challenges. The first study (Roy, Rutter & Pickles 2000, pp. 140-1) involved the examination of social casework files, psychometric testing, behavioural questionnaires, home and school interviews, and direct classroom observations of 19 children living in residential care and 19 children under foster care. The researchers found that children living in residential child care displayed a higher level of hyperactivity and attention deficit. These findings confirm the previous studies they cited; including studies they reviewed advising that children placed in care (institutions and foster care) generally were facing emotional disturbance. In addition, Roy, Rutter and Pickles (2000) looked into whether family background or different parenting patterns or styles may have also caused potential risks to children's development. They found that that different substitute care types affected children's emotional development in

different ways. Family-like substitute care was more likely to support the children's emotional development as it offered more stability and a better chance of environments conducive to children's development. Residential care, however, comprised many children, less chance of permanent or stable caregivers, and poorer development outcomes for the children.

In the subsequent study by Roy and Rutter (2006), secondary analysis of data elucidated how a stable environment and individual caregiving contributed positively to children's early reading performance. The researchers identified associations between children care contexts and delay in reading performance, finding that children living in residential child care had a higher risk of reading delay than children in foster care. The result indicated that family-based substitute care may be more conducive for children concerning their schooling performance. Caregiver consistency and a better carer-to-child ratio was more likely in foster care. Foster carers' time and willingness to assist the children with their school work was linked to improved educational performance and outcomes. The authors conclude, therefore, that ongoing educational achievements are dependent on the stability of children's placements and consistency in relationships with caregivers. Many control trials and other quasi-experimental studies have compared the poor development, wellbeing, and educational outcomes of institutionalised children to children living with their own families and/or foster families (Bick et al. 2015; McCall & Groark 2015; Nelson & Sheridan 2011; Smyke et al. 2012; Suzuki & Tomoda 2015; Van Ijzendoorn, MH, Juffer & Poelhuis 2005; Van Ijzendoorn, MH, Luijk, MP & Juffer, F 2008; Walker, EF et al. 1981; Zeanah et al. 2009). Time and time again, research from diverse cultures across the world confirms that children in institutions do not fare very well when compared to children living in home-like environments.

Researchers have also focused on physical safety of children living in residential child care on their development. A review study by Sherr, Roberts and Gandhi (2017), which included Roy and Rutter (2006) in its literature sample of 78 research studies, focused on abuse and violence in residential child care. Three key areas of interest included the prevalence of abuse, peer violence, and cognitive and social development. They argue that cognitive delay resulting from children's experiences in institutional care should be considered abusive under the broad umbrella of neglect, and alongside other forms of maltreatment and abuse. Sherr, Roberts and Gandhi (2017) argue that institution-based care had both direct and indirect effects on the children's well-being and this required considerable interventions. They agree with the body of empirical knowledge that life for

children in residential child care was detrimental to children, but in instances where it could not be avoided additional supports were necessary to counter adversity.

The review study by Quiroga and Hamilton-Giachritsis (2016) focuses specifically on the attachment styles of children living in alternative care (institutions and foster care) compared to children who were living with their biological parents. They reported from a sample set of thirteen studies that consistently found children living in institutional care to exhibit lower rates of secure and organised attachment compared to children living with biological parents. The review findings indicated that poor attachment resulting from institution-based care was not comparable with parental violence. Causal factors, they suggest, may be the unequal ratio between the number of caregivers and the children under care in institutions, the shift system and staff changes (Quiroga & Hamilton-Giachritsis 2016, p. 636). Children in foster care more often displayed secure attachment compared to children in institutions. The authors suggest that the developed of attachment with foster parents, particularly when stability of caregivers and quality contact time existed, resulted in better outcomes for the children (Quiroga & Hamilton-Giachritsis 2016, p. 643). This is consistent with research findings of Shechory and Sommerfeld (2007) and others (Bederian-Gardner et al. 2018; Beek & Pavao 2016; Humphreys et al. 2015; Summersett-Ringgold et al. 2017; Vinnerljung, Sallnäs & Berlin 2017) who identified positive correlations between the length of time in a foster placement (stability) and the levels of children's secure attachment. Other variables in these studies included the number of previous placements, gender, quality of caregiving, number of children, and the caregivers' characteristics, sensitivity, motivation, and children's past trauma experiences.

In Israel, research undertaken by Shechory and Sommerfeld (2007) consider the emotional development of children living in residential child care. At the time of the study, residential-based care in Israel was the sole option for children under 18 years of age who were at risk and in need of support, schooling, care and protection, Shechory and Sommerfeld (2007, p. 362) investigated whether high risk situations faced by children prior admission to the institutions were reasons for their anxiety and insecure attachment, or alternatively whether institutional life subsequent to admission was associated with these conditions. The research involved administering the Child Behaviour Checklist, Attachment Style Classification Questionnaire and a Demographic Details Questionnaire to a sample of 68 children aged 6 – 14 years old. Differences were identified across two age ranges; children less than eight years of age and children eight years or above. The following

comparisons were observed in attachment style, according to the age of children on admission to institutional care and their stay duration:

1. Attachment and anxiety

   Children less than eight years of age, who had secure attachment with their significant others, displayed lower level of anxiety when compared to older children. Children less than eight years of age, who had insecure attachment prior to institutional admission, displayed higher levels of anxiety than the older children.

2. The age entering institutional care

   Children less than eight years of age displayed lower aggression than the older cohort of children; and children less than eight years adjusted to their new environment more easily when compared to children commencing institutional care at an older age.

3. The length of stay

   Children who had lived for more than two years in the institution, irrespective of age, had greater risk of developing anxiety or insecure behaviour.

More than half of the children participating in of this study were diagnosed with attention deficit disorders. The authors suggested that this may have affected the validity of results in respect to anxiety. The single study design limits the generalisability of results to other locations and contexts; nonetheless, it offers insights regarding length of time in institutional care and associations with children's anxiety, irrespective of their age on coming into care.

Other authors suggest that adverse outcomes for children in care may differ according to gender. For example, Sushma, Padmaja and Agarwal (2014) investigated the levels of psychosocial problems experienced by children living in institutional care in India. The sample consisted of 40 children (22 boys and 18 girls aged 12 – 15 years of age). Results of the Strengths and Difficulties Questionnaire (SDQ) and Adolescent Well Being Scale showed that girls in institutional care had higher rates of behavioural and emotional difficulties compared to boys. Links between emotional issues and children's institutionalisation were consistent with earlier findings by Shechory and Sommerfeld (2007). Sushma, Padmaja and Agarwal (2014) suggest that bio-psycho-social interventions involving multidisciplinary approaches and a teamwork of psychologist, social workers and the caregivers could potentially counter the adverse effects of life in residential care. The authors advocate clinical and social interventions as critical to counteracting the adversity faced by children living in residential child care.

Research exploring post-institutional lives of children and ongoing adversity highlights a need for ongoing care well beyond children's reunification with birth families or placement with foster carers. In an exploration of young people's lived experiences of care in Russia, Prisiazhnaia (2008) surveyed youth on their retrospective perceptions of living in Moscow's Correctional Boarding School No. 80. This facility was specifically for orphans suffering from supposed delayed mental development. Two cohorts were included in the sample: those orphaned by their parents' death, and those orphaned due to abandonment, neglect, or parental incapacity to care for their children due to illness, or other reasons determined by courts. Prisiazhnaia (2008, p. 29) examined youth's experiences of living in environments that limited their interactions with the outside world. Subjects advised that the lack of information about society limited their ability to adapt to new environments upon leaving the institution. Participants further explained how these deprived experiences ensured a dependence on the institution's facilities, leading them to fear living independently afterwards. The life difficulties experienced after leaving residential child care were attributed to a lack of opportunities to develop practical life skills. The youth were reported as having difficulty with independent time management due to habits of living in routine ways. Prisiazhnaia (2008) suggests that systemic measures were required to strengthen the care system for children that included the development of family-based alternative care which is was more representative of life generally. The potential role for social workers and administrators, in this context, is the development policy and training of social workers to deliver early intervention and community-based supports so that parents and kin are supported to care for their children as opposed to relinquishing children to institutions.

A similar study investigating the life difficulties of children after leaving care was conducted in Bangladesh by Islam (2012). This study specifically examined children and young people who were expelled from the institution. There were several reasons cited behind the early eviction, mostly about the children's misbehaving. Similar to the previous study in Russia (Prisiazhnaia 2008), the youth advised in their retrospective accounts of leaving institutional life that they had difficulties adjusting to the less restrictive environment and to less provision of supports. Islam (2012) suggests that the judgements of "trouble makers" underlying early expulsion should have been reviewed with consideration of empirical evidence of the life hardship experienced by children and young people who leave care. Given the perception that institution-based care is meant to support disadvantaged children to be better-off, one would expect that interventions, as opposed to expulsion, is appropriate. Forcing children out of the institutions early, suggested the authors, is most

likely due to skill deficits of institutional staff. As well it is for a predictor for future social problems amongst the youth.

Concerns for children's development, attachment and life chances is shared by researchers, social workers and other human service workers in Indonesia. Riyadi, Rusmil and Effendi (2014) conducted comparative research in Indonesia on the development of children living in orphanages. As a quasi-experimental method, children in orphanages were compared with a control group of children who attended day care centres (living with their parents). Taking a sample of 102 children aged 3-6 years old, this study proposed that different ratios between caregivers and the children influenced the length and quantity of interactions between them, and it was the length and quantity of interactions that were found to have an association with the children's development. Riyadi, Rusmil and Effendi (2014) note that adult contact played a key role in stimulating children's development. No developmental problems were found in the children in day care who lived with their parents (control group). Despite going to day care, the control group had regular contact and steady relationship with their parents that the authors argued contributed to the children's ability to accomplish the developmental tasks. The children living in residential care, on the other hand, were observed to have speech and language delay, and destructive and agitated behaviours. They argue that the manner in which children's significant others gave particular stimuli affected cognitive development. Riyadi, Rusmil and Effendi (2014) found that the institution's caregivers' education level and their workload were variables that affected the way of they managed their roles, supported the children's speech and language skills development, and time available to interact with the children. The lack of attention from the caregivers in residential child care had apparently influenced children's development, contributing to unsettled behaviour that manifested as disobedient and destructive.

It has been acknowledgment in Indonesia that residential child care is not optimal for children's development. As stated earlier, there have been attempts by Australian academics to work with government on a pilot study aimed at assisting parents to develop parenting capacity, building processes in favour of family reunification and developing infrastructure for community-based care (O'Leary et al. 2018; Tilbury, O'Leary & Walsh 2015). This has involved the training of social workers on the paradigm change in child welfare, from residential child care to more favourable arrangements for children. I reiterate here that O'Leary et al. (2018) reported on the training of social workers, working in residential child care, on the paradigm change as part of their pilot project. The authors reported that social workers found it difficult to conceptualise a shift away from reliance on

residential child care institutions. The research informing this thesis reports similar findings. However, this thesis offers an original contribution through building upon the insights of O'Leary et al. (2018) and Tilbury, O'Leary and Walsh (2015) through studying the experiences of social workers in residential care who have done the paradigm change training and who have attempted to apply their learnings to practice in the context of a complex social, political and economic system that is not necessarily conducive to this change.

Social workers in residential child care institutions are often viewed as having a significant role in the child welfare system, especially in the provision of care to children with specific vulnerabilities. The studies overviewed here evidence the negative outcomes for children's development associated with institutional care. This includes cognitive, social, emotional development, and attachment issues as well as difficulties adjusting to new circumstances after leaving care. The findings of these studies, and more, have led to recommendation over time for a paradigm shift in child welfare system across the world. Such a paradigm shift emphasises residential-based care as the last resort, and only when all other attempts to strengthen capacity of carers (parents, family carers or foster carers) and family-based care arrangements to adequately support children have failed. The current practices of social workers in residential care in Indonesia is contextual, however it is beneficial to understand it in the light of the evolution of social work generally and then in consideration of discussions about the need for indigenisation of social work broadly in Asia and more specifically in Indonesia.

Social work and residential child care

Since its emergence in the late 19th century, social work has developed as societies have evolved. Originating as a charity, social worker focused on working with populations characterised as having social disorders (poverty, vice and intemperance) (Crocker 1992). Known as settlement workers, social workers lived (settled) among the poor and the less fortunate, and they shared day-to-day existences with the less fortunate while helping to care for and cure these people of their ills, as well as show them a better way to live. The rise of shelters, known as charitably asylums or poor houses, for those deemed to have 'pauperism', prostitutes, single mothers deemed as 'fallen women', or the children of 'paupers', and so forth sought. They were intended to rescue, redeem and deliver them from sin (Fineman 1991; Fraser 1973; Kunzel 1995; Morton 1988, 1993; Murphy 2006). These charitable institutions found their way to countries across Asia through process involving

imperial philanthropy during colonial times. For example, ‘poor houses’ were introduced by British administrators to India (Caplan 1998); and, the Dutch in company with English merchants and settlers set up poor houses, orphanages and poverty programs in Ceylon (now Sri Lanka), India, Malaya and Indonesia (Davis 2011; Day 2000; Gee & Penny 2016). While under Dutch colonisation, the Dutch women’s movement increased their involvement in Indonesia by helping mothers raise their children, and helping children without parents in setting up orphanages (Ang 2009; Blusse 1985; Schutte 1998; Waaldijk 2011). Orphanages were thereby introduced to Indonesia, mostly in Batavia (now Jakarta) as a new form of social work and ways of helping.

Many Asian countries have developed charitable children’s institutions and orphanages that are a legacy of Elizabethan Poor Laws (Davis 2011; Kannan 2004), which have remained in place since colonial intrusions. For Indonesia, there was a substantial growth in orphanages in the period from colonial Independence to the fall of the Suharto authoritarian regime in 1988 (Alfian 1989; Babington 2015; Boomgaard 2010; Booth 2000; Elson 2001). This is thought to be associated with significant increases in poverty and disadvantage across the country. Since Indonesia’s independence, there have been substantial increases in Muhammadiyah orphanages (residential child care) operated by Islamic charities and private Muslim philanthropists (Bush 2015; Federspiel 1970; Fuad 2004; Latief 2012, 2015). Since the end of Suharto’s rule, government and international non-government organisations operated orphanages, residential child care and boarding houses for children have continued to be accepted by Indonesians as good for children and for their salvation. Alleviating children of their poor economic conditions is considered charitable work and as a result there are thousands of orphanages in Indonesia (Latief 2015). Residential child care in Indonesia appears to be wedged in Indonesia’s own ‘modernity’ (Barker et al. 2009), informed by a mindset that caring for poor children, educating them and ‘fixing’ their economic conditions is social work.

Skerrett (2000) highlights that social work reflects what is happening in the society. It represents the interactions between values, laws, methods, and implementation, which evolve over time along with the dynamic societal circumstances. Skerrett (2000) identifies individual case work, radical social work, and care management as the social work transformation since its presence as helping profession. The changing paradigm also reflects the involved skills. The beginning of social work involved the skills of “enabling, negotiating, mobilising resources, networking and advocacy” (Skerrett 2000, p. 66). As social problems developed to be more macro, the social work paradigm no longer

constituted individual work directly between the social worker and their client. There was awareness of changing the system to accommodate individuals' social functions. Inevitably, this paradigm shift has affected social workers' roles, from case workers directly involved with clients, to case managers coordinating services across systems. The emergence of distinct roles have created gap that, according to Skerrett (2000), might put social work in a state of crisis. Restoring the social work's tripartite (i.e. body of knowledge, values, and skills) needs to be done accordingly, in addition to prioritising the clients' welfare over the State's or own interests as a social worker.

Similarly, Khinduka (2001) discusses the challenges of social work in the 21st century. The societal dynamics urged the development of social work's body of knowledge and skills. The author emphasises that as a profession, social work is a combination of competence, commitment, and compassion. As a helping and caregiving profession, social work should embody professional competencies, which Khinduka (2001) cites as: conceptual; technical; integrative; contextual; adaptive; interpersonal communication. Social workers must have expertise in both social work theory and skills and be able to fit the theories to practice. They should understand various angles when viewing social dynamics, have the ability to adjust to diverse environments and changes, and be able to express their ideas effectively (Khinduka 2001, p. 9). The author suggests that evolving societies required not only caregiving and remedies, but also social change to achieve social justice.

A more current study by Kam (2014), also highlights the urgency of deepening the understanding towards the essence of social work in facing societal challenges in the 21st century. Similar to Khinduka (2001), Kam (2014) acknowledges that social work is about caregiving and social justice, putting an emphasis on the word 'social', meaning that social work not only focuses on individual matters (i.e. casework), but also wider contexts. The author suggests six dimensions of 'social' social work to reflect to achieve the social justice as ultimate goal (Kam 2014, pp. 731-2):

1. Social concern and consciousness

   This dimension describes the distinction between social workers and other professionals, e.g. psychologists or counsellors. A social worker is required to not only focus on the individuals' or groups' better-off, but also consider the societal well-being in a broader context.

2. Socially disadvantaged groups as priority

As a developing helping profession, social work should prioritise providing support for people in need (e.g. discriminated, oppressed).

3. Social context

   Social workers should be able to see individual problems in a broader context, with the clients as the centre.

4. Social construction

   In addition to viewing and place the individuals' problems in social contexts, social workers are required to identify the social causes possibilities. This is important in order the social workers to determine the root causes and plan the intervention accordingly.

5. Social change

   The core of social work profession comprises helping individuals to be better-off and engaging in social transformation. Therefore, the social workers' roles range from helping individuals to live better to influencing social systems to be better to live in.

6. Social equality

   In acknowledging the goal of social justice, social workers should have strong commitment to promote equality for all, in terms of rights, resources and opportunities, regardless the individuals' background.

Concerning the use of person in environment, Weiss-Gal (2008) conducted research investigating the social workers' perception on using person-in-environment approach. This study, taken in Israel, involved 400 social workers, who mostly worked in municipal or government welfare services, and used questionnaire to collect data. The findings show that despite acknowledging the person-in-environment as a part of social work ideology, it was not quite visible in the participants' practices. The discussed approach, according to Weiss-Gal (2008), reflects how social workers ideally put individual problems in a broader context to seek out comprehensive solutions and initiate social change. However, the participants indicated that they mostly worked with individuals and groups, while putting less focus social policy development. This was visible from the social work goals they listed: enhancing individuals' inner resources, protecting people at risk, exerting social control, promoting social justice. Weiss-Gal (2008, pp. 72-3) notes several possible factors influencing. Firstly, it was possible that the person-in-environment was understood as a concept only with less

practice. Second, the social work education did not offer integrated curriculum, which balanced theories and practice, including engaging in social policy development. Third, most of the participants were government employees. It was quite unlikely that government social workers would challenge the government policies. Fourth, there was no legal matter in Israel regulating the social workers' involvement in social policy development.

Abramovitz (1998) points out that the heart of social work profession laid on helping people meet their social functioning and taking a part in social change. These ideals rooted in the social work professional organisation base, the professional literature, and the social work history and development (Abramovitz 1998, p. 513). Since social workers often must balance their role of helping individuals with advocating social transformation, they are often faced with the decision to compromise or defy the current situations. According to the author, social workers bridge individual needs and broader systems, requiring them to find ways to bridge the two. Limiting the gap between people's needs and global economic demands is given as an example. The growing market, on one hand, implies a growing economy; on the other hand, the nature of free market growth exploits low-paid workers living in countries with transition economies. Initially a charity movement, social work has shifted into professional enterprise. This change has challenged social work to connect philanthropy and standardised systems, and to link volunteerism and professionalism in helping individuals meet their needs in the global world. Abramovitz (1998, p. 521) also identifies a challenge to social workers in political and economic systems that, in some cases, have social welfare development as a low priority. The author suggests that social work should no longer be a helping profession only, and instead transform into developing one. Struggling in the political arena is highly substantial, particularly to promote professionalism as well as accommodate individual philanthropy and volunteerism to avoid being trapped in two fundamental aspects of social work profession.

Brill (2001) acknowledges that social work profession was initiated by the spirit of philanthropy, helping individuals in need to reach social functioning. Similar to Abramovitz (1998), Brill (2001) recognises that in the contemporary world, there was a growing gap between the ideal and practical social work. As Skerrett (2000) described that social work comprised interactions between laws, values, methods, and practice, Brill (2001) implied that those interactions often collided and created dilemma. The societal changes have inevitably affected the way social work is operating, in which the ideal social work was challenged by various social circumstances that led social workers to a conflict between professional ethics and real-world practice. The nature of social work as social and political

entity; hence the social work commitment to help people as well as engage in social changes should not create dilemma accordingly. Brill (2001) emphasises the importance of social workers to understand that political arena should no longer be fear of. Being politically active enhances the chance to build network, which is essential to strengthen the social work role in advocating social justice.

While the work of Abramovitz (1998) is 20 years old, several studies confirm that social workers need to balance the understanding of micro and macro practices in dealing with the contemporary issues. Rothman and Mizrahi (2014) remind us that social work historically rooted in dual micro and macro missions. Rothman and Mizrahi (2014) emphasised that the two practices should not be a dichotomy, instead the two interconnected in a complementary relationship. Abramovitz and Sherraden (2016) maintain that the debate surrounding dual practice in social work has been ongoing for some time. Conceptual frameworks have aimed to achieve balance in micro-macro social work practice. Abramovitz and Sherraden (2016) maintain that the debate surrounding dual practice in social work has been ongoing for some time. Conceptual frameworks have aimed to achieve balance in micro-macro social work practice. (Abramovitz & Sherraden 2016, p. 592). Abramovitz and Sherraden (2016) further identified ways to bridge the dual practice, viewed from ecological, financial capabilities, trauma, and oppression perspectives. Both Rothman and Mizrahi (2014) and Abramovitz and Sherraden (2016) agree that social workers need professional development and capacity through their education and beyond to build a professional stance in navigating the micro and macro practice.

Lustig-Gants and Weiss-Gal (2015) pointed out the social workers' involvement in policy-making and/or policy advocacy was a way to link the micro and macro practice. Lustig-Gants and Weiss-Gal (2015) examined the extent of social workers' involvement in policy practice and advocacy in Israel. This study involved 190 participants, concluding three influential factors: opportunity, facilitation and motivation. The research found that related to public social welfare Israel legislative committee regularly held meeting inviting various stakeholders, including social workers. The Israeli government and social workers are engaged in the policy-making process, although it is limited to senior social workers with administrative position. Another finding is that policy practice training raises the social workers' motivation to engage in the policy-making process and advocacy. This study similar to olden research from Hong Kong conducted by Mok (1988). Employing a survey, this research involved 30 members of District Boards, Urban Council and Regional Council, who identified themselves as social workers or social work administrators. From 27

questionnaires returned, the researcher selected eleven to be involved in the interview; yet, no explanation was provided concerning the selection criteria. The findings suggested that political involvement was an effective way to influence the public policies and contribute in social change to create better social welfare system. The majority agreed that political roles enabled them to aspire the public opinion effectively, while 88 percent asserted that they could do actions to influence public policies by maintaining their political roles (Mok 1988, p. 254). The author maintained the compatibility of political role and social work profession with the condition not to confuse the self-interest with those of the clients and public.

Another study examining the social work's involvement in policy advocacy for social justice was conducted by Brown, ME, Livermore and Ball (2015), who analysed the advocacy-related resources and materials available through the 50 National Association for Social Workers (NASW) state chapter websites in 2010. This research departed from assumption regarding many social workers to have more focus on the profession rather than social justice advocacy. Brown, ME, Livermore and Ball (2015) maintain that it is important to seek out a balance between efforts of strengthening the profession, which might lead to the practice development, and advocating social policy and justice to endure structural change. This study found professional self-interest (17%), health care (15%), and child welfare (12%) representing the top three among other themes, while domestic violence (1.5%) and homelessness (2%) were the least prioritised. Despite the result showing that overall themes representing social justice/ client-centred (83%) compared to professional self-interest (17%), the research found that the issues on professional development were present in 86% of the state legislative agendas (Brown, ME, Livermore & Ball 2015, p. 58). The authors emphasise the importance to have a balance in efforts of professional development and policy advocacy considering the main concern of social work practice is social justice for all.

Since its emergence, social work has developed from charity work into a developing profession that focuses on helping individuals to reach their well-being and engaging in social change to achieve social justice. The literature suggested that developing the social work's body knowledge and skills should be priority in order social work to be equal to other helping professional. Evolving societal problems have urged the social work profession to restore the meaning of 'social' in social work. Despite the casework as a method, social workers should view phenomena and individual problems in broader contexts, so that the intervention not only works for individuals but also for larger societies. It is essential that social workers understand social contexts and situate individual and social problems in a

broader context to create change and achieve equality. Attaining social justice as a goal requires more effort from social work, importantly through political involvement. This method is considered effective in influencing public policies to bring about social change. In working towards these goals, social workers have endured various challenges, to be discussed in the next section.

Social workers in residential child care

Working with children requires social workers to understand the children's rights. Manful and McCrystal (2010) undertook a study investigating how social workers in Ireland conceptualise the children's rights. This study was conducted in relation to an incident where corporal punishment at home does not protect children as requested, and there was no mandatory training on children' rights for personnel working with children. Involving 17 participants from middle and senior management of different institutions this study investigated the participants' understandings of children's rights. The findings showed that most participants conceptualised children's rights through the UNCRC. Some, however, perceived both basic or protective rights, and the wishes of children.

Barnes (2011) examined the work of children's right workers and social workers in the United Kingdom. Both professions liaise with families, carers, and other professionals, but rights workers focus on the wishes of young people. While social workers are assigned to work in the best interest of the child, rights workers are required to act on the children's demands or requests, without attempting to judge or act according to what they believe to be in the best interest of the child. The result shows that children thought that rights workers tended to listen to them more than social workers did. They felt that social workers treated them as little children, unlike the rights professional who considered the children as competent. The findings indicate that social workers are expected to demonstrate care as well as to focus on the work process.

Social workers' professional roles vary, ranging from teacher, facilitator, and case manager to advocator, so does those particularly work at residential child care. Small and Dodge (1988, pp. 15-6) identify five areas summarising the child care workers' roles and skills:

1. Therapeutic and family workers

Social workers in residential care work not only with children but also with their families. Therefore, adequate knowledge of children's rights and development is essential. Social workers are also required to assist parents in enhancing their skills in parenting and providing a safe environment for their children.

2. Education

Social workers are obliged to become a role model and teach children with various life skills to enhance their independence and self-resilience and prepare them for after care life. The life skills include hygiene, communication skills, how to behave, and time and money management.

3. Primary care

Social workers in residential care have a nature, including providing safe environment, ensuring the children's physical and psychological welfare, disciplining the children, as well as monitoring the children's schooling.

4. Organisational

Social workers are obliged to follow the institution's rules and the child welfare-related government policies.

5. Professional development

Social workers need to develop their capacity to maintain their professionalism, including participating in trainings, engaging in supervision, and participating in conducting research.

Omidire, AnnaMosia and Mampane (2015) conducted research investigating how caregivers in residential child care in South Africa perceived and managed their roles and responsibilities. Taking sample of 11 female participants, this interpretive study used Bronfenbrenner's System Theory and the McMaster Model as theoretical frameworks. It employed focus group discussion, group collage, and semi-structured interviews as data collection tools. The findings show that caregivers participating in this study perceived that their positions were vital, since they were responsible for ensuring all children had their basic needs met (e.g. food, clothes, hygiene) along with their development needs (e.g. personal, social, educational, and vocational). They also viewed themselves as parental substitutes, taking on roles including disciplining children and assigning chores, despite the challenges (Omidire, AnnaMosia & Mampane 2015, pp. 120-1). The participants admitted that the

institution was demanding, however, they felt that their needs of capacity building was neglected. This study contributed some insights for improving the institutional care practice taken from the caregivers' perspective despite some limitations:

1. Sample

   All participants were female, so covering both male and female perspectives might enrich the findings. The study did not clearly state whether all participants worked in the same institution, since different workplaces might influence responses.

2. Theoretical framework

   Theories are fundamental to frame the research analysis, but the study provides inadequate explanation of how it applied both the Bronfenbrenner theory and McMaster model.

A similar study with a larger sample was conducted by Chan, NS (2004), taking place in Southern California. It involved 48 social workers contacted through Southern California Trainers Network (SCTN), a volunteer network of individuals organising training sessions for residential child care workers in Southern California. As a quantitative study, it collected data using questionnaires, in which closed questions were divided into three categories: participants' demography, agency structure, and participants' perceptions of their roles as residential child care workers (Chan, NS 2004, p. 21). The findings show that the participants viewed themselves as a role model for the children under their care. They also indicated that their roles covered providing services to the community as well. Despite the satisfaction of giving significant contribution for young people and community, more than half of the participants regarded their work as frustrating. They tried to keep up with the workload; yet, they felt that the institution gave little recognition on their work, even they admitted that their salary did not equal with the demand and they did not receive adequate relevant training with their work (Chan, NS 2004, pp. 27-31). This study does have some limitations. One is the small sample size that limits is generalisability, and another is the use of closed questions. The study may have generated deeper insights if workers had been able to provide more explanation. Despite these limitations, the study should have alerted child care institutions and related government departments to focus on care workers, including their welfare and capacity improvement, particularly to maintain retention and prevent burnout.

Edens and Smit (1992) and Collins, Amodeo and Clay (2007) maintain the importance of trainings to improve the child care workers' knowledge and skills in purpose of retaining their professionalism. Edens and Smit (1992) investigated the effectiveness of skills training

in improving the child care workers' professional competence and the student's profession preparation in the Netherlands. Involving 55 participants, the study divided them into treatment and control groups, in which only the treatment group obtained the skills training. Participants' capabilities were assessed by behavioural tests recorded both before and after training. The results indicate a significant improvement of the treatment group in stimulating ability, emphatic attitude, and regulating ability (Edens & Smit 1992, p. 550). Similarly, Collins, Amodeo and Clay (2007) argue that training in human service was substantial to improve interventions. They conducted evaluation research on the government's training projects for child care workers, aiming to investigate the training contribution in policy implementation. They used a multiple case study method, in which they studied nine projects. The researchers carried out document reviews (e.g. proposals, reports, and training curriculum) and site visits, during which they undertook interviews with contributing parties (e.g. trainers, committee members, training participants) (Collins, Amodeo & Clay 2007, p. 1491). The findings show that context is important in the policy implementation; the State's economic, social, and political circumstances affect project completion. The study identifies several challenges to project development aiming to enhance social workers' capabilities: The State budget crises, the public agency's lack willingness to make training a priority, authorities' lack of attention towards adolescent issues, and the State's geographic condition (e.g. too large to cover). Furthermore, the study indicates insufficient efforts by the public agency to create a clear scheme linking the context, projects and expected outcomes. Such clarity is important to help direct planning projects for developing human resources' capacity to support policy implementation.

Changing practice in social work

Globalisation

Globalisation has created opportunities to make people more closely connected than before. The rapid world dynamics, however, have particular side effects in social, economic, cultural and political domains. Green, D and McDermott (2010) affirm that to address the complex social problems, social work must have offered the solid theoretical foundation to understand how the world worked and its contemporary problems. Green, D and McDermott (2010) characterise social problems as uncertain, complex, evolving and dynamic; thus, social work should place itself within the world's system to be no stranger, seeking coherence in the contemporary world. The concept of 'person-in-environment', according to Green, D and McDermott (2010), is one of social work's primary contribution in understanding today's world. The existing range of theories, including Newtonian, complex system theory, and

neuroscience, Green, D and McDermott (2010) explain, have much to offer to support this process of understanding the individual context in the contemporary world.

Developing social work practice dealing with contemporary social problems, Parton (2003) presents contribution of social constructionism and feminist 'the ethics of care. This article was aimed to counter that today's world social problems might be solved with mere rigid system. The social constructionism, Parton (2003) asserts, recognises the interdependence of social and political cultures in understanding subjects in contexts. The feminist 'ethics of care' has much in common with the social constructionism concerning contextual relations (Parton 2003). The ethics of care emphasises the importance of viewing phenomena as black and white. In terms of care, it should be understood as central for everyone, not for women only. The ethics of care welcomes interpretation, communication and dialogues, so that understanding phenomena is not rigid from a sole perspective. The interrelations of various systems in individual's context, Parton (2003) argues, should be considered in contemporary social work practice. Today's diverse social problems require social work practice to be more fluid. Parton (2003) elaborates that the engagement social workers in their practice was reflected in how they were engaged with the situations. Social workers must understand service users' circumstances, meaning that communication is of prime importance. To help people empower themselves, social workers need to expand rationality and to understand contextual relations surrounding individuals. Parton (2003) suggests the unity of knowledge and creative skills in understanding core of the problems and work out the intervention plans, considering the complex situations nowadays.

Concerning the social complexities resulted from globalisation, Dominelli (2010) argues that the changing social spheres have affected the social delivery, thereby affecting social workers on the front lines. Dominelli (2010) identifies several impacts of globalisation in the United Kingdom, including new managerialism, restricted access for social workers to specific resources, the effect of capitalist values in social work practice, in terms of maximising the limited resources for greater number of service users, and the increasing migration that led to subsequent effects of international social problems (e.g. drug abuse, human trafficking, and unemployment). These social problems, according to Dominelli (2010), have become widespread and challenged the international social workers to resolve. Dominelli (2010, p. 608) asserts that indigenising the social work practice had potentials to offer as parts of the solution. She gives the examples of the First Nations in Canada and Maori peoples in New Zealand, who have created their own welfare services resulted from recognition of local wisdom and cultural legacies. Dominelli (2010) discusses the efforts of

international social workers to adopt the indigenous welfare practices, including the Maori family group conferencing and redistributive justice system that have been adopted in Canada, Sweden and the UK.

Similarly, Alphonse, George and Moffatt (2008) are concerned about the widespread impacts of globalisation. They emphasise that social workers were expected not only to respond the social problem as the excess of globalisation, but also bridge local initiatives and global factors as a gatekeeping mechanism. Globalisation has challenged the social work practice to be more adaptive with the recent changing contexts. Alphonse, George and Moffatt (2008) argue that there should be curriculum development in social work education to prepare the social workers from the beginning to cope with current situations. The authors focus on social work education in developing countries, particularly in India, and present the redefinition of the social work profession by Asian social professionals: 'social work as a profession should bring about social change, social stability, enhance harmony and well-being, respect unique cultures and traditions of different ethnic groups and bring about social justice with responsibility and collective harmony' (Alphonse, George & Moffatt 2008, pp. 147-8). In the context of India, there have been efforts to formulate the national development to achieve goals of promoting human rights and dignity, challenging marginalisation and unequal relationships, democratisation of people empowerment, and developing culturally-sensitive social work practice. The emerging concerns in India included HIV/AIDS, farmers' suicide, gender discrimination, malnutrition and communal conflicts. Alphonse, George and Moffatt (2008) suggest that India needed a shift in political domain to raise the standard that has inadequately met the challenges of globalisation. They asserted that Indian social work curriculum should move from clinical and generalist practice to more critical that fit the individuals in the broadest social relations.

Indigenisation of social work

The globalised world has created diverse social problems, leading to demands that governments take responsibility for citizens' welfare in the interests of social justice. Social work and social policy scholars agree that social work practice should be customised and individualised. Hong, PYP and Song (2010) discuss the need for social work development to bridge global dynamics with local needs and circumstances. The authors note that globalisation affects nations differently. Developing countries face poverty and inequality, while developed countries encounter issues with international migration and refugees that trigger subsequent problems, such as unemployment resulting from the changing labour market. Hong, PYP and Song (2010) argue that strengthening civil society locally and

globally as well as developing global social policy are ways to enhance the social welfare system. The authors perceived that the global-responsive social policy systems should both cover the national sovereignty and create global social safety net with the push to emphasise the universalism of human rights.

Jones and Truell (2012), likewise, examine the social work responses towards the global challenges in global social welfare, and present the *Global Agenda for Social Work and Social Development (The Agenda)* that was developed responding the complexities resulted from the globalised world. *The Agenda* emphasises the needs for stronger social work profile and wider access for social workers in policy development. It addresses efforts against social injustice as well as attempts to support environmental sustainability, and human dignity and relationships. To achieve the goals, Jones and Truell (2012) emphasise developing efforts to link the systems. The authors argue for a global understanding of current global circumstances, in the interests of establishing aligned global social policies, similar to Hong, PYP and Song (2010). The affiliated global social policy system, according to Jones and Truell (2012), enables the linkages between regional policies and local needs, as well as the personal circumstances in the global context. Global actions, Jones and Truell (2012) add, should also involve efforts to conceptualise contemporary societal circumstances to develop social work as an applied science so that it may survive in a competitive, global world.

Considering that Western social work practice was the most adapted in various countries, several authors point out the importance of acknowledging local wisdom and cultural heritage in social work practice, representing the concept of 'thinking globally and acting locally' in response to global social challenges (Chong 2016; Gray & Allegritti 2003; Gray & Coates 2010; Law & Lee 2016; Rankopo & Osei-Hwedie 2011; Sousa & Almeida 2016; Yip 2005). Gray and Allegritti (2003) suggest social workers' need to understand their own cultures compared to Western cultures, and to find ways to articulate distinct cultures to begin indigenising their social work practice. Workers should aim to be culturally sensitive, viewing issues from a cultural perspective in addition to psychological, social, economic, and political perspectives, and recognising interaction patterns and dynamics (Gray & Allegritti 2003, p. 10). As Parton (2003) points out, social work should be fluid and aware of the constant shift of societal circumstances. Social work practice that is sensitive to local cultures enables the interaction of social workers and service users across various contexts. Being culturally sensitive is vital to avoid the prioritising of certain cultures over others, a practice that may lead to cultural oppression.

Gray and Coates (2010) and Rankopo and Osei-Hwedie (2011) argue that social work practice should be relevant with the local social environment. Both studies, despite emphasising the local culture, asserted that indigenisation of social work practice did not mean to be exclusive locality. Gray and Coates (2010, p. 616), building upon Gray and Allegritti (2003), describe indigenising practice as an effort to seek culturally relevant social work practice, research, and education. Certain practices rooted in local wisdom may be relevant to diverse service users from a variety of backgrounds, if the social worker is sensitive to cultural differences. Similarly, according to Rankopo and Osei-Hwedie (2011) taking African perspective as a context, the culturally sensitive social work represents relevance and flexibility to adapt with the changing complex and multiple values. The authors' emphasis on openness towards cross cultures while maintaining the local legacies manifests the idea to think globally and act locally.

A study by Yip (2005) discusses cross-cultural social work practice in Asian contexts. In this article, the author differentiates the indigenisation process from the authentication (Yip 2005, pp. 594-5). The former refers to a process of adapting western cultures that to some extent reflect professional imperialism. Despite being open to western values, indigenised social work takes local social, political and cultural contexts to shape the practice and shifts the western micro and macro practice to be locally relevant. On the other hand, authentication primarily focuses in developing local cultures. Yip (2005) highlights differences between Asian and Western cultures, where Asian cultures are characterised as complicated, largely influenced by religion and faith, and collective rather than individual. The distinct differences between the two cultures presents challenges in adapting Western values, such as their impact on Asian culture, and the difficulties in interpreting, integrating with, and developing local cultures.. Yip (2005) stresses that cross-cultural social work practice should be dynamic and equal. This dynamic process should integrate the inter-systems of social workers, service users service users' significant others, and social policy and services.

Similarly, Gray and Coates (2010) stress that indigenous social work is evolving, just as the social contexts are constantly changing. Law and Lee (2016) agree that indigenisation refers to interactive and non-linear process. Law and Lee (2016) examine how the social work practice served the ethnic minorities in Hong Kong. This research argues that multicultural-based social work practice had only recently begun, influenced by an imported Western perspective. Taking documentation study and in-depth interviews with 44 South Asians (Indians, Nepalese and Pakistani), this study found that Hong Kong's social provision

had not fully addressed the cultural needs of minorities in spite of the government's claim of mutual respect and acceptance of diverse cultures (Law & Lee 2016, pp. 66-7). Another finding showed under-developed cross-cultural understanding curriculum in Hong Kong's social work education system. Law and Lee (2016) argue that adopting western values acknowledging multiculturalism might result in better social service for non-Chinese. Nevertheless, the authors alert that this adoption process should not be an end. Cultural integration should be balance between the imported and local values. Any form of dominance may result in subordination and cultural oppression.

There have been efforts of indigenising social work practice in Indonesia as well. Fahrudin, A, Yusuf and Rusyidi (2014) discuss the indigenisation of social work education and social work practice in Indonesian context. Efforts in education include developing social work from an Islamic perspective and adding social entrepreneurship to the curriculum. The emphasis on the national slogan 'unity in diversity' (*bhinneka tunggal ika*), the societal value of communal self-help, and *Pancasila* as an Indonesian philosophical foundation (belief in the one and only God, humanity, unity, democracy, and social justice) are also means of indigenising social work education and practice. Fahrudin, A, Yusuf and Rusyidi (2014) further provided examples of indigenous social work practice in Indonesia, including philanthropic activities of *Muhammadiyah*, psychosocial therapy for drug abuser by *Pondok Pesantren Suryalaya*, and ASIANA community welfare centre. The authors urged the need of further government's supports for indigenising social work, aimed as the coping mechanism towards the negative impact of globalisation.

Changes in the child support provision

Globalisation has created new social problems, and they inevitably affect child welfare in a global context. This has led global movement to permeate the shifting paradigm in child support provision. The systems approach may able to create better support provision for children in need (Connolly & Smith 2010; Gallagher et al. 2011; Wulczyn et al. 2010). The authors agree that linking the authority, human resources, and infrastructure as support system with the process of care and sustainable programs is required to achieve sustainable changes. Connolly and Smith (2010) highlight three perspectives in the child welfare reform: child-centred, family led and culturally responsive, and strength- and evidence-based. Connolly and Smith (2010) emphasise that child service should focus on the children's rights and best interests. This acknowledgement implies the recognition of family roles, basing the intervention on children's social context background, and adequate record and documentation. To ensure the transformation sustainability, Connolly and Smith (2010) and

Wulczyn et al. (2010) describe the continuum of care in three domains. They refer to different interventions based on diverse circumstances and risk, ranging from low/not-at-all, middle, and high risk. The first is the universal domain with family and community as the target of preventative intervention, by raising awareness through education and sensitisation. The second is relates to middle-risk cases, for which strengthening family roles to support children is the primary intervention. High risk cases require special protection; in addition to reinforcing family support, alternative care is considered at this stage. Connolly and Smith (2010) and colleagues stress that an integrated system is required not only to deal with the problems, but also to anticipate its coming.

Reducing reliance on residential-based care is part of the systems approach, placed as the last resort in the system. Efforts to minimise children's placement in institutions have been a central feature of debates surrounding the deinstitutionalisation of children at risk, particularly in European countries. Terziev and Arabska (2016), for example, review the process of deinstitutionalisation in Bulgaria. They refer this process as shifting children with vulnerabilities from institutions to family or family-like environments (Terziev & Arabska 2016, p. 287). This process aims to reunify children with their family, kin or community, which is compatible with the rights of the child. The paradigm shift also works at developing support systems to strengthen the capacity and roles of family and community to prevent children being placed in institutions. This study critiqued several policies and processes on deinstitutionalisation from 2010-2014. The first project, known as "Childhood for all", relocated children from institutions to family-based care. With limited assessment of the children's care needs and preparation to ensure appropriate after-care support, this project lead to large quantities of return cases of children to the institutions.

Terziev and Arabska (2016) also advise that budgets were not managed properly and this created institutional dependence on seeking funding and attracting donations as opposed to focusing on attending to the children's growth and development. Terziev and Arabska (2016) add that the lack of staffing in the related department "Child Protection", and the high rate of staff turnover caused increasing workloads for existing staff members. Turnover and high workloads, with insufficient staff training, contributed to poor case management as it related to the children. The authors suggested that low levels of involvement by non-government humanitarian or child-rights focused organisations was problematic, particularly when it is these organisations that are usually part of the mechanisms enforcing accountability and quality control of residential-based care.

In considering the paradigm shift from reliance on institutional care to the promotion of family and/or home-based care, the fall of communism marked the deinstitutionalisation movement in the Central and Eastern Europe countries. Ismayilova, Ssewamala and Huseynli (2014) noted that countries in the former Soviet Union (USSR) had the highest number of children living in institutions. There were an estimated 1.3 million children spread across infant homes (aged 0-3 to 4 years old), children's homes (above 4 years old), and boarding schools through former soviet countries (Ismayilova, Ssewamala & Huseynli 2014, p. 137). In their review of 17 journal and articles 33 documents related to deinstitutionalisation, the authors found that the main concerns in former soviet countries providing impetus for institutional care was poverty. Poverty severely impacted the parents' ability to meet their family's needs, hence many parents migrated to neighbouring developed countries in search for employment and simply left their children behind (Ismayilova, Ssewamala & Huseynli 2014, pp. 138-9). Abject poverty, hunger and the lack of alternative care left meant that there were no other options perceived by many parents other than to abandon their children to residential child care.

Ismayilova, Ssewamala and Huseynli (2014) write how deinstitutionalisation efforts were made after growing awareness by the international community of cases showing the poor quality of institutional care and its impacts on children. Despite this growing awareness, the deinstitutionalisation efforts encountered resistance both from the institutional care providers and birth parents, as well as foster parents. Workers were reported as fearing job loss, and poverty discouraged birth parents to reunite with their children. Foster carers advised of the difficulties in taking care of children who had social and psychological difficulties arising out of past adversity. According to Ismayilova, Ssewamala and Huseynli (2014), an integrated support system and shared resources were critical. As the main reason for child institutionalisation being abject poverty, family empowerment projects linked to financial assistance resources could have benefited deinstitutionalisation efforts.

In minimising the reliance on residential care, a serious measure to develop family-based care is substantial. Davidson et al. (2017), from an analysis of literature on residential care, argue that developing family-based care needs to comprise efforts to enhance families' capacities to prevent institutionalisation in the first place, and to prepare families with institutionalised children for reunification. Family-based care policies are also needed to prepare non-birth families to provide family-like environments for children unlikely to be reunified with their birth families (Davidson et al. 2017, p. 755). According to the authors, two principles are necessary for support through alternative care arrangements: necessity

and suitability (Davidson et al. 2017, p. 757). Necessity means that children should be placed in alternative care only when necessary, based on recommendations of a thorough assessment. No child should be cared for away from their family or community without cause. Suitability means that the substitute care should meet a suitable standard of care and ensure the best interest of the child. In this literature review study, Davidson et al. (2017) identify specific challenges for social work and of care systems in respect to the principle of suitability:

1. The nature of social work services regarding the efforts of deinstitutionalisation.

   This requires efforts to familiarise the concept of deinstitutionalisation and promote family-based care approach. The challenge is creating professional community-based team to work with families and community, assisting them to provide protective environment for children and ensure them meet their best interests.

2. The financial aspect in developing family-based care.

   Promoting the systemic change in child services inevitably require specific large budget in the beginning, despite the huge saving that will have come later when the child welfare system works as expected.

3. The effective support for developing kinship care.

   Encouraging extended family involvement when required may be complicated when they have similar adversity. Aging issues can also present challenges for family-based care.

These challenges call for consideration of literature on how social workers function in the context of constant political, societal, and practice change.

Gibson, Leonard and Wilson (2004) describe their experiences in transforming residential child care. According to the authors, residential care is a political activity and its operation involves the mobilisation of specific powers. In addition, the care system is related to wider social and political themes (e.g. gender, disability, and ethnicity). Considering the wider context of residential care, Gibson, Leonard and Wilson (2004) employ system theory and system thinking, in addition to understanding the politics of residential child care. The systematic framework allows the researchers to look at beyond the subject. They can see both the individual and the systems they function within. This can guide future transformation. Comprehending residential child care as part of a system enables the researchers to see surrounding aspects to determine the direction of transformation. Gibson,

Leonard and Wilson (2004) highlight that system theory and system thinking provided a road map that can show the key variables as well as their relationships. Acknowledging the interaction dynamics among the system units enabled them to determine intervention in the residential child care transformation.

Chance et al. (2010) conducted a study on transforming a residential care facility for children with behavioural problems. This research took a residential treatment facility licensed by the California Department of Social Services and the California Department of Mental Health as locus of the study. The authors emphasise that the shifting approach sought comprehensive changes across organisation, program and integrated child welfare systems. The shift from a child-centred to family-centred focus was to ensure children and families had access to supported interventions in the least restrictive settings possible. The transformation highlighted that the institution functioned as a service to families, rather than as a permanent residence for children. The institution acknowledged that every child has a family; therefore, the services required family involvement to prepare continuing provision after the children left care. This acknowledgement emphasised that institutions and care workers were not family and would not replace one; the care provided was conditional, not permanent. Care workers were not family and would not replace one; thus, the care provided was conditional, not permanent. Chance et al. (2010) suggest that the staff responded positively towards the changing residential child care. The findings indicate that staff felt positive and engaged in the transformation process. In addition, the change in this facility appeared to lead to a decreased rate of staff turnover (Chance et al. 2010, p. 143). The researchers note that changes might be successful when there is a shared belief that change is necessary, when leadership commits to support the process, and after thorough evaluation to learn for the future.

Indonesia has also adjusted to changing policy and practice concerning child support provision. The recent Act No. 35/2014 comprises an amendment of Act No. 23/2002 on Child Protection. The most significant relevant amendment is the emphasis on the shared responsibility between central and local governments in child welfare provision (*Act No. 35/2014 on Amendment of Act No. 23/2002 on Child Protection*, article 1.12, 21.1, 21.4.22,53). The Act highlights the shared responsibility of parents, family, community, the State, and local governments in assuring the fulfilment of children's rights. Ansanoor (2017) examines the extent of Kepulauan Riau provincial government conducting the roles of maintaining the child welfare provision through the Regional Regulation No. 7/2010 on Child Protection. The author pointed out the increasing number of cases involving children,

particularly those in conflicts with the law (e.g. theft, sexual abuse, and neglect). Ansanoor (2017) suggests the need of provincial government to conduct judicial review on the current regulation to conform to the Act No. 35/2014, in order to provide comprehensive legal protection for children. This research viewed the child welfare provision more holistically compared to other studies that focused on issues, e.g. children living on street (Papalapu 2016; Widayanti 2012), child abuse (Syafei 2016), and child labour (Triono 2014).

An effort to shift the paradigm of child support provision appeared in a study by Anasiru (2011), which discusses four models of intervention used by Makassar local department of social service: institutional-based, family-based, community-based and half-way house service. The author argues that despite the law underlying local policy, there was a lack of detailed guidelines, including clear indicators for children's placement in residential child care, which the department considered most appropriate in providing for children's physical needs and safety. The methods used in family-based intervention, including religious preaching and food aid, were considered ineffective to prevent children from returning to the streets. The author argues that local efforts to take children off the streets were hindered by a lack of coordination between inter-local departments, and the use of repressive methods in providing for children.

Managing the changing practice

The contemporary social problems stemming from globalisation have urged the social work practice to change; one of which is the attempts of indigenising the practice discussed earlier. This section reviews literature discussing efforts to support the change and the social workers in dealing with the change that cover a range of their pre- and in-service stages.

Some literature over the past decades has emphasised linking systems as a part of systemic, sustainable change in human services. Foster-Fishman, Nowell and Yang (2007, p. 197) define systems change as "an intentional process designed to alter the status quo by shifting and realigning the form and function of a targeted system". The basic belief of systems change is the transformation can only be sustained when all related systems adapt to reach the determined goals and outcomes. Foster-Fishman, Nowell and Yang (2007) specifically propose a model of systems change that aims to provide an analytical guiding framework to understand the systems functioning and identify substantial factors for practical change. The proposed model starts with 'bounding the systems' (Foster-Fishman, Nowell & Yang 2007, p. 202). This first step involves defining the problem and identifying all related aspects. The second step is identifying systems targeted to support the change.

Foster-Fishman, Nowell and Yang (2007, p. 205) identify four major systems: system norms (e.g. attitudes, beliefs, and values), system resources (e.g. human, social, and economic capitals), system regulations (policies and procedures), and system operations (decision-making process, power, and structures). These system identifications should be followed with the assessment of system interactions. Understanding interaction dynamics enables agents of change to balance the interdependencies of inter-systems. Once all the systems are bounded and comprehended, the final step is to determine the strategic actions for transformation. The actions could include strengthening existing systems and/or shifting some parts to suit current circumstances to reach goals.

Megivern et al. (2007) highlight the importance of acknowledging the influential factors of social service quality. These factors include the dynamics in macrosystem (e.g. social policy development), policy advocacy, organisational receptivity and capacity for change, consumers and their families' engagement during the intervention, resource provision, social service systems, and feedback from various stakeholders. Megivern et al. (2007) stress that understanding such factors is a starting point for program evaluation, and creates room for improving interventions to help service users reach desirable outcomes.

Mirabito (2012) emphasises that new generation of social workers must foster a range of skills to suit the world's current situations. The changing demographic circumstances as an impact of the globalised world have triggered the internationalisation of social problems that require specific clinical skills, e.g. dealing with refugees, immigrants, and homeless people. Updating both micro and macro skills is essential for case management to reach set goals. The complexities of today's social challenges require social workers to work within complex contexts and systems; therefore, social workers need to improve their organisational skills. Mirabito (2012, p. 248) highlight that organisational skills, including leadership, are 'needed to understand, assess, and negotiate within organisational settings, and for interdisciplinary collaboration, leadership, and interpersonal communication'. In addition, complex situations and diverse interventions need detailed monitoring and evaluation documentation. The system control is vital to measure and develop the effectiveness of interventions and services. The integration of clinical, organisational, and research skills requires updating social work development curriculum, including improving training for evidence-based practice.

Similarly, Nandan, London and Bent-Goodley (2015) argue the urgency of keeping social work practice up-to-date. Highlighting social workers' roles as agents of social change, the authors discuss the importance of developing social innovation, social

entrepreneurship, and social intrapreneurship in social work practice. They explain that dealing with contemporary social issues demands the ability to produce fresh, original and customised services, and to innovate to create social change. This study involved twenty participants and employed in-depth interviews, finding that preparedness was critical in producing social workers with integrated abilities. The authors suggest that social work education should consider developing courses on grant writing and funding requests, and enhance critical thinking along with partnership and collaborative skills.

In addition to the technical skills, the skill development to deal with the current social challenges includes the reflective practice in social work (Ruch 2007). Ruch (2007) points out that reflective practice is less developed despite growing acknowledgement of its importance. The author emphasises the importance of social workers' ability to reflect that social work is complex, involved in uncertain and unpredictable situations. The interconnection between social workers, teams, service providers, and policy makers requires holistic reflection on social work practice.

Eichsteller and Holthoff (2012) promote a social pedagogy approach in residential child care. The authors explain that being a social pedagogue is not only about acquiring skills, but also about mindset. Following procedures is necessary, but creativity is also expected of a social pedagogue. Similar to Ruch (2007), Eichsteller and Holthoff (2012) highlight reflection as a means of managing changes. They further argue that creating cultural change is not the social workers' only role, but that they must be aware of how the institution and the wider system work through it interdependently. Interconnected systems imply developing relationships, which not only involve institution staff, but also the children under care. Building an empowering workplace will foster the staff's commitment, while creating a home-like environment will have positive impacts on children's psychosocial development.

Watson and West (2001) presented a consultancy agenda conducted in Scotland with a group of residential care staff involved in major changes to their working environment. Staff revealed their concerns about their future careers in the face of deinstitutionalisation Watson and West (2001) employed Kurt Lewin's model of change in helping the staff to look over the institution transformation:

1. Unfreezing.

   In this session the staff were asked to challenge the status quo, to think about the upcoming change. This included considering how it might affect them, how they

would plan their own agendas, and their plans to involve children and their families. Plan actions were best developed after identifying their own skills and strengths

2. Change.

   Once the upcoming agenda was clear, the staff was asked to develop their angle view for the future.

3. Re-freezing.

   The last step was to ensure that the action plan was clear and to collect feedback.

These three steps helped the staff to challenge their comfortable work practices and mentalities, clarify boundaries, and set up plans after having clarity about the systems around them.

Concerning the inter-systems dependency, scholars agree that there should be power balance within organisational system. System change should engage all parts of the system, meaning that it is neither 'top-down' nor 'bottom-up'. Cohen and Austin (1997) discuss the importance of staff empowerment. They argue that it has not been given sufficient attention as social workers need to be equipped to empower service users. Organisational change, according to Cohen and Austin (1997), should give room for staff to manage their professional roles with the support of upper management. Staff empowerment should be formally regulated, and should be recognised as part of workers' jobs rather than a last resort when particular circumstances occur. Cohen and Austin (1997) suggest that social workers' empowerment should begin from school as a part of their in-service training.

Similarly, Turner, LM and Shera (2005) emphasise the importance of social worker empowerment when considering the complexities and challenges when supporting people with adversities. They suggest several strategies, divided into ones able to be applied inside the organisation and those requiring external supports. To acknowledge the significance of social workers' empowerment, organisations should commit to advocacy of social work practice. This commitment would help balance power structures within the organisation and create a more equal system. In addition, an empowering organisation provides a learning environment that raises respect and confidence, encourages workers' participation and communication skills, rewards positive outcomes, and accommodates workers' professional development and self-care opportunities (Turner, LM & Shera 2005, pp. 84-7). Turner, LM and Shera (2005) write the empowerment strategies need to be supported. Policy changes, expanded resource provision, collaborative networks, and development of economic and

political literacy are all cited as support mechanisms. Each indicates systems' inter-dependency, in which synergy within and beyond the organisation is required to empower staff to help transform organisations.

Research by Beddoe (2009) learning organisation to facilitate social workers' empowerment, and to help achieve the balanced interdependency described above. Beddoe's study involved forty social workers, professional leaders, and managers. It was conducted in New Zealand from 2004 to 2005, using semi-structured individual and group interviews (Beddoe 2009, p. 723). The findings indicate a top-down approach to management decisions, including those regarding learning discourse in training, as well as little acknowledgement of social workers' positions. The latter was noted when a mistake was made, and the critical reflection focused on the practitioners involved rather than on the practice itself. There was also concern about constant change within the organisation, creating uncertainty amongst social workers and managers. Research participants all agreed with the need for expanded resources, including budget, time, opportunities, and expertise, to address contemporary challenges (Beddoe 2009, pp. 732-3). Needs-based training is essential to reduce strain on workers and subsequently improve service quality. The need-based trainings are essential; those may recharge the social workers' intellectual energy that subsequently lead to the service quality improvement.

More current studies focusing on interaction dynamics between management and social workers have been performed by Lee, Weaver and Hrostowski (2011) and Yu (2014) are of the more current ones focusing on the interaction dynamics between social workers and top management that bring about implications on the social work practice. Building upon Cohen and Austin (1997), Lee, Weaver and Hrostowski (2011) identify two approaches in understanding empowerment: social structure empowerment and individual psychological empowerment. The former is related to the organisation, in which the focus is on power distribution, aiming to reduce top-down approaches to management. The latter focuses on staff, which becomes the central issue in this study. Individual psychological empowerment is based on the belief that individuals have the capabilities to manage their duties. Based on these approaches of empowerment, the authors, Lee, Weaver and Hrostowski (2011) examine the relationship between work environment, workers' psychological empowerment, and outcomes in public child welfare. This study views work environments in two dimensions: supervision and role ambiguity, while 'outcomes' refers to staff's intentions to remain in the organisation, and emotional exhaustion. Involving 234 practitioners in South-eastern state, the study found that psychological empowerment mediated the variable of

work environments and the outcomes. A reciprocal relationship between social workers and their supervisors was shown to improve workers' professional attitudes and to result in better staff retention. On the contrary, ambiguous role descriptions and inadequate supervision triggered stress responses in staff and led to emotional exhaustion.

Yu (2014) supports the work of Turner, LM and Shera (2005) in examining the influence of organisational context, particularly upper management, on social work practice in the Philippines. The background context of this study is the local autonomy policy in Philippines, in which mayors have full authority in their municipalities. Yu (2014) questions the distribution of power in municipal government bureaucracies, the extent of mayors' influence on local social welfare, and the extent of mayors' control on the employment of Municipal Social Welfare and Development Officers (MSWDO). This study used surveys, interviews, and focus group discussion to collect data Out of 140 invitations, 37 municipal social workers volunteered (Yu 2014, p. 107). The findings indicate mayors as the main authorities in local development. Local autonomy allowed mayors to influence all aspects, including the local social welfare, in some cases for their own interests. The mayors' domination was also reflected in their direct supervision, in which mayors' approval were required for everything. The centralised power structure also enabled mayors' control in disciplining employees who failed to follow their rules. These research findings conform to other literature suggesting the influence of organisational contexts on social workers' performance and outcomes. Productive supervision is required to reach the goals.

This section concludes that globalisation has had significant effects. Advanced technology has made the world closer and helped people accomplish certain tasks more easily. On the other hand, the globalised world has triggered social problems affecting people's social welfare. Indigenising social work practice has been one response to current global challenges, considering the diverse effects experienced by different countries. To integrate Western-based theories with local cultures and legacies, organisations must be transformed to provide learning environments, in turn promoting inter-system engagement. Needs-based empowerment, including expanding resources, work-related trainings, and working supervision, is vital to promote the change and to reach the desired outcomes. There have been challenges to social workers' efforts to enact this change, which are discussed in the next section.

Social workers' challenges

Valutis, Rubin and Bell (2014) explore social workers' experiences of conflict between personal and professional values. The authors argue that 'personal values and beliefs will not always fit perfectly or clearly with professional roles' (Valutis, Rubin & Bell 2014, p. 164). They used a cross-sectional survey design, in which the survey was sent via email to 800 licensed social workers in Pennsylvania. One hundred and ninety-seven usable questionnaires were received after two weeks. The questionnaires covered conflict and priority questions, work-related items, and participants' demographic aspects. The participants were asked about their experiences with conflict between religious beliefs and professional ethics, and whether they agreed that religious values were a priority over professional values. Using Likert scale, the participants' answers indicated that relatively few of them admitted to experiencing conflict between religious belief and professional roles. Despite the number of participants acknowledging such conflict, very few of them (22 people) maintained that religious beliefs should come before professional values (Valutis, Rubin & Bell 2014, p. 169). The evidence showed that despite the small number reporting the conflict concerning the ethical decision making, this study was important to alert the decision makers to think about better policies to minimise the personal-professional conflicts. The question, though, remains on the reason behind opting religious beliefs to specify the personal values in the questionnaires. In addition, the survey instruments offered narrow angles for the participants to share their experiences; hence, the further reasons underlying their answers were unknown.

Research conducted by de Fátima de Campos Françozo and Moisés Smeke Cassorla (2004) addresses professional rewards and frustration among social workers in Brazil. The study focused on women who graduated from social work schools in Brazil, from the 1950s to the 90s, and their experiences working with clients. The researchers found that social workers often experience conflicts with the status quo when helping people. However, workers still reported that their work was rewarding, as they believed their efforts had positive outcomes for people. de Fátima de Campos Françozo and Moisés Smeke Cassorla (2004) also write that social workers in Brazil experience other challenges, including low salaries and lack of opportunity to enhance their careers. Similarly, Ng, Sim and Tan (2010) observe that low pay is a challenge for social workers in Singapore. The researchers argue that the reward for demanding workloads is insufficient to expect social workers to accomplish their duties. Acknowledging social workers' hard work by improving their

salaries, according to Ng, Sim and Tan (2010), can result in positive energy in social workers that encourage them to improve service delivery.

Literature indicates that social work is a highly stressful profession (Coffey, Dugdill & Tattersall 2004; Lizano & Mor Barak 2012; Lloyd, King & Chenoweth 2002). Coffey, Dugdill and Tattersall (2004) note that social workers in child services experience the highest level of stress compared to other divisions. The researchers agree that stressful work environments potentially cause burnout that affects the quality of work performed. Decker, Bailey and Westergaard (2002) undertook a study on burnout experienced by social workers in Mid-western state. The researchers relate this condition to social workers' regular contact with their institutions, supervisors, and co-workers. According to Decker, Bailey and Westergaard (2002), this condition that is marked by physical, behavioural, and emotional symptoms is common in helping professions, in which the individuals are deeply engaged in helping others. These professionals do not realise the outcomes, including losing their ability to accomplish their jobs. Decker, Bailey and Westergaard (2002, p. 66) analysed 61 survey forms returned out of 160, finding out three problems concerning the social workers' burnout that are related to external factors: (1) structural weakness, which includes inadequate pay and administration support; (2) the lack of supervision; (3) the societies' lack of awareness of the social work profession. These include structural weaknesses, such as inadequate pay and administration support; lack of supervision; and broader society's lack of awareness of the social work profession. The findings also indicate two internal factors: feelings of powerlessness, and being considered lucky, young, and inexperienced. Decker, Bailey and Westergaard (2002) emphasise that the consequences of burnout might be serious, including insomnia, severe headache, anger, irritability, and withdrawing from clients and co-workers. The authors assert that adequate salaries and effective communication and supervision would help address these problems.

Similar to the finding of regarding structural weakness that might lead to burnout and turnover, Mänttäri-van der Kuip (2016) discusses moral distress amongst social workers. This circumstance refers to 'work-related' situation where social workers cannot practice in appropriate ways due to various goals of social work due to various obstacles of social work, internal (personal) or external (Mänttäri-van der Kuip 2016). The author writes that out of social workers experiencing moral distress, 42.4 percent of them would discontinue their current posts (Mänttäri-van der Kuip 2016, p. 92). The research also finds a link between moral distress and insufficient resources. Structural challenges may negatively affect

workers' enthusiasm and pride, challenges for social workers and unions to act on collectively.

Shim (2010) explored factors influencing employee turnover. They suggested that organisational culture and climate might influence social workers to leave their jobs. Organisational culture studied comprises achievement, innovation, and competition; emphasis on rewards; and cooperation and support. The climate includes role clarity, personal accomplishment, emotional exhaustion, and heavy workloads. Using survey data conducted by the New York State Social Work Education Consortium (SWEC), the findings show that emphasis on rewards and emotional exhaustion appear to be more significant than other aspects of organisational culture and climate. Care workers in a positive organisational culture would work hard accomplishing their jobs, and in return receive rewards. An example would be when a residential child care institution provides support for workers' emotional health, so care workers feel psychologically healthy and capable of handling their duties. Given this, improving organisational culture and climate appears to help maintain care workers' loyalty that in return will positively impact service delivery for children

Work-family conflict is another stressor in social work practice. Lambert et al. (2006) identified four main types of work-family conflict: family-based (when family matters interfere the work), time-based (when work time is much more than family time), strain-based (when stress at work causes problems at home), and behaviour-based (when roles at work causes problems at home or vice versa). This study aimed to examine the impacts of work-family conflict on the job satisfaction and organisational commitment. A survey of a human service organisation in Northwest Ohio was conducted, and 255 surveys returned. The findings indicate that time-based and strain-based conflicts significantly influenced the participants' perception on job satisfaction, while only behaviour-based conflict had a significant effect on organisational commitment.

Furthermore, relatively new situation of dual earnings in a family has blended work and family systems gradually diminished boundaries between them. The collision of these different yet related systems has resulted in dilemmas for both men and women (Kalliath, Hughes & Newcombe 2012; Kalliath & Kalliath 2014). Conflicts may occur when individuals feeling unconvinced with their ways of managing the diverse roles in various domains. Both Kalliath, Hughes and Newcombe (2012) and Kalliath and Kalliath (2014) emphasise circumstances in social work practice that contribute to family-work conflict, including increasing workloads, inadequate resources, and a limited number of personnel. Despite

finding that both men and women experience such conflict, studies indicate that women experience more burden, especially those who perceive that they are responsible for taking care of the family. Kalliath, Hughes and Newcombe (2012) find that work-family conflict was positively correlated with increasing psychological pressures. Conducted in Australia and involving 439 social workers, the research discovered that work, time, and family pressures influenced the participants' psychological state (Kalliath, Hughes & Newcombe 2012, pp. 365-6). Social work is considered a challenging work environment. Increasing numbers of diverse cases, along with the limited resources of both budget and personnel, the participants advised that those dried their energy. These work pressures influenced their attempts to balance their work and family time. The finding indicated the participants' psychological concern that they felt they lacked time to spend more time with their family.

With the same data, Kalliath and Kalliath (2014) looked at coping mechanisms taken by social workers. They identified several strategies social workers take when dealing with work-family conflict. These include social support, cognitive reframing, clear communication, well-defined expectation, time management, job flexibility and developing hobbies. The two studies on the impact of work-family conflict on social workers' psychological states should be a wake-up call for various stakeholders. The findings indicate the importance of creating work environments friendly to workers attempting to balance job and family commitments. Considering the value of family for most people, institutional support in this regard could improve productivity as work. Kalliath and Kalliath (2014) also suggest that improving the positive interaction at work and home, setting priorities and having "me-time" moments could save the social workers from more psychological damages.

Several studies linked work-family conflict with negative emotions experienced by working mothers leading to guilt (Borelli et al. 2017; Elvin-Nowak 1999; Kailasapathy & Metz 2012; Offer 2014). Elvin-Nowak (1999) explains that guilt arose from a conflict between work and close, personal relationships. A person experiences guilt when they feel they have failed to meet responsibilities to people they are close to. Some research indicates gender differences regarding guilt among dual earner families (Borelli et al. 2017; Kailasapathy & Metz 2012; Offer 2014). The research suggested that women developed guilt more than men. Offer (2014) involved 402 mothers and 291 fathers in her research, suggesting that despite both concerns about their family matters, the effects of this work-family guilt on emotional well-being were noticeable in mothers. Respondents were recruited through posts at local schools and newspapers in eight urban and suburban communities across the United States in 1999–2000. The conventional perspective on gender roles is likely

contributing in triggering the mothers' guilt. Perceiving the mother's nature is taking care of the family, married women with children are highly likely to feel guilty when the work-interfering-with family arises (Borelli et al. 2017; Offer 2014). The work-family conflict highly exist in Eastern cultures where the societal expectation on married women is putting children and family as priority (Achour, Grine & Roslan Mohd Nor 2014; Kailasapathy & Metz 2012). Kailasapathy and Metz (2012) examined the work-family conflict among Sri Lankan women, who perceived their main responsibilities to be domestic chores and child matters. The authors discuss negotiation as a coping mechanism to reduce dual role conflict, including redistributing household chores to minimise the double burden on one spouse. Reducing conflict makes workers less vulnerable and helps create positive emotional states that assist productivity at work.

Another research on the female professionals' experiencing the work family conflict was in Malaysian context conducted by Achour, Grine and Roslan Mohd Nor (2014). This study, involving five participants, investigated the causal factors of work-family conflict challenging Muslim female academic professionals and their coping mechanism. The authors approached the issue using role theory and Islamic perspective. Malaysian culture, which is based on Islam, sees married women's responsibility to be taking care of their families. If women decide to work, she should ensure her roles as employee, wife, and mother are managed well (Achour, Grine & Roslan Mohd Nor 2014, p. 1007). This societal expectation has created a dilemma. Long and inflexible working hours, high workloads, and household and child matters trigger exhaustion and conflict. Work-family conflict creates a high rate of absenteeism and turnover, as well as lower morale and job and family satisfaction. The research addresses social, professional, and religious coping strategies. The participants suggested that priority scales, and the support of their family, friends, and significant others helped them manage their dual roles. In addition, praying, reciting the Qur'an, and faith in God helped participants in dealing with their situations.

Concerning the influence of work-family conflict on the employees' job and life satisfaction, Fiksenbaum (2014) undertook research involving 112 employees. This research indicates that work-family conflict had effects on employees' well-being; however, the result shows that despite work demands, participants were satisfied with their work and family life. It suggests that supportive work environments reduce the perception of work-family conflict, which subsequently minimises the possible effects of conflict on employees' well-being. The organisation's recognition of potential impacts of work-family conflict appears to be an influential factor in creating work-life balance for staff. Various formal

programs, such as on-site child care, flexible work hours, and telecommuting, help employees balance their work and family time.

Rationale and significance of the study

There are three main conclusions that may be drawn as rationale and significance of this study from the foregoing review of literature. The first is related to the research focus. Deinstitutionalisation is a systematised and policy-based shift from institution-based care towards family and community-based care (Wargan 2013). As a part of the changing paradigm in the provision of residential-based care to children, the awareness and adequate capacities of various stakeholders are necessary to translate the concept into concrete policies and practices. This study provides a different angle of examining the shifting paradigm in the child welfare system. This research focuses on the social worker's experiences as a part of the institutional transformation. The social workers' experiences and perceptions discloses their readiness, opportunities and challenges in being the front liners delivering the service.

The second difference is the use of phenomenology, ecological system theory and critical social work theory as tools of analysis. Phenomenology is an interpretive critical approach, used to examine social workers' perceptions. The use of phenomenology allows participants to share their perceptions, feelings, senses, and experiences of the changing paradigm along various stages of their working and training journeys. The ecological system theory provides explanations of people's close relationships with their environments (Parrish 2009). Despite its primary use to analyse environmental systems in which the child is at centre, in this study Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory is used to assist identifying the interrelated systems around the social workers, as identified by them, and to analyse the interaction patterns and dynamics. Acknowledging the reciprocal impacts of social workers and their environments will support a deeper understanding of their background influences, including demographics, family upbringing, life experiences, values, politics and culture, in the perceptions shared. Using ecological diagrams, this study looks through the systems' interaction dynamics surrounding the social workers before and after the institutional transformation started. The critical social work lens enables this study to examine the social workers' position in the context of power relations and social justice. A critical perspective allows open ways of understanding phenomena rather than accepting phenomena as it is (Allan 2003a). Using these three related approaches allows us to see

social workers' positions in a broader context, linking external factors to social workers' perceptions of the changing paradigm in child institutionalisation.

The third unique aspect of this study is its focus on Indonesia. This will shed some light in the global efforts of the shifting paradigm in children's institutional care provision, since, so far, much of the literature focuses on Central and Eastern European countries. The complex circumstances in Indonesia, ranging from demographic, geographical, social, and political contexts, contribute to the significance of this study. Given the paradigm, Indonesian social workers have a unique view and unique challenges. Acknowledging Indonesian social workers' complex situation is worthwhile in evaluating policy implementation. More comprehensive efforts to develop the Indonesian child welfare system can be developed by identifying the opportunities and challenges that face social workers, as results of changing policy and practice in residential child care.

CHAPTER THREE
Theoretical Frameworks and Research Methodology

This chapter presents the research method used to respond to the research question:

> *How do Indonesian social workers experience working in the midst of policy and practice change, specifically the social workers who have received training from the Ministry of Social Affairs on social work's role transformation, front-line practice and system changes affecting residential child care in Indonesia?*

This chapter consists of theoretical frameworks and research design, including the participants and locus of the study, researcher's position, data collection, and data analysis; with researcher interpretation of the data being further informed by the integration of ecological and critical social work perspectives to understand social workers' experiences of the phenomena (e.g. the paradigm change). Also covered are research ethics protocols and discussion of the study's strengths and potential limitations.

This study's aims are:

1. To interpret phenomenologically the social workers' experiences of training and application of Indonesia's system-based approach in child welfare provision, and the changing role expectations of social workers employed in residential child care.

2. To locate the social worker's experiences of the changes to residential child care practice in the context of the social workers' systems and of Indonesia's broader socio-political transformations.

3. To analyse the social workers' experiences of working amidst change using an ecological framework, from the micro to macro systems, in the context of global trends in residential child care.

Theoretical framework

Phenomenology

Individuals' development is largely influenced by their interactions with their social and physical surroundings. Diverse circumstances and social dynamics create different experiences for each individual. According to Spencer (2008), the interactions between individuals and their social environments influence their perceptions towards certain

phenomena. Spencer (2008) adds that the way social dynamics and interaction patterns affect the individuals' life varies from one to another; it depends on how they interpret any occurrence in their life. There are five key approaches in qualitative research: narrative, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study (Creswell 2007). To gain an understanding of individuals' perceptions of phenomena, phenomenology assists researchers to "describe the meaning of people's lived experiences of a concept or a phenomena" (Creswell 2007, p. 53). It enables researcher to explore the subjects' perceptions, feelings, senses and experiences of certain phenomenon.

Phenomenology was initially introduced to the field of philosophy by Edmund Husserl. The approach focuses on describing the experience of certain phenomena from the angle of the person experiencing it (Connelly 2010, p. 127). In the context of qualitative research, Creswell (2007) explains that a researcher collected data from people experiencing phenomena and then described the essence of their experiences, answering "what" and "how" the people experienced it. In-depth interviews and observation are instruments that can be utilised to grasp the essence of the participants' experiences. Connelly (2010) highlights phenomenology's focus on consciousness (i.e. judgement, perception and emotion) and the human (i.e. the one owning the experience and opinions). Phenomenology is commonly used in nursing and health sciences (Connelly 2010; Crist & Tanner 2003; Flood 2010; Nourian et al. 2016) and education (Van Manen, Max 2007; van Manen, M. & Adams 2010). Some uses in social work research include Wilcke (2002) and (Gonzalez 2013).

Part of this thesis is predicated on understanding social workers' perceptions of the practice and policy changes in residential-based care. It explores the social workers' positions in their social contexts, including their relationships and interaction patterns with social systems surrounding them, and how this shape their perceptions. This study does not stop at reporting the social workers' experiences as a *narrative* study would, nor does it attempt to generate theory. This study involves people of various backgrounds, rather than specific ethnicities (Indonesia comprises diverse ethnicities) or cases. Phenomenology is considered comprehensive, as it emphasises grasping the different phenomena experienced by the participants and then allowing the meaning to emerge as a whole context (Houston & Mullan-Jensen 2011). Phenomenology allows participants to share their perceptions, feelings, senses and experiences of the changing paradigm along the various stages of their working and training journeys.

Phenomenology is concerned with the interaction between the researcher and subject being studied (Reiners 2012). I use interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) to apprehend the essence of social workers' perceptions and experiences of the institutional changes affecting their professional roles. Learning other people's experiences means learning something different from what we already know. Smith and Osborn (2003) explain that the use of interpretative phenomenological analysis is to understand phenomena from the participants' points of view, how they made sense of their experiences. Understanding the social workers' perceptions required me to be open to unfamiliar ways of thinking, in which I should expect the unexpected (Chan, ZCY, Fung & Chien 2013; Robyn 2005). Smith and Osborn (2003) further maintain that IPA combines the interpretation and understanding processes in attempting to make sense of the participants' experiences. Considering that the IPA study is a dynamic process, the researcher's engagement is important. The researcher's means of articulating their own conceptions are crucial in accessing the "insider's perspective" (Smith & Osborn 2003, p. 53). Doing so, IPA does not seek out right and wrong; rather, it attempts to empathise with the participants constructing their personal meaning of the phenomena being studied.

Interpretative phenomenological analysis helps answer my research question. This approach is sensitive to understanding people as "being-in-the-world" rather than providing theories for generalisation (Crist & Tanner 2003). Interpreting other people's experiences should not be done to contest findings of previous research. Rather, it should create a dialogue to help understand the essence of the studied phenomenon. Interpretation is combined with understanding to make sense of participants' experiences, to achieve richer analysis that fairly represent both researcher and participants' views.

Ecological system theory

Bronfenbrenner's 1979 ecological system theory is predominantly applied to children, and addresses the social environments contributing to children's development. However, ecological system theory can be applied to other subjects than the child to facilitate understanding of any individual's development in the systems in which they are located. In the context of this thesis, Bronfenbrenner's ecological approach is useful for understanding the social workers' ongoing professional development as it relates to the changing socio-political and practice environments in which they were working.

Bronfenbrenner defines the ecology of human development as

> The scientific study of the progressive, mutual accommodation between an active, growing human being and the changing properties of the immediate settings in which the developing person lives, as this process is affected by relations between these settings, and by the larger contexts in which the settings are embedded (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 21).

This definition, Bronfenbrenner (1979) explains, implies that humans develop having charge of their own lives. They do not take their lives for granted. Individuals interact with societal dynamics and create reciprocal relationships with their social surroundings. This definition also suggests that there is not only a single layer to humans' social environment, but that larger systems influence individuals' lives even if they are not directly involved.

The ecological theory comprises four core components and the dynamics linking them (Bronfenbrenner & Morris 2007):

1. *Process*, which refers to the interactions between individuals in the surrounding environment. Despite the significance, *processes*' influences may vary from one individual to another.

2. *Person* is the theory's second principle. Individuals have diverse natural backgrounds that also play as a determinant in individual development.

3. The third principle is *Context.* The ecology model views the individual's position within systems, and maps other parties and their interactions to analyse how social environments influence the developing person. An analogy may be "the set of Russian dolls" (Bronfenbrenner 1979, p. 3) or the layers of an onion, in which the innermost layer contains the developing person. This analogy implies that all surrounding contexts contribute to the individual's development, in which no single social environment is completely dominant over the others. For example, parental separation may not be a single cause of a person becoming a juvenile offender. There might be other causes contributing the delinquency, such as peer pressure. Acknowledging social environments' influences on personal development is helpful in analysing behaviours and phenomena, specifically to plan interventions and avoid being judgemental.

4. The last core of the model is *Time*, in which the *processes* occur in the individuals' development.

Bronfenbrenner (1979) explains that the ecological perspective understands human development as a process of continuing changes in how humans perceive and deal with

their surrounding systems. Bronfenbrenner (1979) identifies five social contexts where humans live their interactions within layered systems, namely microsystem, mesosystem, exosystem, macrosystem, and chronosystem. He argues that an understanding human development should consider the interaction patterns and dynamics of the developing person with both surrounding people and systems. In this thesis, the social worker is positioned as the person who is engaging in ongoing personal and professional development.

1. **Microsystem**

   This domain is the developing person's immediate set of environments, the system units with which the developing person directly engages. Bronfenbrenner suggests, from an ecological perspective, that human development is influenced by their interactions with surrounding environments. How they process the interactions may vary one to the other and eventually lead to different results. In this microsystem domain, individuals encounter each other face-to-face and engage with other microsystem units that may shape perceptions towards phenomena. Bronfenbrenner defines microsystems as patterns of activities, roles, and relationships that are experienced by the developing person straight away within a particular social setting, such as family and peer groups, the neighbourhood, and the workplace (Bronfenbrenner 1994; Warren 2005). The microsystem analysis is helpful to understand the developing person's psychosocial state, as the units included in this domain are the closest parties. Thus, their influences are visible. In the context of studying social workers' perceptions of changing government practices, policies, theories, and practice applications (paradigms), this suggests that relationships between parts in their microsystem will continue to influence perceptions of those changing paradigms.

2. **Mesosystem**

   Bronfenbrenner (1994, p. 40) refers the mesosystem as "system of microsystems", as it describes the link between two or more settings wherein the developing person actively participates. The ecological perspective puts the developing person at the centre, becoming the 'primary link' between the settings (McIntosh et al. 2008, p. 88). Despite the focus, it is important to understand the significant others surrounding the developing person and how those, referred to as 'supplementary links', are interrelated (McIntosh et al. 2008, p. 88). For a child, as an example, the immediate settings s/he actively participates in include the family, school, and peer groups. Thus,

the mesosystem describes how family links up with the school, or how teachers connect to children's neighbourhood to gain a better understanding of the child-in-environment in order to address his/her needs. McIntosh et al. (2008) argue that acknowledging the work of mesosystem may promote the roles of surrounding environments that subsequently support the individuals' development to maintain the existing positive bonds and to enhance the unlinked ones. This argument is applicable in the social worker's context, in which understanding how relationships amongst social workers' immediate parties influences them and indicates potential resources as well as possible weakness. The mesosystem layer suggests that the interactions between social workers' immediate surroundings significantly shape their perceptions of the institutional transformation of residential child care.

3. Exosystem

The exosystem is a domain linking more than one setting, in which the developing individual is not directly involved, yet is affected (Bronfenbrenner 1994, p. 40). The developing person has limited access to this realm and it may be directly affected by the interaction dynamics amongst the exosystem units. In the child development context, for example, various factors influence children's psychological development. Besides children's immediate environments, such as family and school, the parents' networking may affect a given child. For example, when there is tension in a parent's workplace, it may influence the parent's psychological state that subsequently affects their behaviour towards their children. Another example is how a high quality program at child care affects the parents' attitudes or other family's (Swick & Williams 2006, p. 372). In the context of social worker as the developing person, the exosystem includes higher-level institutions, the dynamics of which have influences on social workers' perceptions despite minimal interaction. For example, the policies produced by either the Ministry or local government certainly affect social workers despite their minimal involvement in the policy-making process.

4. Macrosystem

The macrosystem is defined as the "overarching pattern of ideology and organization of the social institutions common to a particular culture or sub-culture" (Bronfenbrenner 1988, p. 39). It covers societal values and constructions, religious beliefs, cultures, and political products that influence individuals in their actions (Swick & Williams 2006, p. 372). The macrosystem is the outmost layer of an individual's life. It comprises behavioural and conceptual models transmitted from one

generation to the next through families, schools, or communities. Despite being the farthest stratum, the shared beliefs and values of a culture substantially internalise and influence the systems embedded in this broader system. The social work profession is built on a body of knowledge, skills, and values, meaning that social workers are bound within macrosystem units when performing their professional roles. In this research context, the social workers' prior knowledge as well as the values they embrace inevitably shape their perceptions of the changing role of residential child care.

5. Chronosystem

The last system of ecological perspective analysed in this study context is the chronosystem. Life events are separated into two categories: normative and non-normative ones. The former refers to normal or expected life events, such as puberty, school entry, job promotion, employee rotation, political change, marriage, retirement, etc., while the latter indicates unexpected experiences, for example death, disasters, winning lotteries, divorce, losing jobs, etc. (Bronfenbrenner 1988; Swick & Williams 2006). These diverse circumstances affect individuals' lives and cause particular developmental changes (Bronfenbrenner 1986). Life transitions create new experiences for each individual that shape certain mindsets towards certain phenomena and affect their personal lives and working experiences. In an Indonesian context, natural disasters, including the tsunami in Aceh or earthquakes in Yogyakarta, have particular influences on social workers' perceptions of support provision for children.

The ecological system theory is intended to enable me as researcher to interpret the significance of social environments' influences on social workers' perceptions of the current paradigm change. Pease (2003) writes that the ecological perspective aims to improve individuals' capacities to adapt to their environments and to support access so that individuals are able to fit their resources to their needs. In this study, an ecological perspective is used to see social workers as developing individuals in their social contexts. Exploring their outer layered systems and interaction dynamics helped me to understand external factors influencing their perceptions of current phenomena concerning the changes in residential child care service. Despite its the usefulness of the ecological perspective, Pease (2003) notes its limitations. It only focuses on interactions and pays little attention to the power relations that might create oppression at some point. Critical social work theory

is used in this study to help overcome the limitations of ecological perspectives, by addressing issues of power, and to contribute to research reliability.

Critical social work

The ecological perspective supports researcher's interpretations about the social workers in their ecosystem and how relational/interactional patterns might influence their perceptions of paradigm change. Kondrat (2002) argues that individuals are not only "interactors", but also "co-constructors". Kondrat (2002) also asserts that individuals' life systems should not only be seen to work like Russian dolls, in which one system nests in another larger system. Instead, a developing person should be seen as a ballerina in a show, or a football player that actively moves to reach a goal (Kondrat 2002, p. 439). This implies that it is not only the social environment that shapes developing individuals, but that human actions help to produce the environment. This can serve to maintain the status quo or alter it, indicating that individuals have the power to influence their surroundings, which can either be by action or inaction, conscious or unconscious.

Critical social work theory is a response to various social inequalities. It is a perspective that seeks to ensure social justice and a balance in social work practice. Salas, Sen and Segal (2010) portray critical social work as a framework to understand social mechanisms and how they affect us, help us to learn where we stand, and how we manage our roles in creating social justice. Allan (2003b) describes critical social work as a perspective that seeks to challenge social injustice through social transformation. She emphasises that inequality might arise in any level of an individual's life system. Therefore, critical social work has its core mission to promote social justice through social work practice and policy (Healy 2001).

The emergence of critical social work could be traced through social work's history and development (Martin, J 2003). Social work as a profession lays its "heart" on helping individuals fit resources to their needs and engaging in social change. These two core missions often collide, which in turn social work is often seen in micro versus macro practices only. On one hand, social work's focus is often perceived to be helping individuals get better-off. Conversely, the opponent emphasises the social change is the foundation of social work. Critical social work theory has appeared to guide social actions to bridge micro and macro social work practices.

Social work experts (Allan 2003a; Fook 2003; Salas, Sen & Segal 2010) agree that critical social work theory puts the focus on understanding power relations that potentially

led to dominance and subsequently create social injustice. Healy (2001) adds that critical social work commits to a participatory approach, working with and for oppressed people, and takes self-reflection as a tool. Practising critical social work theory requires the ability to think critically in identifying and analysing biases and distortions. Fook (2003) emphasises the significance of self-critical reflection to acknowledge knowledge diversity and ways of creating knowledge. Similarly, Salas, Sen and Segal (2010) point out self-reflection as a tool to question existing social circumstances and power distribution, aiming to explain human conditions.

Salas, Sen and Segal (2010, p. 93) assert that critical theory strengthens the research's theoretical foundation, considering ecology theory inadequate due to its strict focus on interaction patterns without considering power relations and their effects on social justice. According to Salas, Sen and Segal (2010, p. 93), critical theory-based practice reflects the following components:

- Considering contributing socio-cultural and historical factors
- Learning how power relations operate, whether or not over-dominating power occurs
- Critical questioning of self-beliefs and values related to the current phenomenon
- Maintaining impartiality
- Acknowledging others' beliefs and values
- Reflecting actions to contribute in social change.

Fook (2003), (Allan 2003a), and Salas, Sen and Segal (2010, p. 93) agree that social change representing justice for all is possible. One way is to employ critical social work theory to challenge disparities and provide methods to respond to disadvantaged parties, bridging the micro and macro levels of intervention. Salas, Sen and Segal (2010, p. 93) add that critical social work theory looks at factors beyond the phenomena, where power exists yet insufficiently meets shared needs. Critical social work, according to Allan (2003a, p. 61), comprises the efforts of empowerment defined as being "willing to share the knowledge in ways that help people to realise their own power, take control of their own lives, and solve their own problem". In this context of this study, the power of the Ministry of Social Affairs, and the larger autonomy of local governments, ideally could provide for a sustainable range of support to enhance the transformation of residential child care and social workers. On the other hand, the projected institutional transformation in residential child care has insufficiently provided evidence-based progress. Hence, this lens is helpful to investigate social workers' perceptions of the current phenomenon and the challenges they have experienced at the front line to keep up with the change, despite the existing power structure.

Critical social work theory is a framework to comprehend how underlying power structures shape society, how individuals recognise their portion and how to maximise it, and to acknowledge the surrounding system's impact in order to make changes (Salas, Sen & Segal 2010). Critical social work theory has the core mission of enhancing social justice through social work practice and policy-making (Healy 2001). It has self-reflection as its essential component, in which critical thinking serves as a tool for reflexive activities. Despite the different terms, experts in critical social work theory agree with the critical thinking process, which mainly covers deconstruction and reconstruction (Allan 2003a; Brookfield 2009; Fisher & Somerton 2000; Morley 2011). Deconstruction, according to Allan (2003a), refers to detangling the phenomena to comprehend the essence within certain contexts for particular individuals or groups. This process includes critical reflection, which involves questioning assumptions, and linking them to other occurrences understand phenomena (Allan 2003a; Brookfield 2009; Fisher & Somerton 2000; Morley 2011). Brookfield (2009) and Fisher and Somerton (2000) agree that reflection is mostly preceded by perplexed feelings regarding certain phenomenon.

Brookfield (2009) describes puzzlement as a *disorienting dilemma* in which individuals experience inconsistency between ideal and practical levels. Reflection, according to Brookfield (2009, p. 294), focuses on disclosing assumptions and anything that restrains individual perspectives. Morley (2011) states that critical reflection enables practitioners/researchers to develop links between theoretical frameworks and the practical level. Some questions identified by Morley (2011, p. 13) in practising critical reflection include: "What are your assumptions about power? Who has it? How do you know? What are the implications for your practice/study?" In this study context, these questions provide certain guidance to better elucidate power links, holders, and power distribution. This is essential to see how the power holders assess and execute their power concerning the transformation in residential-based care for children at risk, whether or not they use power to promote the shifting paradigm.

Brookfield (2009) explains that reflection does not only dig out assumptions, but also identifies them clearly, assesses them to arrive as an evidence-based judgement, takes different angles on the phenomenon from others' views, and takes actions based on assessment and judgement. Fisher and Somerton (2000) describe reflection-in-action which is preceded by puzzlement towards certain phenomena. They describe efforts to link events in order to identify what is familiar, put pieces together to construct a coherent model, then identify how they fit with prior knowledge. Another reflection model cited by Fisher and

Somerton (2000) was John's mode for structures reflection covering process: phenomenon, causal, context, reflection, alternative process, learning.

The use of critical social work theory complements interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) and ecological system theory in this study. In this study, meaning is uncovered through engaging with research participants, literature, and transcription texts. My own education and professional experiences also contribute to interpreting participants' observations. The critical paradigm suggests that social world is "multi-layered" (Fossey et al. 2002, p. 719), bringing about a conception that understanding macro-social structure is essential to comprehend individual social relationships. Likewise, the ecological system theory views individual development as influenced by multi-layered systems (Bronfenbrenner 1979). To recognise the significance of the social dimension requires consideration of both the time and the setting, suggesting that meaning is contextual. . Positioning the participants in context and understanding their relationships with surrounding social systems is vital to identify meaning beyond the participants' responses in this study, to avoid taking the phenomena for granted. Acknowledging the contribution and interaction dynamics of social multi-systems allows for a comprehensive understanding of Indonesian social workers' perceptions concerning the changing policy and practices related to the residential-based care of children.

Overview of Research Design

The shifting approach in child welfare is a complex issue in Indonesia, particularly when concerning residential-based care provision. The complexities in demography, geography, and the social, economic, and political circumstances demand a particular research approach, with the aim of clarifying the opportunities and challenges in developing the integrated system for better service delivery. This research looks specifically at social workers, particularly those working in institutional care service. Social workers, as the front liners, should be able to continue working during practice and policy changes in residential-based care. Adjusting to the institutional transformation has become challenging, as it requires the social workers to transform their professional roles.

According to Creswell (2007, p. 40), qualitative design is used when the issues require thorough exploration; the design is helpful in acquiring a detailed understanding the contexts as well as complexities of the issues. Opting for a qualitative approach works well when the researcher aspires to support people by listening to their voices and interpreting meanings as they relate to perceived experiences. In this research, qualitative inquiry

allowed for an understanding of individual perceptions to be intertwined with critique on the social, political and environmental systems that subjects interact with. Participants' responses were received via in-depth, one-on-one interviews.

Investigating social workers' perceptions demanded both a specific approach and a specific set of data collection tools. Phenomenology is used to explore social workers' living experiences and how they perceive the changing approaches in the day-to-day delivery of services at residential child care facilities. Open-ended questions were used to collect information from social workers and related key informants. Analytical interpretations were informed by ecological perspectives and critical social work theory.

Participants

The phenomenological approach requires that data is collected from people experiencing the studied phenomenon (Creswell 2007). Crist and Tanner (2003) mention that phenomenology does not seek to generalise and thus does not require a large sample size. Creswell (2007, p. 61) cites Polkinghorne, who recommends that researchers interview 5 to 25 people who experienced the phenomenon; thus, the size of this study's sample is adequate. Smith and Osborn (2003) argue the researcher's commitment in engaging with the participants to achieve richer analysis; consequently, worthwhile analysis does not require an exact number of participants. This way, the homogeneity and small number of participants allow construction of a theory by linking the findings, the researcher's own conceptions, and the existing literature.

In this research context, data was collected from social workers and other key informants and developed into several themes that allow meaning of the experience on the shifting paradigm to appear in one piece. The participants were selected based on criteria:

- Work or were previously assigned in residential child care
- Have participated in the training/s on child protection held by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

These criteria are essential given this study's aims. The training participation is significant to include participants than can reflect on their pre-service and in-service training. This study also involved several developmental agencies as key informants, such as representatives from Ministry of Social Affairs, Save the Children, UNICEF and higher education.

The study took place in the Centre for Education and Training of Social Welfare (BBPPKS) Region III Yogyakarta. This regional office covers six provinces: Yogyakarta,

Central Java, East Java, Bali, West Nusa Tenggara and East Nusa Tenggara. Region III Yogyakarta represents both western and eastern parts of Indonesia. Yogyakarta, Central Java and East Java are representatives of west part of Indonesia, while Bali and Nusa Tenggara are parts of East Indonesia. The coverage of both west and east parts of Indonesia enriched the data on diverse social contexts, e.g. the geographical and socio-cultural circumstances. In addition, Yogyakarta is one of two places where Save the Children hold pilot projects on changing approaches in residential-based care service. State Islamic University (*Universitas Islam Negeri*) Sunan Kalijaga in Yogyakarta provides social welfare study programs for bachelor and master's degrees, and supported the analysis on the social workers' pre-service training, while the in-service training was provided by MoSA's centre for education and training.

Participants were recruited based on the lists of training participants from 2010 to 2014, received from the Centre for Education and Training of Social Welfare Yogyakarta. The recruiting process was quite challenging due to the inadequate selection criteria for training participation. The training participants comprised social workers and care workers of various institutional backgrounds, including orphanages, residential-based service for youth who had left school early, and day care centres. Their employment status was also diverse, including government social workers assigned in residential child care and contract social workers who were part of the Cash Transfer Program to Vulnerable Children (*Program Kesejahteraan Sosial Anak/*PKSA) of MoSA. I needed to recruit those who had been involved in residential child care before and after participating in the training. Once I got the list of those matched with the criteria, I made contact via phone and email, asking whether they were interested in my research. From 60 participants out of 150 that I targeted in the beginning, only 20 participants were willing to take part in my study. I travelled to Singaraja (Bali), Mataram and East Lombok (West Nusa Tenggara), Kupang (East Nusa Tenggara), City of Yogyakarta, Pati (Central Java), and Nganjuk (East Java) from December 2015 to February 2016 to perform in-depth interviews with the social workers.

The details of recruiting the participants as follows:

1. I contacted the Centre for Education and Training of Social Welfare Region III Yogyakarta, Indonesia via email, asking permission to do research with the social workers within their coverage.
2. I then sent a request letter for data collection to the Ministry of Homeland (Appendix 1 & 2: Letter of Recommendation).

3. Once the permit received from both the regional office and the Ministry of Homeland, I selected eligible participants from the lists I received.
4. I contacted the social workers by phone and emails, asking whether they were interested in participating in my research. I sent the letter of introduction and related documents via email where possible, and via post for those who did not provide an email address (Appendix 2: Letter of Introduction).
5. I informed the potential participants that they were free to cancel their participation prior my arrival in Indonesia in December 2015.

With this recruitment process I did not encounter any cancellation from the 20 participants who had agreed to take part in my research.

Role of the researcher

The researcher plays a central role in qualitative research, as the primary instrument in processing data. The qualitative researcher should ensure that data is collected and analysed free from bias and personal opinion, and that ethical aspects are considered. The researcher's commitment to engaging with participants is essential in interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) (Smith & Osborn 2003). During the study, remaining neutral was quite challenging, as in IPA my own conceptions based on my trainings and professional experiences were integral to the study. As mentioned earlier, the researcher's own conceptions determine the access in making sense the participants' personal and professional experiences (Smith & Osborn 2003). My knowledge and background as a trainer in one of MoSA's centres for education and training, and as a national trainer on the shifting paradigm in child protection in Indonesia, might have influenced the data collection and analysis process.

Taking region III Yogyakarta as the locus of the study was one way to avoid negative effects of bias. I work at region IV Kalimantan, so collecting data in another region helped avoid assumptions concerning the social workers' circumstances in the respective region and avoided any conflict of interest regarding my status as MoSA's trainer. Considering my knowledge background on social worker training and the shifting paradigm in the child protection system, it was helpful to gather in-depth information from the participants. I listened and grasped all the participants' responses without trying to impose my understanding. Later on, I would use my knowledge and understanding on the discussed topic to analyse the participants' responses to answer the research questions.

Data collection

The in-depth interview is a primary instrument to collect data in phenomenological research. Interviews enable the researcher to explore the participants' descriptions of phenomena, including asking for clarifications or examples (Flood 2010, p. 11). Creswell (2007, p. 61) emphasises two broad primary questions: What have you experienced concerning the phenomenon? What contexts or situations have influenced your experiences of the phenomenon? He asserts that these two general questions, supported with other open-ended questions, are important in leading the researcher to explore the social workers' perceptions, feelings, and experiences.

I conducted the interviews from mid-December 2015 to mid-February 2016 at times and in places convenient for the participants. The interviews lasted between one and two hours. I began the interviews by introducing myself and my study. I informed them that the interviews would be recorded, that they refuse to answer whenever they felt uncomfortable, and they could stop the interviews at any time. The participants were also informed that they could withdraw their responses within one month of the interview. The initial phenomenological question was "How do you perceive deinstitutionalisation as a part of the changes in institution-based care?" This primary question was supported with open-ended questions as follow:

1. How do you describe your experience of delivering service for children in the institution?
2. How do you value the rights of the child?
3. How do you describe your experience of participating in training on child protection?
4. How do you view the current paradigm applied in child protection?
5. How do you compare the current approach to the previous one?
6. How do you translate your roles, especially as a case manager, facilitator, and advocate?
7. How do you manage your roles in applying the new approach compared to the previous?
8. How do you interpret that safeguarding children also means empowering families?
9. How do you describe the challenges that you face?

10. How do you describe the supports along your work experience?

I organised the data by creating a specific folder for audio files, along with the transcription, all of which was stored on my personal laptop and backed up on a portable hard disk. I transcribed the data verbatim and translated the responses to English. As the data was being transcribed, I began analysing the information to cluster it into themes. Follow-up interviews were not needed but would have been scheduled if there was anything that was not sufficiently covered.

Data analysis

As mentioned earlier, the data analysis process started while I transcribed the data and translated responses into English. I followed Creswell (2007) and Smith and Osborn (2003) in analysing the data. The interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA) aims to find the meaning beyond the participants' explanations during the interview. Engaging with the transcription and interpreting the results are ways to access meanings as the essence of participants' perceptions, since they are not explicitly available (Smith & Osborn 2003, p. 66). Once the transcriptions and translation were done, I printed them out, read each transcription carefully and highlighted responses indicating the social workers' perceptions and experiences towards the institutional changes in residential-based care. I compared the responses of participants with others working in the same institution or residing in the same province. This was useful to see the social contexts of the participants, to examine their relationships with co-workers and the institution manager (if they worked at the same institution), as well as the local government and other developmental agencies. I then analysed the content drawn from the interviews with social workers of each province and clustered them into themes. The final clusters of social workers' responses then became the first part of chapter four (chapter on findings). To support each theme, I inserted some of the participants' responses as representative examples.

Next, I began to analyse the findings using Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory, and critical social work theory. The ecological system theory enabled extraction of the social workers' perceptions of the system they worked in pre- and post-change, as well as their perceptions of how changes influenced their professional roles. In this stage I developed ecomaps, comprising chrono-, macro-, exo-, meso-, and micro-systems, to describe the interactions of social workers with their surroundings. In each ecomap I identify system units, in which the participants were positioned as the developing individuals that put them in the centre of microsystem. I linked the social workers as a microsystem with the other systems

(meso, exo, macro, and chronosystems), and identified the interaction patterns built among the system units.

Critical social work theory enabled my interpretations to emerge in relation to social workers' capacity to engage in social change and justice, and to create better outcomes for children. I compared social workers from the ecological perspective *before* and *after* the Tsunami in Aceh in 2004. I did this because the disaster prompted several changes, including widely-implemented decentralisation and the changing paradigm in the child welfare system. The comparison of social workers' circumstances *before* and *after* 2004 showed the interaction dynamics and changes that significantly influenced social workers and shaped their working experiences differently. The ecomaps enabled me to see the social workers' social contexts and how those shaped their perceptions of the changes in residential-based service.

Ethical considerations

Any kind of research involving living subjects takes ethics as a particular matter. Ethical concerns must be addressed to protect research subjects from harm (Orb, Eisenhauer & Wynaden 2001, p. 93). Research ethics also function as a control mechanism for the researchers to act properly, not causing damage or adopting any means to achieve the research objectives. Qualitative research that often involves people in the setting should be particularly aware of ethical concerns. According to Orb, Eisenhauer and Wynaden (2001, p. 95), every researcher should respect the participants' rights, avoid any harm for anyone, and conduct the research in justice.

This study ensures the following aspects:

1. Ethical approval was granted by the Social and Behavioural Research Ethics Committee (SBREC) Flinders University (Appendix 3: Research Ethics Final Approval).
2. Participants were given full and accurate information in regard to issues such as the background, nature, purpose, funding and output of the research (Appendix 4: Information Sheet).
3. Participants were given consent forms, able to make an informed decision to participate or otherwise in the study (Appendix 5: Consent Form).

4. Participants were free to decide not only to agree to participate in the research but also to decide which information to provide. They had the option to withdraw from the research within a month after the interview.
5. Participants would not be face unnecessary risks resulting from their participation. This research has nothing to do with the participants' employment status.
6. The data given by participants, including personal details and information, is ensured to be confidential and is used for the research purpose only. To preserve anonymity and confidentiality, pseudonyms for the participants and their locations were used in the research report. In addition, I managed the transcriptions and translations by myself, and stored the files in a secure place.

These efforts were undertaken to achieve the objectives of the study while managing ethical issues.

Potential Limitations of the Study

It could be suggested that the small sample size is a limitation. I was only able to contact 20 participants out of 150 alumni of training on child protection held by the Centre for Education and Training of Social Welfare Region III Yogyakarta. The sample size might be considered small, considering Indonesia's geography and demography. Depicting the experiences of social workers residing in certain provinces surely could not be generalised to the population of Indonesian social workers. Despite the small number, based on Creswell's earlier explanation (2007), twenty social workers participating in this research is sufficient. My commitment to engage with the participants and conduct an in-depth analysis was more significant than sample size in interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA). Participants required by the phenomenological approach are people who experienced the discussed phenomenon. In this research, I ensure that the participants met the criteria as social workers working in residential child care and having participated in training on the current child welfare system. The sample size enabled in-depth interviews and time to build the rapport necessary to grasp the participants' experiences of becoming social workers and being engaged in the changing policy and practices in residential child care.

The different status of social workers involved in this study could be considered another limitation. I included three groups of social workers, respectively from government workplaces, non-government institutions, and finally, those recruited by MoSA to support the PKSA and called *Satuan Bhakti Pekerja Sosial* (*Sakti Peksos*). They reported their duties

to assigned supervisors. These social workers were initially assigned to particular private residential child care sites, but were relocated under restructured to their respective municipal departments of social service (*Dinas Sosial*). Their tasks include assisting all private residential child care in the district/city and responding to any case involving children there. Despite the different job descriptions, there was no significant difference in perceptions of the role transformation in residential child care. This implies that differing employment statuses and current professional tasks are not considered problematic. The diverse groups of social workers involved in this research enriched the perspective in viewing the shifting paradigm in child welfare system

Considering my prior status as one of MoSA's trainers, I chose the locus of this study where I had not worked or trained the social workers to avoid conflicts of interest. The confusion about my role could have prompted potential participants' scepticism about my research intentions. Nevertheless, I found that the participants who did participate had no concerns regarding my employment status. They seemed to enjoy the interview and valued that their voices would be heard by participating in this study.

The final concern is related to the use of phenomenological approach in this research. Phenomenological studies are about interpretation and different factors influence individuals' ways of interpreting certain phenomenon. Individuals' perceptions, including my own as the researcher/interpreter, may change over time. On commencing this research, the focus was on one phenomenon – social workers' perceptions of change from institutional child care to deinstitutionalisation. During the term of this study, the complex circumstances in Indonesia had changed. As well, the changing political situation in Indonesia is characterised by ongoing incessant change. Social workers undertake their daily tasks in the midst of multiple and ongoing paradigm changes impacting across their systems. The focus here, therefore, is on interpreting multiple paradigm shifts and social workers' experiences of multiple, compounding phenomena in the systems in which they work and live.

CHAPTER FOUR
Research Results

Overview

It is only recently that there has been much social and political interest in child protection in Indonesia. As with other countries, the focus in child protection has tended to take on an issues-based or thematic approach, such as focusing on children on the street or children in conflict with the law. There is an acknowledgement, however, that a more comprehensive approach to child protection is needed. Indonesia's governments formally acknowledged the need for a more holistic, systems-based approach need began post-Tsunami in 2004. This was fuelled by increasing numbers of children living apart from their families and rising numbers of reports of child abuse.

The system-based approach to child protection has become a prominent option globally, for several reasons. This includes greater access to a broad range of enhanced protection services for all children, and strategies to ensure program sustainability. The systems approach elucidates the interaction between system parts, allowing for comprehensive solutions ranging from prevention to early intervention and response. Key features of the systems approach that are beneficial for social work include better collaboration between agencies, and co-ordination of comprehensive services across programs. This is argued to support the sustainability of child protection programs (Delaney, Quigley & Shuteriqi 2014, p. 10). In addition, the system-based approach emphasises the family role in providing protective environments for children, within a broader system. This has encouraged residential-based care centres in Indonesia to adopt a philosophy that institution-based care is the last resort. This changing paradigm has informed changes in child service delivery and has affected all related parts of the child protection system and all stakeholders, including social workers. As the front liners, social workers in particular need to have adequate knowledge and skills to apply the systems approach so that the services they deliver are responsive to the paradigm change.

This chapter presents the social workers' perceptions of the shifting approach in support provisions to children, particularly in respect to the social workers' role transformations in light of changes to residential child care. In-depth interviews conducted predominantly with social workers, and some key informants, provide a range of perspectives. Social workers' perspectives on the systems-based approach are mapped into

pre- and post-systems models. This provides a basis for further interpretation from a critical perspective. The demography of the social workers and their journeys in becoming social workers is provided for context, prior to presenting research results in three discrete clusters:

- Knowledge of children's rights
- Perceptions of the change related to children's institutionalisation
- Challenges and opportunities in implementing the transformation.

Demography

The demography section comprises the participants' biographic and practice details, providing the social workers' professional values, roles, and experiences. As social work in Indonesia is viewed as both a profession and as a functional career in the government public service context, it is common for social workers to experience several rotations from one workplace to another during his/her career. In this context, understanding how the social workers perceived their experiences of delivering services at different work settings and to different service users was essential for examining their perceptions of the paradigm change. I provide the demographic information, followed by results concerning participants' comprehension about children's rights and the role transformation of residential child care.

Biographic and practice details

Gender		**Educational background**		**Length of working experience**			
Female	Male	Social Work	Non-Social Work	< 5 years	5-10 years	11-15 years	>15 years
6	14	10	10	3	9	2	6

The male participants outnumbered the female in this study. Fifty percent of participants had a bachelor's degree in social work and 50 percent had another degree. Most of the participants had worked as social workers for more than five years. Thirty per cent of participants had more than 15 years of social work experience. The difference in gender, educational background, and working experiences (length of time and workplace settings) revealed differences in how the participants valued their profession, roles, and the changing approach in child protection.

Becoming a social worker

Social worker, as a job position applied in Indonesia, is not limited to those holding a professional license. In the book of technical guidance for social worker position[5], social worker refers a civil servant who is given responsibilities to deliver social services in government's social agency/ residential-based care institutions. Despite the social work/welfare education as a basic requirement, the guidance book states that non-social work school graduates may be assigned in a social worker position with additional requirement of passing the basic training of social work, organised by respective Centre for Education and Training of Social Welfare.

There were three distinct groups of social workers amongst this research's participants with diverse working experiences. The first group comprised fourteen participants who had worked at residential care centres, run by central or provincial government, which served as a regional technical unit. As government social workers, having work rotation was inevitable; therefore, most of the participants had worked at different residential-based care sites and in different roles. The experience of working for government developed rule-based working protocols for this group, in that they always followed the standard of procedure set in each institution. The second group consisted of social workers at residential child care settings run by the private sector. There were only a few non-government residential child care settings that were hiring social workers at the time of data collection and actively implementing social work practice. Most private institutions were charity-based and relied on the owner to decide on practice decisions. The third group was represented by social workers called *Satuan Bhakti Pekerja Sosial (Sakti Peksos)*, recruited by MoSA through PKSA in 2010. Previously, this group of social workers was assigned to private child residential care concerned with neglected/abandoned children, children on the street, or children in conflict with the law. In 2014, organisational restructuring saw the Sakti Peksos to be reassigned to the local Department of Social Service (*Dinas Sosial*/Dinsos). This change influenced the participants' workload. While previously this third group of participants were assigned to assist only one residential child care case, after the restructure their main tasks included supporting local Dinsos in responding any case related to children, disseminating the National Standard of Care, and assisting all non-government residential child care to retain legal status and standardised care service.

[5] Appendix of the Decree of Minister of Social Affairs of Republic of Indonesia No. 10/HUK/2007

Government social worker/civil servant (Pegawai Negeri Sipil/PNS)

Social work in Indonesia is conceptualised as a generalist practice; therefore, having placement rotation in different work setting is standard practice among government social workers. Nearly half of the participants with civil servant status had delivered services in different residential care centres prior to working in government residential child care. They shared many experiences of working in a range of workplaces and with a diversity of service users. With their generalist practice background, the participants noted little difference in knowledge, theory and application from one social work role to another, or across welfare settings. The following interview excerpt is provided as an example. Evident is the acknowledgement of different social work approaches in different contexts with different populations, but that ultimately some workers do not value skill development or wish to change their approach, as social work is viewed as just a job:

> *Each residential care centre serving as a regional technical unit of the Province Department of Social Service (Dinas Sosial Provinsi/ Dinsosprov) has different targets or service users, so different interventions are required. Admittedly, the social work principles are applicable everywhere; however, each centre has individual characteristics that we should notice. For example, in a centre for the elderly, the emphasis is on how to maintain clients' health and tranquillity. The clients arguing with each other, the stinky smells, are features of centres for elderly. Different stories came from centres for vulnerable women or those for youth. I did not encounter so much trouble there, as they were mostly young people who had dropped out of school. The only problem was how to recruit clients. While the centre for the elderly was always full, other centres often lacked clients. Most young people preferred doing any job with any payment rather than staying in the centre to learn some skills (Hans).*

Referring to the principle of individualisation, the participants considered each client they worked with to be unique. Different manners, way of thinking, and various methods and techniques for social worker-client interactions were required. For example, Lina started her career as a civil servant at a young age. She was assigned to the centre for woman with vulnerabilities. She said that working with women, most of whom were commercial sex workers, needed a lot of courage. She frequently had to contend with clients trying to escape, or organised kidnappings. Lina kept in mind that she worked for the government and was determined to manage regardless of the women's social context. While Lina put

courage upfront when dealing with what she termed as “heinous” clients and the people surrounding them, she advised that she acted differently when she was transferred to the centre delivering services for homeless people and later on to child residential care. She tried to understand her ex-psychotic clients’ needs, and always respected elderly people. This highlights, however, that Lina was not adapting her social work to different client contexts, but instead operating from her own belief system to inform people’s worth: sex workers as deviant, as opposed to children and homeless people as vulnerable who were worthy of her care. She could not adapt her generalist social work practice as she did not have ‘unconditional positive regard’ towards the people she worked with, regardless of their contexts.

Many of the social workers stated that they felt no difference as a social work professional in the work they did with children as opposed to other population groups. Bakri shared his experiences of working at centre for the elderly, homeless people, and children. He stated that managing cases of homeless people was the most difficult, but working with children was complicated as well. While participants valued their roles as a social worker and said that they individualised interventions, here too, their work was informed by job roles and belief systems, as opposed to social work principles. For example, Hans and Bakri positioned themselves as carers at elderly institutions, instructors when they worked at youth centres, and even as ‘parents’ when they were placed at a children home. They played their roles according to normative social interactions expected between different groups of people in society as opposed to the application of social work theory, perspectives, or practice approaches. Most of the participants affirmed that they positioned themselves as substitute parents for the children they worked with and, although well intentioned, what they were doing was not social work. Bakri stated:

> *When I moved to this centre (child residential care), I found that it was not easy to take care of the children. They are naughty, like to break the rules. I approach them as if they were my own kids. If I ignore them because they are somebody else’s kids, I will never be able to guide them on the right track (Bakri)*.

Similarly, Sam has worked in the centre for more than 15 years and lived in the centre area for 13 years. Most of the children regarded him as their father, even calling him “*babeh*” (father). He said that he treated the children as if they were his own children. He would make sure their emotional needs were fulfilled by doing so, but likewise he did not articulate social work knowledge and skills due to operating under and adhering to government rules for

practice. The two are not necessarily aligned, and this is discussed later in this thesis. Sam said:

> *…perhaps this (the closeness) is why I never got rotated since I moved here (to the centre). I always make certain the kids' needs are fulfilled, take care of them when they are sick, and when they have problems. That is why the children still respect me a lot although I no longer live in the centre area. They would never break the rules that we have agreed to. They know that I would always be strict with the rules (Sam).*

Lina and Anya, female social workers, valued the substitute parent role differently. Lina confirmed that she acted in a parental role and was more lenient to younger children. She said that most of the younger children had no idea of living in an institution. They only knew that they lived away from their parents and the social workers were there to take care of them. On the other hand, Lina set more boundaries to the bigger children.

> *…I act a bit different to the bigger children, those who are of high school age. When I run out of ways to tell them to behave, I would say 'I would be a bad person and sinful if I could not guide you on the right track. Sending you home might be a better option. If you think that I would not get paid due to your absence, you are wrong. The government pays me to guard you; I could not see you fail or become a bad person'… (Lina).*

Anya, a social worker with 25 years' experience, advised that her previous role as a teacher involved giving advice and disciplining by giving punishment. After participating in the training on child protection, she consciously changed the way she worked to ensure that what she did was in the best interest of the child, both as the children's principal carer and provider of home-like living, and as a professional.

> *…the institution's head would be pleased to see the kids be disciplined; thus, we thought that punishment worked best to discipline the kids. With the implementation of the National Standard of Care I realised that I should have performed my role as their parent as well as their best friend. It [the National Standard of Care] also had affected the way we filed the children's record. We also continued to maintain the relationships between the kids and their parents, including arranging family meetings each two months. You know what, the*

children actually felt the change. They said that I was used to become angry easily, but not anymore (Anya).

With training in respect to the changing paradigm of child care in institutions, Anya's comments above demonstrate adherence to principles on the rights of the child. Her comments on children's records reflect children's rights to identity. So too do the practices related to maintaining contact and relationships between children and their parents. Finally, as a 'parent', Anya suggests the provision of a home-like environment for children in care.

The participants explained that social workers functioned as professionals; the job descriptions included counselling, documentation, working with schools, and other interventions related to the children's development. In addition, social workers provided practical assistance to children in their daily activities, acted as role models, encouraged children to achieve highly in life, and undertook advocacy activities to do with children being afforded their needs and rights. Anya asserted that social workers were helped by *pramurukti* (care assistants) who lived in the boarding houses to watch and assist the children in daily activities.

The participants advised that being a social worker was challenging. The work demand and limited number of social workers were parts of it.

…motivating the kids has been a part of my work through this time, advocating their needs, for example talking to their schools. It is quite hard being a social worker. We work different shifts from other employees (Mandy).

…social workers play important roles in residential care centres. Social workers have a better knowledge of service delivery compared to other staff members, even the centre head. There are limited social workers here, only two people (Wandi).

Related to the limited number of social workers in a centre, Yan started his career in a residential child care in a security role. Since he lived in the centre area, his duties included taking care of the children after hours and ensuring the children's safety and that they follow the rules and schedules. This happened due to the limited number of social workers and working shift.

I was appointed as a social worker for the first time in November 2010. I studied social work in high school and then took a diploma in social welfare. In 1998 I

applied for a job and was hired as a security staff member here. The centre had given me some authority due to limited resources. Regularly, the employees came to the office in the morning and went home in the afternoon, as did the children with their school time. So cooks and security staff like me were actual people playing important roles in taking care of the kids. I assisted the kids with their activities and schedules after school (Yan).

Non-government social workers

Unlike the social workers with civil servant status, the participants working at non-government residential care had mostly been permanent at the centre since commencing. They worked without concern of being rotated to another centre. These social workers appeared to retain a professional status and set the substitute parent role aside. Sire worked at a private children home for more than 15 years. He positioned himself as an educator and worked to ensure that the children followed the agreed rules and schedules. He emphasised that the centre focused on children's character building alongside helping them pursue education. Praying together and discussing the holy book, the Quran, were efforts to internalise particular religious values. Activities that included deportment and speech practice aimed to develop the children's confidence and leadership skills. Another social worker, Wika, started her career as *Sakti Peksos*. Instead of working at local Dinas Sosial after repositioning, she preferred to stay at the non-government residential care institution where she got her first placement. Having social work as her educational background, Wika performed her role from a professional social work value base. She initially thought that taking care of children of poor families in an institution was a noble deed. Later on, she understood that many institutions had been untrustworthy, thus violating the principle of best interest of the child. This conflicted with Wika's social work values. With her social work knowledge, she performed assessments before planning interventions and considered networking in managing a case. Wika described the centre she worked at as a place for marginalised people. She positioned herself to be a good listener, a motivator. Despite her background, Wika asserted that sometimes she overwhelmed with her work.

…although I learned a lot about assessments, counselling, and group work therapy (at school), I found that things were not that easy. Even when I joined the Ministry's program for clustered "neglected children and children on the street" I felt that I got nothing. We were obliged to make a monthly report, but we never got any clue how to do that. I had to work by myself and learn from colleagues of

other clusters. When I did first assessments here, I had to get rid of any assumptions. I looked up the information about the children from the carer to get the broad picture; I got to set the sensitive things aside so that I gained the kids' trust.

…I went with the flow. The centre focuses on working with marginalised people. I have worked with single pregnant mothers here. When there is nobody and nowhere to go, we are here to raise their confidence and affections towards the baby, as many of them had gone through abortion. I reassure them that a child is a gift from God ***(****Wika****).***

Contract social workers (Sakti Peksos)

Different experiences were shared by social workers recruited for PKSA by the Ministry of Social Affairs. The participants were challenged by changes in placements due to restructures, from initially working with one centre to then working with the local department of social services in assisting all non-government residential child care. Andy first worked at a residential care centre focusing on children who were victims of trafficking. He gave counselling and psychosocial support. He was then moved to another children's home. In Indonesia, it is common to classify children of poor families as 'neglected children' due to the parents' inability to provide education and other basic needs. After some time, he was relocated to support the local department of social service. His main duties included responding to and managing cases involving children in the district and assisting residential care centres in both the process of acquiring the legal status, and step-by-step application of the National Standard of Care.

When I worked with a centre, the methods I used were to empower the beneficiaries and to support the centre. It was different from how I am working now. Supporting the local department of social service, I perform my roles as a case manager, facilitator... For example, when I respond to cases of children in conflict with the law, I work as a mediator between families of the victim and the offender. Let me give you an example; I once responded to a case of sexual abuse. The assistance to this case included supporting the victim to carry on the case to trial and assuring that the trial worked as it should, especially since the offender was an adult. We would promote a diversion process when the offender was still child-aged. We would also ensure the victim's safety (Andy)

Being involved in the program supporting child social welfare, the participants perceived their roles mostly as case manager, facilitator, and mediator. Elly, for example, case management was a new experience. This included how to perform outreach, manage cases on sexual abuse, and work with the victims and family without triggering any trouble. She learnt lessons from her job that she might not have found in her undergraduate courses. She learnt how to be a good listener and also how to articulate case management to both victims and families. Working with an institution focusing on children in conflict with the law had enabled her to practice according to social work principles, such as acceptance, individualisation, and being non-judgemental and impartial. She also received experience creating networks so that she had support in managing cases.

> *…becoming a social worker is so much different for me; I got new knowledge, new experiences, friends and networks. I am really grateful to be a part of this program. In addition to the new knowledge on social welfare I have got so far, being able to help children in need and their families is also heart rewarding. I am not a hypocrite [related to money], but I thank God I have got enough (Elly).*

Arlo, another *Sakti Peksos,* has worked for almost five years. He identified his main role as helping children. He was, at first, assigned to residential care for children living on the street. This care centre applied two types of care: institution-based and family-based. He was assigned to assist the families covered in the child social welfare support program. The main goal was to reduce the number of children who either worked or lived on the street. They were granted funding support to meet essential needs, including obtaining a birth certificate, affording school, etc. In addition to facilitating the government's support, the centre also provided vocational courses, including on computing, English, vehicles' repair, and sewing. Such efforts were intended to improve the children's skills so that they could develop their independence post-program. He claimed that during his time working at the centre, the number of street children had decreased, and more parents were aware of the importance of paying attention to their children's education and well-being.

> *…as far as I am concerned, each child deserved IDR 1.5 million per annum. This number would fulfil basic needs and school supplementary needs, not the tuition fee. Gaining a national birth certificate was one priority of the grant use. We provided a need list form before the parents withdrew the money. Parents needed to list the need and wait for the centre's approval. They were also required to*

provide the receipts to be documented. I could say that during my time there the grant reached the target. …

…when I was assigned to assist families covered in PKSA, I regularly did home and school visits, to make sure that parents were responsible. I often told the parents that spending much time on the street was not good idea for children; it was not safe to play or even work on the street. I was grateful that during my time working at the centre there had been some changes; parents began to pay more attention and be more aware of their children's safety and well-being.

*…I was glad to notice the decrease in the number of street children as a result of our effort to improve the parents' childrearing skills… (Arlo**).***

The participants acknowledged that their social work practice experiences taught them to implement social work's values and principles. Given that most of them were fresh graduates, they found differences between school and real practice. Their involvement in the program PKSA obliged them to promote the systems approach as the new paradigm in child protection, and to promote the implementation of the National Standard of Care. Managing roles as a social worker has required them to develop their skills, including creativity, in performing assessments and planning interventions, both in dealing with specific cases and in assisting children homes to implement the National Standard of Care. Tracing a case involving a child was one situation that required the social worker's creative skills. *Sakti Peksos* commonly received cases involving children from police, community members, and mass media. The latter source sometimes challenged the social workers' creativity as it presented incomplete information, for example the location. Once they found the location, they had to play their role as case managers professionally, being non-judgemental, impartial, and keeping confidentiality.

…as a front liner of the ministry's programs, we Sakti Peksos should have manners and work ethics. One of those is keeping confidentiality. It is very important to keep the case involving children confidential, including their personal identities and locations. We also need to widen our networks, to include hospitals and legal offices, as they would be helpful to manage a case … (Arlo).

…once we come to the location, we do not go to the case straight away; we start with approaching the child and family. After they feel comfortable with our presence, then we go to the location. We assess what has really happened, what

we can do as a social worker, and offer support, including medical examinations and legal support. I am grateful to have such networks, which include medical practitioners, police, and lawyers who are concerned about cases involving children… (Elly).

The participants were explicit about the significance of having networks in maintaining their roles as a case manager. The participants pointed out that after the restructuring they actively made multidisciplinary links with other parties, including hospitals, police, lawyers, and psychologists, to jointly organise cases and conduct interventions. The benefit of a system network was also suggested by Andy. He affirmed that he would hardly accomplish his work without external support. He relied upon the support of local women's crisis centres and local police in dealing with cases of children in conflict with the law. The Ministry of Social Affairs assigned two *Sakti Peksos* for each city/district across Indonesia. Considering the limited number, Tian, another *Sakti Peksos*, stated that he managed the jobs with his colleague based on the locations. He said, "There are two *Sakti Peksos* here; I take the eastern part because I live in the east of the district, while my colleague takes the western part. This job arrangement enables us to respond quickly". The participants emphasised that time and task arrangement were crucial in dealing with the increasing workload while there were limited personnel available.

Professional social work roles

The participants disclosed that they often struggled with conflicting professional values. On one hand, they were bound by social work's values. On the other hand, they were restricted by their administrative roles as employees. This was apparent from one of institution's protocol regarding children's placement. Most residential child care in Indonesia had a process of client admission known as an outreach program. This program was commonly held at the end of school calendar. The institutions would list the children who had graduated from senior high school (Year 12) then open enrolment to fill the vacancies.

…we do outreach every year to fill the vacancies. We even go to villages to advertise our open recruitment. However, we have to admit that we have found it very difficult to fill up the vacancies for the last two years. We had gone around the cities and districts, but still we had 12 vacant spots. Maybe the number of poor families has decreased … ***(****Mandy****).***

…we usually plan the outreach in June, just before the school year ends. The eligible clients include neglected or abandoned children, children of poor families, and those living in remote areas, those who can barely access schools. If we were unable to meet the targeted number, we had to account for the budget, such as for food. ***(****Wandi****)***

We do outreach to disseminate the centre's programs and services. There is a special budget to do that and also for the selection process, although only for certain areas each year… ***(****Sandy****).***

…We still keep the selection process though. However, it is done because many people referred children to the children's home. Due to the limited capacity of the institution, we have to assess the deserving children. In my experience, many people give their child to the institution, then "produce" another one. In this province, many people work overseas (migrant workers). They put their children under grandparents' care; in fact, the grandparents can no longer take care of the children, or even themselves. This condition leads the children to leave school; nobody takes care of them. I once did identification on children on the street; many of them still had both parents who worked as migrant workers. Living with grandparents has made them feel free to do anything, including living on the street. I have to admit that sometimes we have just done it to meet the capacity target, which is 80 people. If it does not meet the target, it will be considered breaking the rule. In fact, according to the ministry, a children's home does not need to always meet the capacity. Even the Director General at that time, Mr. Makmur, said that there was no need to force ourselves to meet the capacity. In fact, I myself still do the same up until now, just like a salesperson (Makin).

Those working as government officials commonly faced dilemmas between adhering to social work principles and bureaucratic matters requiring predominantly administrative practice. The obligation to meet the capacity quota sometimes contradicts social work values, for example regarding the eligibility of using services. Concern about the centre's budget and performance audit sometimes leads social workers to neglect the eligibility factor for institution-based care, which should prioritise neglected or abandoned children rather than admitting any poor child to the centre. This process was worsened when the recruitment was not based on thorough assessment. In some centres, the agenda of child recruitment attracted employees' interests, as it had special budget allocation for

transportation and honorariums. Staff members other than social workers often asked to be involved, which led participants to worry about the validity of determining the clients' eligibility.

> *…the centre's head has distributed the task of the outreach programs to all staff members; it is not the social workers' main task. That is the problem. If the task is on us social workers, I am sure we would select eligible individuals. But you know, that is annual agenda, the head would like us to share, so that everyone could get some benefits (Yan).*

> *…the structural people [middle management] often ask for a place in the outreach program team. I never think about the money. As long as I can do my job properly, doing assessments, interviews, and seeing the real conditions, that is everything for me (Lina).*

Some participants, however, justified the practice by saying that if the centre ignored poverty as an eligibility factor, it might lead to child neglect, as the family could no longer support their child's education and other basic needs.

> *...before 2012, this centre admitted children of poor families… In my opinion, it is a bit improper if we consider family care as the only eligibility factor, as many families lack financially and could not support their children's education. I do not think I have the heart to ignore this situation. The scholarships provided by the Department of Education only cover the tuition fee; in fact, school kids also need uniforms, books, school kits, shoes, and other things. Yes, they still have both parents alive, but they really could not afford those needs. Should we ignore them? (Bakri).*

The participants' dilemma between social work values and administrative matters resulted from decentralisation that granted regional autonomy for local governments. Before decentralisation, all government residential child care was directly managed by the Ministry of Social Affairs. Regionalisation of welfare meant that provincial governments took over management, which included the workers' employment status and supervision. Regional autonomy enabled provincial governments to conduct employment rotation. Some participants were concerned about the placement of people with non-social work backgrounds in residential-based care service. They were worried about miscommunications that sometimes happened.

When we were still under MoSA's management, we felt the connections. The vision and missions of each residential care centre were inter-connected. Since regional autonomy was applied, it has really affected service delivery. When I did planning related to social service delivery using technical terms, such as home visit, follow-up support, I had to explain the details carefully to convince the provincial governments.

…I found it so difficult when it came to policies. Sometimes bureaucratic matters contradict social work knowledge. That is why, in my opinion, a residential care centre's head should ideally have a social work background, so s/he really know what s/he is doing and is able to convince the provincial government … (Wandi).

…as social workers we must be professional in social work practice, especially in early interventions; in fact, we face big challenges. I feel that after decentralisation, government, especially the local one, no longer pays attention to social workers. The services that should be delivered based on social work practice have not been applied due to limited understanding of the institution head. If the ministry asked whether we wanted to be back under the ministry, social workers would be the first to agree. We envy social workers working for institutions directed by the ministry. It is not about incentive, but how we can develop our knowledge. Right now, I might be the last social worker from the batch of 2005. I fought by myself; even the institution I worked for never applied for additional social workers. Pak S is approaching his pension period, and after that, social workers might be gone (Makin).

Knowledge of children's rights

The interviews focusing on children's rights reflected their different cultural and educational backgrounds, indicated by the participants' diverse answers. Working experiences, too, played a significant role in shaping perceptions of children's rights irrespective of the training they had received. A small number of participants expressed the idea that children have a right to have their needs fulfilled, including food, clothes, and education. They suggested that living in residential child care was the best decision for the children, as daily needs were fulfilled there.

In my opinion, the children's rights here [those who live in institutions] are just the same as other children in general. They get food, school uniforms, new clothes to

celebrate the Feast Day, pocket money, just like other children do … their opinions are also heard in choosing a school … (Bakri).

In my opinion, the children living in institution have their rights. The institution provided three meals and also snacks. I think the children would be unlikely to get those. Maybe for the people in Java island three meals isn't a big deal, but here? We are in the city right now, you can see the geographic conditions. You would see many distinct conditions in the villages; some areas are mountainous or remote in the islands. The children would have better living in the institution; they have access to food and school. The institution even provided drivers to take them to school (Sandy).

The children's rights include rights to life and to have their needs fulfilled, such as food, clothes and education. They get all of those in the institution; that is why most of the children feel that they have a great time living here and reluctantly go home. During my service since 1998, children have tended to be glad to live in institutions because they have had their needs fulfilled. …when they needed anything, social workers would manage to advocate (Yan).

On the other hand, nearly half of the participants suggested that children's rights were not restricted to daily meals, clothes and a place to live. They believed that their training in child protection had changed their understanding of children's rights. They expressed their beliefs that generally children deserved rights to life (survival), development, participation, and protection, and also that children need appropriate spaces to grow and develop their potential, to achieve their developmental tasks, and to be heard and safe. Anya stated that before she received training, she thought that children living in institutions deserved different rights from those living with their parents. The argument was that children in residential care were bound by certain rules and regulations. Similarly, Endo saw that the rights of the children might be viewed from two perspectives: universal and institutional. He explained that children in general had the right to develop and participate, including pursuing education, yet he acknowledged that it was different for children living in institutions. He suggested that their rights were restricted by policies, as opposed to the institutions perceiving policies as frameworks to ensure interventions that advance children's rights. An example of the inequity effecting children's rights was related to school expenses. Despite education being a basic right, child residential care centres must undertake coordination to be able to access a school budget under Indonesia's decentralised system. Budget

allocations are determined regionally, and, for this reason, educational equity is subject to the decisions of municipal and local governments under the post-Suharto regime.

Another government social worker, Makin, agreed that children's rights were not limited to food and clothes. He stressed that if those were the only rights, all centres had met the obligations. However, he saw something missing in the practice of institution-based care. Children's psychological wellbeing and social empowerment have been somehow overlooked.

> *…But let's take a look. Some friends said that children were naughty, I said that was normal. Being taken to institutional care the level increased, being apart from their parents. I think that this problem should be solved. If we only take care of the child, and ignore the families, ignore how to strengthen social and economic aspects and parenting capacity, then child protection program will meet a dead end. I see that local governments find it difficult to understand that. I see the institutions that are run by the ministry work differently. Let me give you an example. When I participated in training on case management, I thought the concepts were good to apply. But what happened next? I could not apply any of those at the institution I worked for. The [institution's] head said we lacked money, etc. Case conference? Not applicable. Home visit? No money (Makin).*

Makin's statement implied that any approach adapted in child welfare should be child-centred, see them as a whole, in both their physical and psychological states. A child needs supports from their surroundings, of which family is the closest. Makin also emphasised that governments should have created support systems along with clear details of indicators and targets, particularly to maintain sustainability. Otherwise, it would result in confusion among stakeholders, wasting the budget and other resources. He gave a case example:

> *I handled one case that has not finished until now, child neglect. His father works in a mining company. He gets millions in salary each month. It was an unplanned marriage. After the child was born, the parents lived together for a while, got divorced, and the mother became a migrant worker. The father still works at the company, but the child is neglected. The child is still listed in his father's salary, and I still think that this case should be brought to the court. We have tried mediation, but the parents ignored it. The father said that the child does not belong to him. I tried to make a case chronology; I went here and there, but still no result. I said we had to bring the case to the media to gain attention. We tried to invite*

the Institution for Child Protection (Lembaga Perlindungan Anak/ LPA), but they withdrew. Maybe they thought the case was not appealing. The institution viewed this case as complicated, that the parents could even send a plea. Plea for what? I said. It is clear; he has a birth certificate and the parents' names are clearly stated. We have contacted the parents and told them that we have their child. I think the parents should have sued the person who took their child, for example. At first, a person took care of this child, and he then brought him to the children's home. He got depression. He feels pressures; if he sat here, he would wet his pants.

There has not been any progress. I heard that he would be considered to be under state care. I said if that is the case, try to reinvite the parents. I no longer worked there, so I just gave suggestions. Reinvite the parents, ask them to make a statement as to whether or not the child belongs to them. If he does not belong to them, case closed, if they ignore (the child), the law should be enforced. This step is to anticipate unwanted things later. For example, one day the parents might sue the institution for keeping the child or any other allegation. This is important. We should not keep a child who has living parents for too long without reason. Besides, there are other children living in the institution. Children with different levels of problems should not live together under the same roof. I was afraid if they got bullied by other children (MW).

MW stressed that parents should have acted like adults and taken responsibility for their children. He emphasised that a child was born as a gift from God and that nobody could choose from whom s/he was born. A child deserves a better place to live, grow, and develop. Although a residential child care centre could afford the children's needs, it should have been a temporary place to stay due to risks, including bullying. Children with different levels of risk require different interventions; the social workers needed to think about setting up the place and intervention plans suited to the children's problems accordingly, in order to improve the children's resilience and minimise vulnerability.

Similarly, Wika gave an example suggesting that affection was a basic need that significantly influenced a children's growth and development. When she worked at a primary school, she once found a child who was considered a trouble maker at school. She then paid a home visit and discovered that he faced a problem of care in his family. His parents gave him no attention, leaving him in his grandmother's care. Wika thought of the importance

of loving environments and significant others to a given child's growth and development. A devoted family might serve as the last defence to protect a child from negative influences; therefore, she was aware that secure attachment and a healthy environment were essential.

Concerning the parents' responsibilities, Arlo, another *Sakti Peksos*, understood the children's rights to life, development, participation, and protection. Regarding the right to life, he stressed that it was parents' responsibility to enable their children to survive, including fulfilling their basic needs. People, including some participants, generally see rights as needs, such as physical or basic needs, as well as education. This understanding justifies the children's placement in residential care due to poverty as one effort to fulfil the children's rights. This has happened at most residential child care institutions in Indonesia, particularly those that were covered in this study. 'Neglect' is one eligibility criteria to place a child in institution-based care. This term is commonly related to financial capability. An assumption of neglect may rise, when parents are unable to provide basic needs and education. Instead of empowering the parents to function financially, the option to place the children in residential care has been widely welcomed.

> *We understand the children's rights as the children's needs, such as health (care), education, and privacy. We have been fulfilling those so far.*
>
> *…the practice includes providing dormitories consisting of rooms for 2-3 persons each, everyday meals including snacks, health care, and other physical and non-physical needs.*
>
> *…many children have lived here for years, some them lived here for 13 years, mostly due to poverty … (Ari).*
>
> *It was the old paradigm; poverty and education were like two sides of a coin. A child of a poor family usually could not afford education, hence, if this problem continued s/he could drop out of school. … (Endo).*
>
> *Before 2012, the residential care centre had become a primary option for people who wanted their children to pursue education. When school was unaffordable, sending children to the centre was the solution. … (Bakri).*
>
> *…I saw that many children who had lived in the centre still had parents, or maybe they lived with their grandparents when their parents went away to work as migrant workers. But I am sure that many of them still have parents; the main*

cause of their placement at the centre was the family's inability to afford education (Arlo).

The current child welfare system encourages family-based care or a family-like environment as an intervention if necessary. Concerning the homelike environment, Wika confirmed that her institution has applied a care system in which a small number of children live in a house with one main caretaker, who functions as the mother-figure, and one assistant. She believed that love and compassion contributed significantly in an individual's life, particularly in the early years. They suggested that this care system created a child-friendly environment with adults that are significant in children's lives. These, they suggested, were essential to building trust with the children.

…I see it as positive to apply a homelike care system, in which each house is managed by one main caretaker and one assistant. There is a maximum of seven children in each house; with the help of an assistant, the main caretaker is responsible for the children living in that house. This kind of homelike environment fulfils children's psychological needs of love and compassion. It is not easy to fully meet their psychological needs (while there is only a mother figure), but at least those children feel that they are loved (Wika).

Most of the children's homes in Indonesia use a dormitory system, in which children are placed in different dormitories based on gender. Institutions employing social workers tend to expect social workers to do the same work as regular employees and have similar regular working hours, with much of the work with children left to care assistants. However, since the government introduced the National Standard of Care, some centres have developed homelike care environments and employed various workers across working shifts to supervise the children. All participants observed that the centres caring for children having developed respect for children rights. This included respect for children's voices and maintaining relationships with their parents. The former includes involving the children in choosing their school, and participatory drafting of the rules in their dormitories. The latter refers to the centres' efforts to urge parents to visit their children. Some centres have facilitated parents to attend annual or quarterly meetings with the children and social workers to discuss children's progress and challenges, as well as programs with parents aimed at strengthening parenting skills.

Perceptions of the change in the institutionalisation of children

The 2004 Aceh tsunami disaster was a turning point in viewing child protection programs in Indonesia. The rapid assessments conducted in Aceh and six other provinces by Save the Children revealed large numbers of children living apart from their parents. Reports from the Save the Children study identified residential-based care as the primary option available in Indonesia for protecting children (Martin, F 2013). Parents' inability to fulfil basic needs and education was cited as the main reason for child placement in institutions, including orphanages and religious-based boarding houses (Martin, F 2013, p. 2). Data indicated that majority of children living in institutions still had at least one parent alive. In response to international humanitarian pressures, the Government of Indonesia developed the child protection system to conform to the Convention on Rights of the Children (CRC). This included changing approaches and interventions from institutional-based care to family-based, and broadened its scope from children facing issues to include all children. MoSA has conducted supporting studies, recruited new social workers across Indonesia, organised training for social workers and related stakeholders, provided the National Standard of Care, and has run an accreditation system to evaluate the quality of care provided by childcare institutions. The large number of regions and institutions, however, has challenged the widespread adoption of the shifting paradigm's core concepts; therefore, only a small number of social workers are familiar with the system-based approach.

To improve the knowledge and skills of social workers and related stakeholders following the paradigm change, in 2009 MoSA trained social workers across Indonesia. These sessions are facilitated through its centres for education and training, located in Jakarta, Padang, Yogyakarta, Bandung, Banjarmasin, Makassar and Jayapura. Training coincides with other technical meetings in each province. Despite having participated in similar trainings, the social workers who were involved in this study articulated the changes in different ways. Some participants expressed indifference, while others proposed that the new approach was a big leap forward for the child protection program. Some participants acknowledged that abuse, whether verbal disciplining or physical abuse, was intolerable as it violated the children's right to protection. They acknowledged that respecting the children's rights included valuing their voices, involving children in decisions about their schooling and dormitory rules.

Wandi and Mandy agreed that after they participated in the training on child protection they realised that their previous practice might have violated children's rights. Wandi explained that despite fulfilling the children's physical needs, the institution assigned time-

consuming activities to children that limited their playtime. He also added that most employees, including social workers, often called the children inappropriate names and applied corporal punishment. This led the children to fear every time they were called to the office. Wandi stressed that the children were afraid of social workers rather than respecting them. He asserted social workers' recognition of the rights of children to protection, and their application of change in practice, had catalysed changes in children's attitudes towards them. Mandy noticed that besides the change in discipline style, children's opinions were now more appreciated. Nevertheless, the paradigm change so far has only affected the personnel's attitude, rather than the institution itself. Some institutions still conduct child recruitment to meet the quota.

Another senior social worker, Ari, stated that despite the changing paradigm he perceived little difference in the way he delivered services. The difference he noted was in regard to procedures for new client admission. Prior to the system-based approach, the centre actively disseminated information about vacant places at the end of school year to local departments of social services. Recently, however, the centre has begun to only admit referrals. Only children with issues, including abuse, neglect/abandonment, and conflict with the law, have been considered eligible for institutional-based care at Ari's workplace. The change in institution-based user service eligibility has brought about program development to cover children of poor families. A number of children have been reunited with their parents and received out-of-institution services, as the assessment did not show any risk in the family. Ari explained that the out-of-institution service covered the children's school needs and family empowerment. The social workers conducted frequent home visits to ensure that parenting went well. Regarding the new emphasis on family-based care over institutional care, he perceived that children fared better in their families. He argued that although living in an institution meant more access to resources, nothing could replace parents in children's lives.

> *I myself think that they [children] are better around their family. If the parents are financially inadequate, we should assist the parents [not take out the children]. If the children live away from their parents, it could affect their relationships. I once asked some children about them being here; they said that it was mandatory to help their parents. However, I could assure you that no matter how close the children were to us, they felt more comfortable sharing anything to their parents compared to us. That is why the routine meetings are very helpful to maintain child-parent relationships.*

> *…we believe that protecting children is parallel to empowering the family. Before reuniting children with their families, we should prepare the parents and surrounding environment, for example in the economic aspect (Ari).*

Similarly, Endo felt no specific differences. He stated that both the old and current paradigms viewed children as not only as an object, but also as a "vital subject in mankind's history". He identified several aspects of the system-based approach: child attachment, social workers' roles, and the budget. He recognised the pros and cons related to the changing child protection system, and his changed role in the new system that required him to get out of the office and work on strengthening relationships in the system. In his opinion, placing a child in an institution is understandable, considering that children's surrounding environments lack resources to support their growth, development, and safety. However, Endo added, keeping a child in the family is better if there is nothing harmful to the child. Notions of deinstitutionalisation of children have consequently affected social workers' actions. While social workers' previously work was predominantly on-site micro-work between the social worker and child, the new approach requires social workers to work outwards. This means that social work in children's homes takes place on site, with families, other agencies, and the community. Thus, the new paradigm has increased the connectedness between social workers and their meso- and exosystem in the protection of the child. The associated challenges are expressed by Endo in the adapted paradigm that emphasises family-based care eventually was considered efficient.

> *In implementing this new paradigm, we emphasised out-of-institution services. This means that the child is under the parents' and the local community's responsibility and supervision. We have begun to lessen the number of children living in the centre by reuniting them with their families. We consider that such services (out-of-institution) have been more effective and efficient. I can tell you that the comparison is 1:3; the budget spent on one child living in the institution is equal to on three children receiving out-of-institution- services. It is a similar budget and result but a bigger number of service users; that is why we gradually enhance the out-of-institution services (Endo).*

Anya agreed that out-of-institution service was quite promising and needed to be developed in any kind of residential-based care. She described a child care centre as an emergency unit. Any case related to children might be referred to the centre; social workers' assessments would determine what intervention suited the case, either placement at the

centre, staying with parents/ family, or alternative care. She appeared optimistic about the system-based approach, including its applicability to any care centre. She was rotated from a residential care centre for children to one for the homeless and people with acute mental illness. Considering the systems approach's effectiveness and efficiency, she has proposed it to enhance the centre's social service.

> *…this year I have proposed family- and community-based social support programs for ex-psychotic patients. I found a large number of people with mental illness, while the centre's capacity is only 100 clients. I have been wondering how to take care of those people out there. That is why I designed an integrated service for them. The program would include monthly home visits with required support, such as a psychiatrist, a psychologist, medication, nutrition, and any kind of therapy. I think it is time to change; we have to develop our services. Besides, institutional-based care is high-cost (Anya).*

She believed that the application of the system-based approach, including the urgency of transforming the role of residential care centres, was a huge leap forward for child protection. The implementation of the National Standard of Care has had a strong impact on social workers' work-shift hours, their roles, and the social service standard of procedure. Previously, social workers worked similar working hours as other employees. When social workers presented in the morning, children were at school. When they returned from school, they would only have the care assistants. It has since changed to three different working shifts: morning, afternoon, and night. With this change, the children living in institutions would always have social workers available to ask for help. To fully implement the standard of care, social workers have improved their roles and service standard procedures. Their obligations have extended beyond just the children to include the parents and wider community. Anya realised that to create a protective environment for children, the involvement of parents and community was significant. Anya added that for the children living in institutions, social workers have been their parent-substitutes; consequently, social workers have to develop methods and techniques to perform their roles as parent-substitutes and professionals. She admitted that it was hard to play different roles at the same time, keeping safe distance so that the children felt pretty close to her that made them secure to share, yet, it was safe as well for her to avoid any transference. Another impact of the National Standard of Care was the increased demand for case conferences. It is very important to determine eligible service users as well as suited services.

The implementation of the National Standard of Care as a tool of the systems approach was perceived as a dilemma by some social workers. Referring to the CRC, children have the right to protection against any abuse and violence, even if it was aimed at disciplining. Some participants admitted that there were times they lost temper, spoke in harsh tones, and even applied corporal punishment. They argued that behaviour management sometimes required firm actions that were translated into punitive measures, either physical or verbal. One of them, Bakri, claimed that punishment was required to control children's mischief, otherwise they would just ignore the warnings and keep breaking the rules. He stressed that it mostly happened in dealing with children who were taken in from streets. Living on the street had made some children find it hard to adjust to an environment with rules.

> *Previously, if we found children disobeying, we would call them, warn them. If they still challenged us, we would at least pinch their ears. I think we would do the same thing to our own kids. In my opinion, if we just tell them [misbehaving kids] not to do this and this, I can guarantee that it will not work. They will just ignore it. If we apply light consequences for breaking the rules, such as sweeping floors, cleaning up the bathroom or tidying the yard, I am afraid if they will underrate the rules, as they will consider that it is not a big deal. The theories say we have to take care of the children with a whole heart. In fact, it is so difficult to deal with those who have a street-life background. You know, since the changing paradigm, the centre is required to admit referred children only, who most of whom have problems that affect their behaviour (Bakri).*

Similarly, Hans, another social worker, admitted that he and his colleagues were still figuring out the proper methods to teach children about discipline, especially those who had lived on streets. He said that it was sometimes difficult to avoid corporal punishment because the children ignored advice. Hans affirmed that talks might work with children with no issues, but he found it difficult to do the same with some others. He was worried that the changing approach in discipline would lead the children to perceive that nothing serious would happen if they broke the rules. Social workers were caught in a dilemma when determining the proper technique to set rules and consequences.

> *…those children somehow underestimate the rules and us as social workers. They thought that we would not give them severe punishments. We found it difficult to deal with this kind of client. We work with heart; sometimes we feel*

distressed by this kind of condition. You can imagine, we work in different shifts, meaning that sometimes we leave our own kids behind, while the children here whom we approach with various methods sometimes dare to challenge the staff (Hans).

On the other hand, Makin, stated that that disciplining the children ideally stayed in line with respecting their rights, not violating them. He highlighted that the centre where he used to work should have considered children's recreational rights. For example, by having playtime.

I would tell you as I am an outsider now, but don't tell anyone this was from me. I often complained when children's rights were cut as a consequence of breaking a rule. For example, every day each child gets five thousand rupiahs to go to school, but when they break the law the money would be cut by more than half. This is so wrong. In my opinion, just ask them to study more or clean up the rooms or other educative punishments.

The second thing I am concerned about is time to play. I once visited a children's home in which the social workers had shifts like in the hospital, rather than just in the mornings. Why could we not be like that? I saw that social workers came in the afternoon, played with the children, and had discussions while playing. The institution I worked in emphasised studying and overlooked the children's need to have play time (Makin).

Another dilemma was related to the changes in service user eligibility. The systems approach put aside poverty as a reason for institutional-based care. The approach suggests that family is the best place for children to grow and develop, unless certain risks occur that may endanger the children. The system-based approach requires comprehensive assessments to examine the risks and needs as a base for intervention planning. Similar to avoiding physical punishments, most of the participants disclosed the dilemma concerning the specific indicators of child placement in an institution, in which poverty can be no longer a primary reason of institutionalisation. Bakri, Sire, Sandy, and Yan, for example, found it hard to see children of poor families left behind in accessing education. They argued that the need for schooling was not only tuition fees, but also supplementary needs that are burdensome for poor families (e.g. uniforms, books, study tours, etc). In addition, many remote areas in Indonesia have limited access to schools due to geographical conditions. Poverty has caused many families difficulty in accessing education, as in East Nusa

Tenggara and some areas in Bali. In the participants' opinions, government should provide better access for disadvantaged children, such as admitting them to residential child care.

Despite the dilemmas, the changing paradigm has given some social workers hope. Lina explained that her knowledge of children's rights improved, and that she no longer believed they were limited to physical needs. After participating in the training, she felt that it was about time that children had their rights protected. She stated that she sometimes had arguments with her colleagues and even with her institution head about this issue. As a social worker, she strictly adhered to the principles of acceptance and non-judgment. She believed that every child had rights to protection regardless their situations. This, however, was sometimes challenged by her institution. For example, Lina once identified a case of teen pregnancy. Due to the teenager's circumstances, Lina proposed to admit the teenager to the institution for better care and protection. Her attempts were rejected. The institution's head believed that the pregnancy might have resulted from her own attitudes and behaviour, so admitting her would negatively influence other children. This made Lina angry, but now the shifting paradigm gives her hope for better protection of children's rights. In spite of the increasing workload, including family empowerment, Lina affirmed that it was her responsibility to work from a human rights perspective in favour of the best interest of the child.

Similarly, Anya was enthusiastic about the systems approach and the implementation of the National Standard of Care to improve child welfare. The shifting approach in child protection assures that all children, with no exceptions, are able to have their rights met. The system-based approach mandates institutional transformations to serve as the emergency option, review the service user's eligibility, focus on the best interest of the child, and empower the family and community to create protective environments for children. Anya explained that the institution she used to work for has transformed to emergency alternative care for any at-risk child, of any age including infants. The systems approach obliges residential child care to conduct comprehensive assessments to determine interventions. Hans, however, perceived that the current change was demanding. He explained several challenges that will be detailed in the next section.

Challenges in implementing the transformation

Indonesia ratified UNCRC in September 1990. For almost two decades, the Government of Indonesia has paid particular attention to developing the child protection system, including the recent paradigm shift from an issues-based approach to system-based. Despite the

length of time, progress has been limited due to several challenges. These include complexities concerning geographic, demographic, and political situations. Indonesia's geography is broad and diverse, with many areas bordered by hills, mountains, rivers, even sea. Inadequate infrastructure has become a serious challenge for an archipelagic developing country like Indonesia. The placement of children in institutions has been accepted as a common solution. The large number of children's homes and local government regulations on the quota system indicate that institution-based care was still popular both in society and with policy makers. The decentralised system has increased challenges, since local governments have their own authority to interpret how they support child protection policies regulated by the central government. These complex situations have created several challenges experienced by social workers participating in this study, as discussed below.

1. Decentralisation

Decentralisation allows local governments to set their own regulations and to decide supporting actions towards policies initiated by the central government. Participants with who had many years in the field asserted that there was a gap between the centralisation and decentralisation periods that led to challenges in delivering both social work services and the current child welfare system. In their opinion, centralisation was more supportive. Below are subsequent challenges resulting from decentralisation:

a. Synchronising knowledge backgrounds

Decentralisation resulted in regionalisation, where local governments took over some residential-based care services that were previously managed by the Ministry of Social Affairs (MoSA). Some participants preferred working under the Ministry's supervision. Mandy, Jon, and Makin argued that shared knowledge of social work resulted in clear communication leading to goal achievement. A supervisory gap occurred due to different perspectives on social service delivery. The diverse knowledge backgrounds of each local stakeholder shaped various point of views on social service provision. Institutionalisation and direct assistance, including cash transfer, remained primary options in providing social protection for the needy. The different perspectives between social workers and other stakeholders, such as institution heads and local program planning boards, have challenged social workers in conducting their roles. Some social workers faced difficulties when communicating good practice in social work to their institution managers. Mandy, for example, was

nearly dismissed from her position as a functional social worker due to different views between her and the regional assessor board in valuing her credit units. The regulation obliges social workers to administer their credit units based on task conduct; otherwise, they may face dismissal.

b. Role conduct

Some social workers advised that some challenges emerged because they were rarely involved in the decision-making process. Jon, for example, experienced an obstacle in proposing a project regarding the role transformation of a social home. After participating in child protection training, he proposed a community-based vocational program for children that had dropped out of school. The idea was to empower the children without taking them away from their communities. This program was considered budget-friendly but was not approved. This led him to think that he had failed to convince his institution head that the proposed program was worth presenting to the regional program planning board.

Makin also found it difficult to manage his roles. He stated that social workers lacked support from the government after decentralisation.

> *…Social services should have been based on social work practices, yet it was challenging due to the institution head's limited understanding. I am sure that if the Ministry gave the choice of returning back to work under the Ministry, local social workers would be the first to take it. We envy social workers working for institutions directed by the Ministry. It is not about incentive or whatnot, but how we can develop our knowledge. Right now, I might be the last social worker from the batch of 8888. I fought by myself; the institution I worked for never applied for additional social workers (Makin).*

Senior social workers often experienced difficulties in accomplishing their roles in policy advocacy because they were rarely involved in the decision-making process. Furthermore, the decentralised system has resulted in different local structures among the regions. For example, a particular province applied single management for differently focused residential care centres, as Mandy experienced. Different knowledge backgrounds, and the lack of focus and supervision, have challenged social workers in managing their roles. In another example, Lina claimed that being a social worker was no longer different from other staff in terms of administrative

duties. Previously, social workers reported directly to the institution's head instead of the institution sub-division head as now happens. Lina argued that the current management hindered social workers' independence. They had to go through a long bureaucratic procedure to reach certain decisions. She added that independence was vital for social workers to make tactical decisions in order to reach targets.

Another issue regarding decentralisation was employment rotation. The participants stated that they were not exempt from rotation, despite developing specific skills in training. Anya and Sandy experienced a rotation shortly after participating in training on child protection. Both of them felt disappointed as they had planned to promote the systems approach. Anya stated that she felt it unfair as she had spent lots of time and energy to improve her knowledge and skills to support the institution's role transformation. She believed that her efforts were meaningless as she would no longer work in residential child care.

> *…it was hard for me the first time. I was thinking that I have a lot of experience that not many people have. I have spent lots of time and energy participating in training on child protection to improve my knowledge and skills. Even my institution head wondered how this happened, as he had prepared a new service aimed for children under five. However, the Head of Province Department of Social Service suggested that rotation was important for social workers to develop their careers and skills by working in various work settings (Anya).*

Employment rotation left a question regarding the ideal social worker placement, whether permanent placement based on one's specialty, or regular rotation through different work settings. Permanent placement is based on the importance of specialisation in social service delivery. Planning interventions requires specific knowledge and skills. On the other hand, regular rotation is intended to give social workers opportunities to share their expertise, learn new things, and improve their skills. The challenge emerged when new work settings required specific skills, while the Government provided little assistance in the adjustment process. Sandy experienced difficulties when she was transferred from a children's home to a care centre for people with visual impairment. She found difficulties in adjusting, since the new setting required specific skills. She was not formally trained and learned by

observing her colleagues. This situation indicated that employee rotations may hinder social workers in conducting their roles.

c. Synchronising supporting actions to the central government policies

Despite the willingness to enhance protection for children, the paradigm shift was only partially understood. The child welfare system was understood as a program aiming to protecting children from neglect, violence, and exploitation. The local governments' regulations mostly focused on children with issues or risks and indicated an insufficient understanding of the systems approach. The Regional Regulation of Province West Kalimantan and the City Regulation of Yogyakarta are of the few regional regulations that focus on child protection broadly, rather than only emphasising children with vulnerabilities (*Peraturan Daerah Provinsi Kalimantan Barat Nomor 4 Tahun 2015 tentang Perlindungan Anak* 2015; *Peraturan Daerah Kota Yogyakarta Nomor 1 Tahun 2016 tentang Kota Layak Anak* 2016). Although the City Regulation of Yogyakarta is more specific about a safe city for children, both the city of Yogyakarta and the province of West Kalimantan accommodate protection of the children's rights as a whole and highlight the government's roles in providing an equipped resource system. These regulations show the Government's commitment to ensuring that all children meet their rights, and to the sustainability of child protection programs. Comprehension of the system-based approach is essential for all stakeholders to avoid misconceptions in delivering services, particularly among social workers as front liners.

The challenge in synchronising the local supports to the central policies has been apparent from the quota system related to budget planning that is still applied in some regions. The system-based approach's mandate to put residential-based care as emergency plan means that the obligation to meet the quota should be waived. The inconsistency shown by many regional governments in supporting the implementation of the National Standard of Care created dilemma for social workers. On one hand, social workers were eager to reform their procedure, particularly on the recruitment program to meet the quota. On the other hand, those social workers were obliged to follow the regulation to avoid below-standard audit reviews.

2. Patriarchy and gender roles

Female social workers experienced challenges in balancing their work and personal lives. They acknowledged the increasing workload resulting from the paradigm shift.

While the previous system applied regular fixed working hours, the new system required them to work different work shifts. In addition, the National Standard of Care obliges social workers to expand their work to parents and communities. Consequently, social workers need to allocate time for home and school visits. Home visits are to maintain the parents' and community's empowerment aiming to provide protective environments for children. Furthermore, social workers should be able to stand by to respond cases involving children. The various assignments regarding the paradigm shift demand that social workers work unusual shifts, e.g. at night. This situation is challenging for working mothers. The female participants stated that they sometimes felt guilty for leaving their own children to help other children in need.

The double burden of productive and reproductive work remains prevalent across Indonesia. Women are responsible for domestic work despite the paid work that they may have. This double burden, to some extent, has affected the way some social workers manage their roles and psychological states. Wika and Anya were concerned about the current child protection system, but they were also worried about their families. Wika stated that sometimes she felt bad about all the work she has been doing. She strived to relate the knowledge and skills of parenting and child development to raising her own child. Wika realised her own child's best interests; however, setting priorities was difficult. She cared about the children she worked with, the children who needed support and might never see their parents. She devoted her time and energy, which resulted in her feeling exhausted, and spending little quality time with her own child. In spite of her husband's support and understanding, Wika sometimes considered herself guilty due to putting her work before her family. Similarly, Anya had trouble managing her time for work and family matters. She claimed that it was due to the limited number of social workers compared to children. The ratio was 1:25 for in-institution service, and up to 50 children per worker for out-of-institution service. Furthermore, from 2012-2015 she had focused on the implementation of the National Standard of Care. She was aware that her work affected her family life. Her domestic work suffered, and her own children often complained that she hardly spends time with them. She was concerned as to whether she was doing things properly. She felt that as if she lived a paradox, trying to save disadvantaged children while dragging her own children into disappointment. In spite of her spouse's support, the guilt of putting her family second influenced female social workers' work rhythms and caused psychological exhaustion.

3. Resource access

The systems approach requires integrated resources. Institutions as a part of emergency plans are expected to be equipped as a safe place for children with particular risks. The participants confirmed that, previously, they rarely handled children at risk. Most social workers found it difficult to adapt due to little experience. The social workers suggested the urgency of human resources with adequate capacity at this point.

Hans asserted that he overwhelmed with the changes. He has got several assignments to work with children with special needs. In his opinion, the institution's transformation should have come along with some improvements; e.g. special facilities for children with high risks or special needs and competent personnel. The special facilities are critical to separate the children with different levels of risk. Hans argued that placing children with different risks and needs in the same building might influence other children. On the other hand, Makin claimed that it would put the children with special needs at risk of bullying. The participants emphasised the importance of additional personnel with specific knowledge and skills, such as psychologists, to support the social workers in planning the interventions.

Similarly, Elly and Arlo expressed their biggest challenge related the limited number of people with expertise in child protection, including psychologists, psychiatrists, and law enforcers who are like-minded with respect to the best interest of the child. As a case manager, *Sakti Peksos* substantially needed supports of psychologists, psychiatrists, and law enforcers in managing hard cases involving children, for example those who became victims of sexual abuse. The inadequate number of competent human resources has been challenging *Sakti Peksos* to respond and manage the cases.

According to the National Standard of Care, a residential child care as a temporary care should plan the next interventions for children in need, such as reunifying the children with their parents, placing children in the residential care, kinship care, or referring to other alternative care based on assessments conducted by social workers. The challenge emerged when the social workers made alternative care referrals for children with special needs that came from the raids, for example intellectual disability, they often met rejection. Consequently, they took the children back to the regular children home with limited supports to their special needs. Hans has encountered

refusal several times for referring children with special needs to certain institutions having required supports.

> *…our institution has changed the name recently, from a regular residential care for children to a rehabilitation centre, in according to the paradigm shift in child protection system. Our focus is no longer orphans only, or even children of poor families, but is more to children facing certain risks, such as problem of care. At this point, we serve as referral only; we should admit any child with any problem of care as long as our capacity is okay. We often admit children taken from the raids; most of them have lived on the streets for a long time and had various risks and needs. After the raids, the team usually split children from adults. They brought the children to trauma centre and then to our centre. The problem is that many of those children have specific challenges and needs, such as being difficult to follow the rules, or with disabilities like intellectual disability. It leads us to such dilemma. As far as I am concerned, The National Standard of Care divides types of care into certain terms: emergency, short, and long. You know what happened? In fact, we eventually have to admit those kids for undetermined length of time, as many centres that we refer to refuse to admit them. That is our challenge; we have admitted children with specific needs, while we don't have sufficient supports, like specific centre or therapists. We are worried about the influence on other kids* ***(****Hans****).***

Another issue concerning accessing resources was related to family empowerment. According to the CRC, the State's role in providing protection to the children includes arranging assistance to the parents. The system-based child protection program believes that empowering family is a key in protecting the children, as the primary responsibility holders for the children are the parents. The family empowerment may include financial and social skills improvement. Several residential child care institutions have facilitated family empowerment programs aiming at preparing the parents for reunification. The social workers have conducted assessments and home visits to ensure the parents' and children's readiness for reunification. Endo shared that the empowerment programs in his institutions targeted both in- and out-of-institution service users. He gave an example of a low-interest loan for parents who ran small businesses, home industries, or any other kind of entrepreneurship. The institution also held quarterly meetings for parents of children living in institutions. Parents,

children, and social workers met for progress reports, and for needs relating to particular government departments, e.g. citizenship or entrepreneurship. The meetings aimed to improve the parents' knowledge and parenting skills.

Anya**,** however, shared an unsuccessful story related to family empowerment. She had found it difficult to access empowerment programs other than the governments. She gave an example of assisting a pregnant teen. Due to complicated bureaucracy, Anya tried to access a private institution providing supports for abandoned children and unwanted pregnancies. She was met with scepticism as to why she would ask the private sector when she was a civil servant. Anya found it hard to get support from her institution. She was eventually assisted by Save the Children and the Province Department of Social Service (*Dinas Sosial Provinsi*) through the Centre for Children and Family Support (*Pusat Dukungan Anak dan Keluarga*/PDAK). She was optimistic that with the institution head's support, the National Standard of Care could be fully implemented. This optimism was also shown by Makin. He affirmed that despite the paradox, such as quota systems related to budget planning, the systems approach could run well with government support. This challenge has been common in many areas in Indonesia and quite challenging in implementing the system-based approach.

4. Service coverage

The inevitable change in service coverage has overwhelmed social workers. Hans explained that it was beyond his capacity when the institution assigned him to work with children whom he considered difficult. He referred to targeted children who were taken from the streets. Hans shared some case examples regarding children who tried to escape and encouraged the other children to do so. Hans admitted that he found it difficult to find appropriate methods or techniques to persuade those children to follow the rules. He and his colleagues sometimes felt challenged since the National Standard of Care mandates that any physical punishment is no longer acceptable. Some social workers, however, felt that without physical consequences the children tended to disregard the institution's rules and the social workers responsible for them. Many social workers still thought that corporal punishment was required to ensure obedience. Considering the new paradigm, and the unbalanced ratio between social workers and service users, those social workers were overwhelmed and preferred to involve psychologists. However, only a few institutions provided access to psychologists. Yan also experienced the difficult ratio of social workers and children, at 1:20 in his institution.

He stated that the limited number of employees, particularly social workers, led to unclear job descriptions. Many employees carried double roles in taking care of the children, including security staff and cooks. This situation was unhealthy for both employees and service users, as exhaustion and unfocused conditions due to double burdens affect the quality of service delivery.

In addition, the new standard of care also requires various work shifts to ensure social workers' availability in the centres. This is different from previously, when social workers serving as civil servants attended the centre during regular office hours only, unless there was an emergency. Hans stated that this situation has been challenging, particularly when social workers needed to set times for supervisory meetings. The varied work shifts had also been a challenge for female social workers, especially those who were working mothers. Anya mentioned that in addition to different work shifts, she was also required to stand-by for case response late into the night.

Service coverage has been challenged social workers recruited to assist the local departments of social services to respond to cases involving children. Elly stated that geographical conditions can worsen challenges. She found it tough to respond cases covering more than 30 subdistricts. She worked diverse groups, including children, parents, and communities with diverse characteristics and even language dialects, but also conducted assistance for hundreds of private children's homes in implementing the National Standard of Care. Likewise, Arlo and Andy faced challenges working in non-government residential child care. They had difficulties convincing homeowners to promote family roles in providing the child support. Most owners argued that they were doing noble deeds to support children of poor families pursuing education. Offering out-of-institution services was not an option, since donors preferred to donate to institutions with many children living there.

Furthermore, media pressure increases the complexities of social work. Elly and Andy affirmed that they were pressured by the media regarding the cases they were working on, experience distress and exhaustion due to this. Instead of being helpful, the media challenged the social workers, particularly in terms of case confidentiality. Social workers kept cases confidential, including the personal details of victims and offenders. The media, however, would "brutally" disclose the details that might endanger the children involved. Elly and Andy expected little understanding of the difficulties they faced in dealing with increasing workloads while lacking system support.

5. Community awareness

Convincing parents to improve their capacities to provide for their children's needs was the first challenge related to community awareness. Many parents decided to send their children to residential care for various reasons, but mostly due to economic difficulties. The participants stated that some parents felt incapable of meeting the children's basic needs and providing education, due to unemployment or being single parents. Migrant workers faced the additional difficulty of having nobody to care for their children. The option of kinship care had little chance as aging issues came up. The aging issues include health issue and the lack of capability of disciplining the children. Makin stated that he frequently found cases in which parents had made excuses to send their children to residential care. He agreed with the findings of a study that most children living in an institution still had at least one parent alive. Makin found that most parents expected their children to have better living in the children's homes, having good meals, clothing and education. Some of them left their children behind to work overseas and picked residential-based care rather than kinship care due to aging issues. These parents were concerned about the lack of discipline if they were to live with their grandparents. Another reason was that there were few parents sent their children as they did polygamy. Makin described this phenomenon as an improper situation. He affirmed that the State should have taken actions related to this irony, as it might make people dependent on the Government. Despite the paradigm change, residential-based care remained a shortcut for those with economic problems.

Another challenge was educating parents and community regarding child reunification, in which most parents felt unready due to financial difficulties. Hans explained that many children classified as low-risk were sent to institutions due to parental conflicts and impoverished, divorced, and single mothers. He found it hard listening to the single mothers' difficulties in raising their children; consequently, the reunification was postponed. Similarly, Endo mentioned that the biggest challenge was convincing parents who lacked the confidence to provide an appropriate environment for their children. During home visits, most parents would have said that they were not ready for reunification due to economic problems. Endo advised that it was challenging to assure parents and strengthen their parenting capacities, including facilitating the parents' access to resource systems.

The community's attitudes have apparently influenced parents' preferences for child placement at institutions. Residential child care appeared to be a solution for families with economic hardship. Unfortunately, only few residential child care

institutions based their care on principles related to the best interest of the child. Arlo, Andy, and Hans experienced difficulties convincing the community to promote the idea that family-based care should be a priority, and to only consider residential care if certain risks were present. Despite the optimism towards the feasibility of the paradigm change, Arlo and Andy as *Sakti Peksos* struggled in persuading the children homes' owners to adopt the measures, particularly those who ran religion-based institutions. Arlo stated that many children's homes were run by the same management as Islamic boarding schools, yet, in order to receive government grants, the owners also claimed that they were institutions of child social welfare (*Lembaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Anak*/LKSA). This led to confusion for *Sakti Peksos* in mapping the implementation of the National Standard of Care. On one hand, all institutions categorised as LKSA were obliged to implement the Standard of Care and be willing to be accredited. However, due to being in the same management as Islamic education institutions, it was difficult to impose the Standard, as such institutions were under the supervision of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Arlo emphasised that persuasion skills were highly needed to deal with the religious leaders that owned the institutions and argued that helping the needy was a noble deed.

Community challenges also included donors who provided charity based on the number of children living in an institution. As mentioned before, many non-government residential child care centres refused to offer out-of-institution services to remain favoured by donors. The participants expressed their struggles dealing with this vicious circle. Educating residential child care owners became ineffective, since the majority of donors continued to fund homes with many children. Sam found it hard to educate society regarding charity for children. He explained that there were times when invitations for children increased. Children were excited when *Ramadhan* (the holy month for Muslims) came, when good meals and some money pocket were offered. Most participants agreed that the public mindset had a significant role in internalising values, including promoting family-based care over institutions.

The findings show the diverse experiences and perceptions of social workers in the efforts of understanding and actively advocating the fulfilment of the children's rights, especially in the context of alternative care due to specific circumstances. This chapter also reveals the complex situations faced by social workers in Indonesia, particularly in the midst of changing paradigm in child's alternative care provision. The changing social and political contexts have played a significant role in creating subsequent complexities. The larger

regional autonomy has produced diverse priority scales amongst provinces in Indonesia that came along with divergent local resources. In terms of the child welfare, the different interpretations towards the need of promoting it as a strategic issue have led to distinct policies from one region to another. This surely has impacted the provision of support system to succeed the paradigm shift, including establishing resource access and integrating social services, especially the regions experiencing large service coverage. The multifaceted systems and interaction patterns have created particular situations to each social worker in viewing their and the institution's role transformations nowadays. How the complicated situations have affected the social workers differently and the surrounding systems have influenced the social workers' views on the institution's role transformation in child's alternative care provision would be discussed thoroughly in the next chapter. Ecological mapping would be used as a tool to analyse the interaction patterns and dynamics of all systems around the social workers.

CHAPTER FIVE
Ecological Findings and Discussion

Overview

Human development can be viewed from different perspectives: nature, nurture, and a combination of the two. Bronfenbrenner's theory is one of many that views an individual's development as influenced by the interactions between them and their social surroundings, as well as by the dynamics in their ecological systems. Although the theory is basically about child development, it is applicable to analysing an individual in an organisational systems context, including how organisation and work dynamics influence their working journeys. In this research, I use Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory to analyse the social workers' relationships with their outer layer systems, to see how intersystem relationships influence and shape their perceptions of the changing policy and practice of residential child care. This is presented as a series of diagrams related to social workers' ecological systems. The diagrams have been drawn directly from the consolidated responses of research participants and offer a visual mapping alongside the textual descriptors and analysis provided.

Besides showing the social workers' positions in the system, this chapter examines relationship patterns among the units of the child welfare system before and after the policy and practice changes. This is drawn from the social workers' retrospective narratives and how the dynamics have shaped their perceptions of the transformation. I use ecological theory and critical social work theory to analyse the research findings in order to answer my research question.

Social Workers in the Ecological Perspective

This thesis examines social workers and their professional development within a changing paradigm. For this reason, I locate the social worker in the centre of their environmental systems, in the microsystem. Figure 1 shows the social workers' position in general within the systems around them, as well as other parties' positions. This figure attempts to portray the external parties that contribute to shape the individual's development, and how the individual's relationships with other parties evolves. It also attempts to depict the dynamic interactions among the system parts. This figure captures the social workers' ecological environments after the systemic changes that resulted in political decentralisation and various changing policies post-tsunami in 2004.

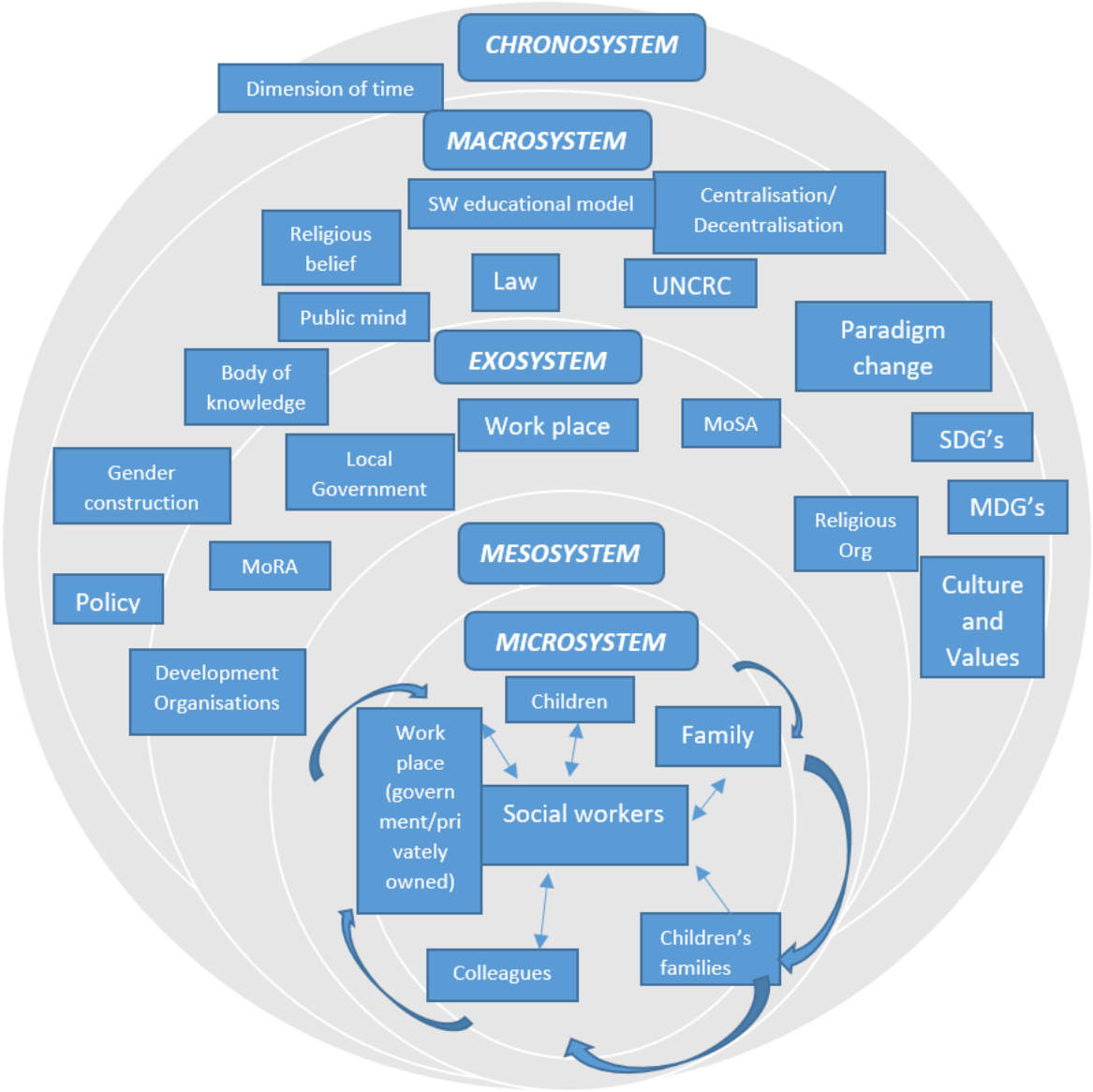

Figure 1: The social worker's ecological environments after the systemic changes

The microsystem in Figure 1 illustrates social workers' relationships with their immediate environments, including family, children whom they work with, the children's families, work place and colleagues. The mesosystem describes the relationships between two or more microsystem units outside the social worker, such as between the workplace and children or their families. The interactions between microsystem units influence the social worker in managing his/her roles and how they perceive the shifting approach in child protection. In the exosystem, the relationships include those between the workplace (whether government or privately owned) and the central government (MoSA and MoRA), or between private residential care centres and religious organisations or local government. Development

organisations have also entered into relationships with the MoSA, residential care centres, and the local government. The development organisations are represented by UNICEF, Save the Children, and higher education institutions. These organisations work with the Indonesian government, donate money, and contribute in developing the concept of systems approach while monitoring the process. The next layer, the macrosystem, identifies the UNCRC, Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and gender construction, in addition to religious beliefs, culture, values, body of knowledge, policy, and public minds that influence social workers' perspectives, especially towards the changing paradigm in the child welfare system. Beyond the systems from micro to macro, the chronosystem comprises social workers' life transitions, the serial events and the changes that occur over time. Likewise, this system shapes personal experiences and perceptions of certain phenomena. The stages of the social workers' lives, training, and working journeys influence their perceptions of the changes in any system over time and help develop their coping mechanisms.

The following sections describe how various relationships within each system have shaped the social workers' perceptions, experiences, and development over time and in the context of the paradigm shift (the chronosystem). The before and after ecological figures of the social workers are presented as a depiction of the system dynamics, including the system units and their interactions. Acknowledging the evolution of the system is essential foregrounding before analysing the social workers' perspectives on the current applied approach in child welfare system.

The chronosystem

As mentioned earlier, the chronosystem refers to the individuals' dimension of time, serial events, and life transitions. The expected and unexpected life events are contained in this system, bringing about particular experiences or individuals and shaping their perceptions. Bronfenbrenner (1988, p. 41) identifies puberty, school entry, job promotion, employee rotation, political change, marriage, retirement, etc. as expected events, while unexpected experiences may include death, disasters, winning lotteries, divorce, losing jobs, etc. Those diverse circumstances come to individuals' lives and effect developmental change (Bronfenbrenner 1986). Life transitions create new experiences that shape certain mindsets towards certain things. In the social worker's context, the various events of their lives, as shown in Figure 2, significantly influence their perceptions of current phenomena.

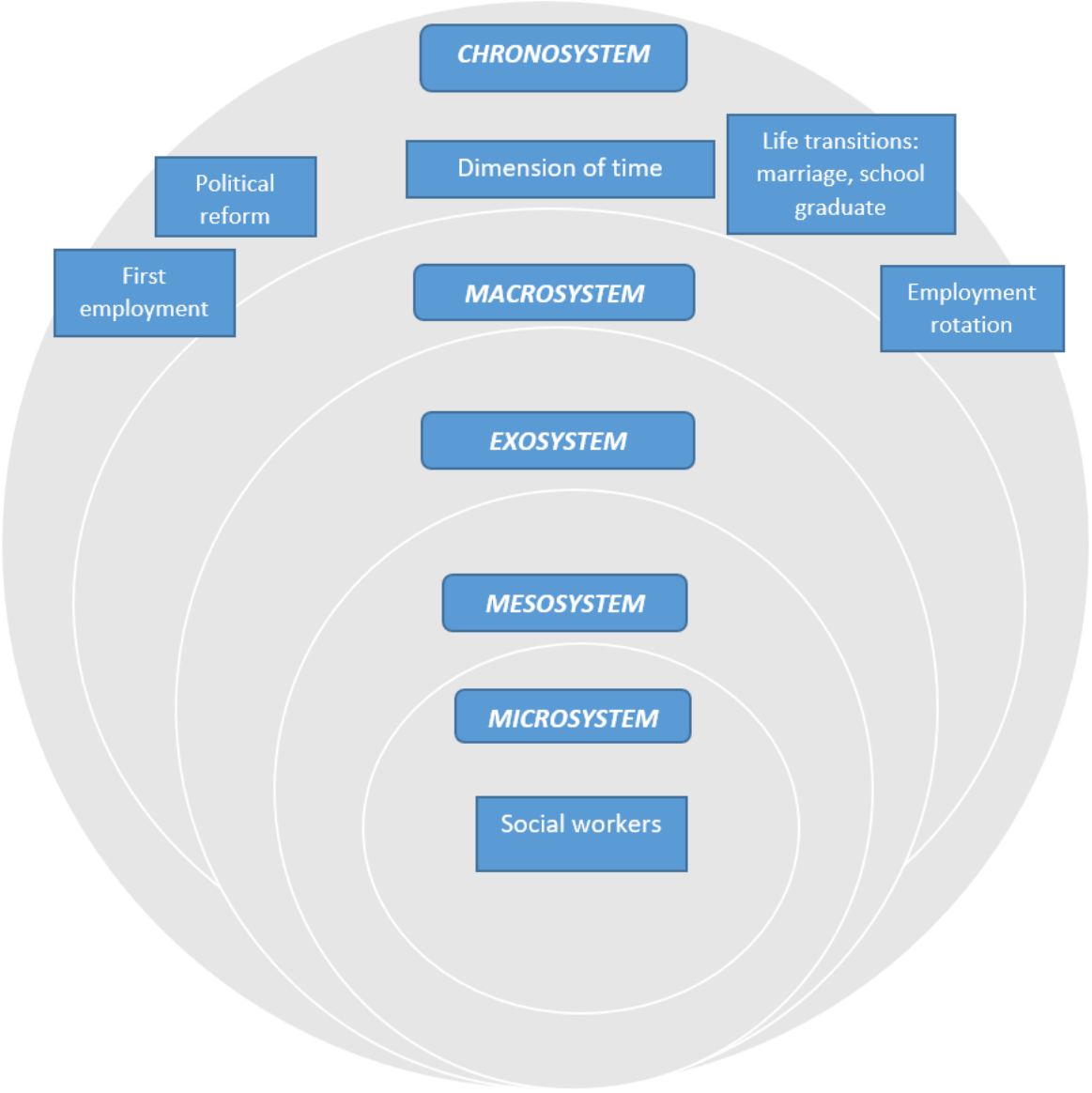

Figure 2: The chronosystem

The political, economic, and social changes in Indonesia have shaped social workers' experiences and perceptions of their roles and social service delivery, especially in dealing with the transformation of the child welfare system. Regarding the political context, the Indonesian government was centralised until the 1998 national reform. The centralised system meant that the central government held the majority of the power, which resulted in centralised policies, rather than localised ones. The Indonesian social welfare system was formally instituted with the establishment of the Department of Social Affairs on August 19, 1945, shortly after Indonesian independence was declared. The New Order Regime of President Suharto strongly implemented centralisation for three decades with a vision of equalising national development. This idea was followed by equalisation policies subsidising

regional governments, particularly in economic development, which resulted in high rates of national economic growth (Tadjoeddin, Suharyo & Mishra 2003, p. 3). Centralising the system aimed to manage national resources and distribute them equally to all regions, so that none was left behind. Centralisation was a colonial legacy, including the social welfare system. During the colonisation by both the Dutch and Japanese, colonial governments supported local social agencies through their respective governments. This concept was adopted by the government of Indonesia with the establishment of the Department of Social Affairs, focusing on helping people suffering from the war. The centralised system was manifested in the establishment of regional offices in each province as the representatives of Department of Social Affairs (Fahrudin, Adi 2013). The hierarchical relationship in this era was effective in ensuring that the central government's policies were well distributed and implemented.

The centralised system was preferred due to its uniform nature, in which national expenditures were kept at a similar level and were predictable (Besley & Coate 2003, p. 2612). This system meant concentrated control of management and supervision, in which the central government was able to ensure the implementation of national policies. In the context of the social welfare system, the tiered and direct relationship between the Department of Social Affairs and social service institutions all over Indonesia was regarded as beneficial by employees, especially those who worked in local areas. The shared background of knowledge, skills and values, as well as the centralised controlling system, assured the Department of the organisation's directions and needs, including program planning, budgeting and monitoring, as well as employees' capacity building. This fits with the general understanding that a centralised organisational structure conforms to homogenous environments, whereas decentralised structures correspond to heterogeneous environments. As the contrary of the decentralised one that positively corresponds to heterogeneous tastes (Bardhan 2002; Besley & Coate 2003). Working in an organisation with shared knowledge, skill and values made the social workers feel comfortable, as they disclosed in the interview. The bond among the employees and the organisation arose naturally due to long-term mutual understanding.

The national reform in 1998 brought about systematic changes in other areas. MoSA has gone through various changes after the reform. First, in 1999, President Abdurrahman Wahid closed the Department of Social Affairs along with eight other departments, and later replaced it with the National Social Welfare Board. This board was established to respond to various disasters at that time (Fahrudin, Adi 2013, p. 138). Consequently, there was a

large employee transfer to regional and local governments, as the government closed all regional offices. It took two years for political uproar to rise in 2001, which resulted in the President's impeachment. Megawati Sukarnoputri took over the presidency and reactivated MoSA. Despite the reopening, based on the Act Number 32/2004 and Act Number 23/2014 concerning Local Governance, regional autonomy and administration also covers the transfer of management and supervision of the residential based care centres that were previously administered under MoSA. This transition has brought about distinct dynamics and influenced decades-old work patterns. The changing bureaucratic relationships and interaction dynamics have shaped particular perspectives among the government social workers, such as how they perceived their employment status changing from central to local. The closing of regional offices in each province indicated the end of a direct relationship between social workers and the ministry. This caused many social workers to struggle in managing their roles under different management and supervision.

One of decentralisation's particular challenges is a pattern of poor allocation of staff with specialised professional skills. One example of this is the difficulty for social workers in adjusting to the leadership of institution heads who do not have social work backgrounds. Another major factor is the lack of assessments performed to identify local objectives and further actions. Human resources management issues should have been paid particular attention during decentralisation, as the failure to recognise local needs and potentials could result in unsuitable civil service placements. It is clear that some regions have overlooked the importance of the planning process in implementing change. Planning makes changes predictable (Rafferty & Griffin 2006, p. 1155). Good planning likely values personnel's well-being, realising that the human resource is an asset. Preparing the staff to expect the unexpected enhances their ability to manage and cope with stress and retains high job satisfaction. The discussion on preparing social workers for the change requires intersystem dependency, from micro to macro, as will be detailed later in this chapter.

Another normative life event in the social workers' chronosystem is the training journey, both pre-service and in-service. The history of social work education in Indonesia begins with the establishment of a secondary school in Solo, *Sekolah Pembimbing Kemasyarakatan* (SPK). The school was opened to meet the need for skilled staff to deliver social welfare services, which was a consideration of the Department of Social Affairs collaborating with the Department of Education and Culture. The education program involved sending the first graduates of SPK Solo to study abroad, and the establishing of similar schools in Jakarta, Medan, Banjarmasin, Semarang, Malang, Palembang and

Makassar (Fahrudin, Adi & Yusuf 2016, p. 18). The success of social work education at the secondary level led to the establishment of social work higher education. This started with the Bandung National School of Social Welfare (*Sekolah Tinggi Kesejahteraan Sosial Bandung*/STKS Bandung) in 1964. The government also supported six other state-based universities to establish schools of social work (Hakim 2004, p. 70). As social work education was a new concept in Indonesia, its curriculum development was much influenced by Western cultures. This was reflected in the clinical social work and casework method emphasised in Indonesian schools during the 1990s, which led to rehabilitative and residential-based approaches in social service delivery.

The social workers' working journeys have significantly influenced their understandings of their professional roles, specifically within the changing paradigm. Important experiences during these journeys include their first experiences of employment with the Department of Social affairs; the restructure and their placement under their respective local government's management; and employment rotation. The different work settings and cultures often triggered dilemmas, in which the social workers experienced conflicts with the status quo in their efforts helping people to access support. The findings showed that social workers felt frustrated with the institution's management transition from central government to local. The institutional hierarchy has created a "structural weakness", the term suggested by Decker, Bailey and Westergaard (2002, p. 71) that includes insufficient administrative and supervision support, leading to feelings of powerlessness that might become a source of stress and influence work quality. Struggling with local bureaucracies, whose staff have non-social work backgrounds, and acquiescing to the institution's protocol on the child recruitment, were examples of structural weaknesses. Institutional management restructure has subsequently diminished resource adequacy as support for social workers' professional performance. The research participants' responses to decentralisation indicated their distress; many wished they could return to the old system. This feeling of powerlessness, according to Mänttäri-van der Kuip (2016), stems partly from inadequate resources. In this study context, having no power or support to make changes has influenced the social workers' enthusiasm for their jobs. The transition of policy authorisation from central government to local became a challenge for the social workers, which is analysed later in this section.

In addition to the changing social and political circumstances in Indonesia, the global situation and unexpected events have also brought about implications for Indonesian social work practice. The globalised world, including the rapid growth of technology and information

exchange, has created various challenges in different countries. The diverse social problems affecting people's wellbeing across the globe require changing social work practice, in which social work indigenisation, modified Western values in local practice, becomes a consideration (Chong 2016; Dominelli 2010; Fahrudin, A, Yusuf & Rusyidi 2014; Gray & Allegritti 2003; Gray & Coates 2010; Law & Lee 2016). This will be discussed further as part of the macrosystem. The world's changing situations inevitably influence social workers' perceptions of diverse phenomena, including the paradigm shift in child welfare provision.

The 2004 tsunami disaster in Aceh also played a significant role in the development of social work professionalism and changing practice in Indonesia. This was the biggest natural disaster ever to occur in Indonesia and attracted a lot of international aid. Setiawan (2016) recorded that social work professionalism development in Indonesia resulted from international partnerships. The study found that both during and after partnership, social work professionalisation evolved in four areas: professional association, job market, external resources, and external recognition. This shows the interplay within the social workers' ecological system, in which the natural disaster as a chronosystem unit generates the international partnership as an interaction of macro- and exosystem that subsequently implicates the social worker as the developing individual. In the child welfare context, the paradigm shift was prompted by rapid assessments to track children who were separated from their families (Martin, F 2006, 2013; Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007). Likewise, the intersystem relationship dynamics concerning the child protection system influence and shape how social workers perceive the changing policy and practice, particularly in the residential child care service.

The diverse phenomena and changes play a significant role in shaping individuals' perceptions of life, and their social resilience. Resilience itself is influential in the individuals perceiving the changes. Resilience is defined in several ways, including the ability to withstand an occurrence or problem and get back up, or the amount of disturbance in life that someone or something can endure without suffering a change in its structure (Gunderson 2003). After successfully withstanding a life-disrupting event, two points emerge in regard to resilience. The first is difficulty of the occurrence; an individual is considered resilient when they can withstand particularly significant disturbances. The second one is related to the judgement concerning individuals' efforts dealing with their life problems. Individual resiliency is considered when the efforts result in positive outcome (Masten 2001, p. 228). Furthermore, the individual's ability to deal with changes and disruptions in life is

characterised by three attributes, namely resilience, adaptability and transformability (Walker, B et al. 2004). While resilience refers to the system's capacity to engage in any change or disturbance and to restructure actions, adaptability represents the individual's capacity to manage resilience. This ability to adapt to changes and to manage the level of disturbance determines individuals' survival success. The individuals' ability to manage changes in their life further comes to transformability, the individual's willingness to change to improve their life (Keck & Sakdapolrak 2013; Walker, B et al. 2004). Factors influencing the level of resilience vary from one individual to another due to the diversity of problems, as well as the resource system and other protective factors (Kumpfer 1999, p. 190). This is in line with the nature of human beings as social creatures, and the core of ecological perspective, in which the social environments and the interaction of their components shape personal perspectives. This includes how an individual views changes or problems in life and decides how s/he lives with particular conditions.

While resilience refers to general entities, the term 'social resilience' specifically refers to individuals, communities, or organisations. Based on the definition of resilience, social resilience then can be understood as the how many problems they can bear, or, secondly, as individuals', communities' or organisations' abilities to handle and manage events in their social environments. In this study context, social resilience specifically has to do with social change and development. As it is similar to resilience in general, social resilience is distinguished by three types of capacities: coping capacities, adaptive capacities, and transformative capacities (Keck & Sakdapolrak 2013, p. 10). The first type, coping capacities, is to do with absorbing and reacting to events. These capacities respond to any change or disturbance immediately after the occurrence, using any available resource to secure well-being. The second one, adaptive capacities, is characterised as proactive. Individuals not only cope with immediate problems, but also learn from past experiences to anticipate future occurrences. These capacities lead individuals to both secure their well-being and prevent any future, more destructive impacts. The main difference is between coping and adapting, in which the former only covers immediate responses and considered short-term, while the latter involves long-term planning as it aims to prevent future problems. The anticipative characteristic of adaptation abilities also implies that individuals with certain capacities have better access to various resources to take preventative actions. The final type, transformative capacities, represents individuals' abilities to access a wider range of support not only to cope with and anticipate future problems, but also to enhance their future benefit (Keck & Sakdapolrak 2013, pp. 10-1). This perspective on social resilience is

essential to understanding the dynamics of the social-ecological system, as individuals' resilience varies one to another. Maintaining this understanding of the social workers' resilience, which will be thoroughly discussed later, is necessary to develop support systems and retain social sustainability.

The macrosystem

Starting from the macrosystem, the analyses will look through *before* and *after* system models. The two models present the dynamics of relationship patterns and interactions among the system units before and after systemic changes in Indonesia (side-by-side pre- and post-paradigm diagrams are available in Appendix 6: Ecological System Models Comparison for easy interaction dynamics review).

In this study context, the macrosystem comprises law, public minds, societal values, cultures and religious beliefs, gender construction, body of knowledge, policies, MDGs and SDGs, and UNCRC. Apart from policies, most of the mentioned system units are rooted in society, thus, those have been internalised and shape the social workers' perceptions of policy and practice changes in residential child care. Living in communal societies means that the public mindset should be considered before action is taken. Public mindsets themselves are influenced by values resulting from entrenched culture, religious beliefs, and enacted laws. To some extent, public mindsets are also driven by gender constructions that also have roots in cultural values and religious beliefs. Furthermore, social workers' perspectives are shaped by the body of knowledge acquired in both pre- and in-service trainings, alongside government policies concerning child protection service, driven by respective laws and UNCRC. The relationships and interaction dynamics are noticeably simpler in the *before* model, and more complicated in the *after* model.

Before

Before the system-based child welfare program was introduced in Indonesia, the connection among system units tended to be typical, and nothing seemed complicated. Figure 3 shows that cultures, values, and religious beliefs play significant roles in gender construction and, together with the law, influence how the public perceives certain phenomena. Culturally, family serves as a fundamental aspect for Indonesians in general. Most Indonesian children grow up not just amongst their immediate families, but also their extended families, which have significant roles in children's upbringing. Particularly when the immediate family suffers some disturbance, grandparents or other relative members commonly look after the children.

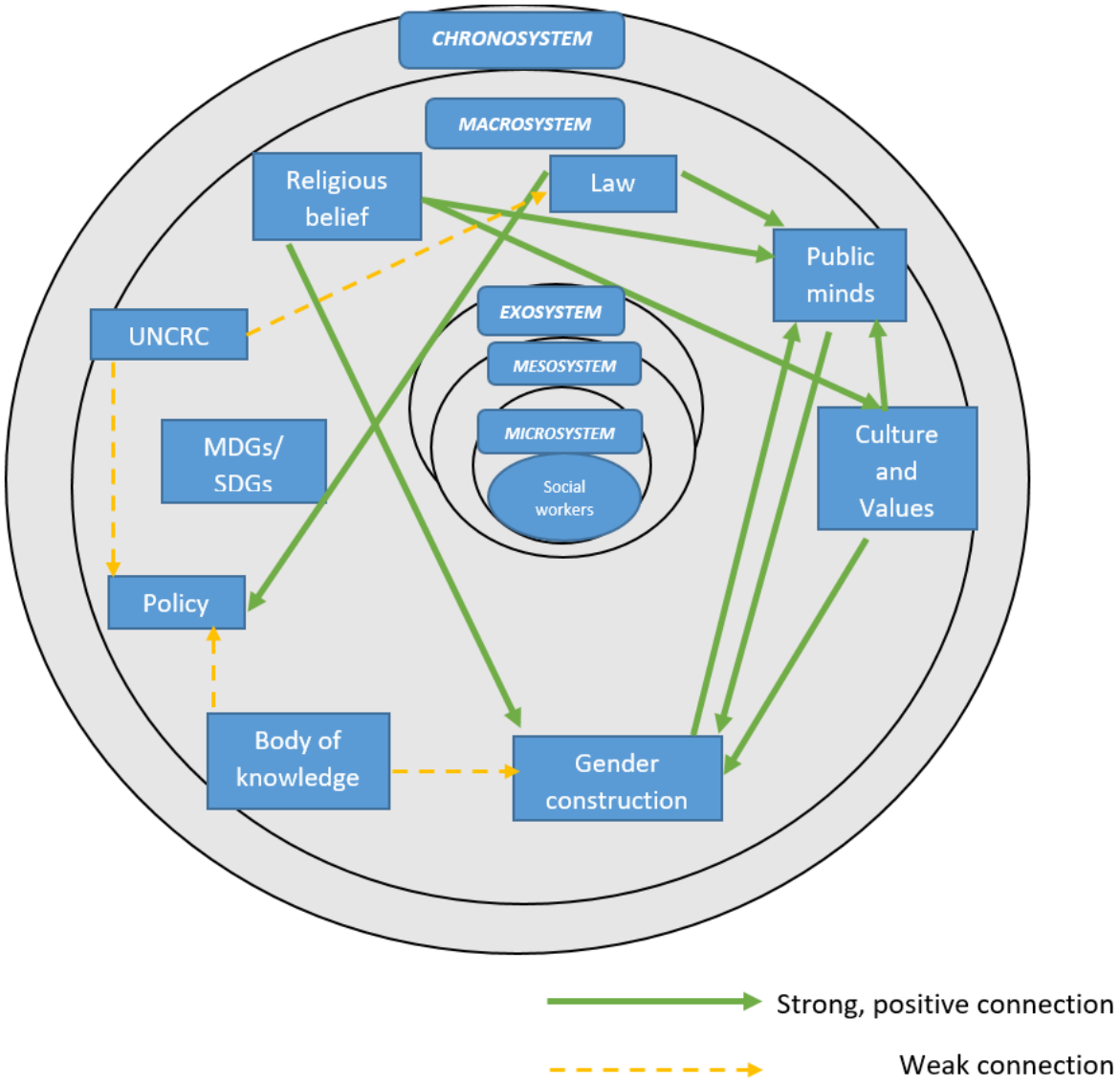

Figure 3: The 'before' macrosystem

Substitute care by extended family, as part of kinship care, is a part of culture in many countries, e.g. Asian countries, the USA, Scotland, and the UK, although only recently and in lower percentages (Aldgate & McIntosh 2006; Hoang et al. 2015; Nandy & Selwyn 2012; Noveria 2015). Kinship care has occurred in Scotland since the 17th century; the clan system used the practice to strengthen relationships and loyalty (Aldgate & McIntosh 2006). More recently, kinship care is largely used as alternative care due to various family reasons, e.g. parents' drug/alcohol addiction, orphanhood, divorce, and financial hardship (Waldrop & Weber 2001)(Waldrop & Weber 2001). In the USA, grandparents are a safety net for emergency situations, e.g. during the AIDS epidemic and military deployment (Settles et al. 2009, p. 837). The role of the extended family can also be seen in migrant workers' families, not only in Indonesia but also in other international migrant-sending Asian countries, e.g.

the Philippines, Thailand and Vietnam (Hoang et al. 2015; Hoang, Yeoh & Wattie 2012; Noveria 2015). Social and economic circumstances offer little chance for workers to take their families (spouse and children) when they migrate, or for regular reunification, resulting in long separations, leaving the family behind in their home country.

Concerning parental migration, Lam and Yeoh (2018) observe the different effects of either male or female family member migration. The findings indicate that fathers' migration, assumed to fulfil their breadwinning obligation, does not affect the family caregiving arrangement. The households remain stable while mothers take on the roles of both mother and father. This is largely based on the belief in the mother's nature as a homemaker and caregiver, in which child nurturing is a woman's responsibility. Consequently, the migrant worker mothers' absences often lead to involving non-parental family carers, e.g. grandparents and aunts, in spite of more fathers now stepping up as the main caregiver of their children (Lam & Yeoh 2018, p. 108). The decision of the grandparents to take over the child caregiving, according to the study of Hoang et al. (2015), is mostly altruism, despite another expectation that someday the elderly will be taken care of in return. Seeing their children lack care arrangement options due to economic hardship, most grandparents step up to take care of their left-behind grandchildren.

Kinship care becomes a popular option as it offers permanent placement. Children also have a closer attachment to their carers and are able to maintain a sense of identity, a feeling of settlement, and contact with their parents (Aldgate & McIntosh 2006, p. 4). However, there are some challenges present in kinship care practice, including financial difficulties, carers' problems dealing with children's behaviour (e.g. disciplining), and less monitoring compared to other family-based alternative care options (Aldgate & McIntosh 2006; Noveria 2015). Aging issues, including declining physical health and ability to discipline the children, along with poverty, were raised by participants of this thesis research as kinship care challenges and became a cause of children's placement in institutions.

There are several types of residential-based care for children in Indonesia. The first is known as *panti asuhan*. The word *panti* means "home" or "institution", while *asuhan* means "rearing", "fostering", or "looking after". This is more formal care for children without parental care, which has similar meaning with "orphanage", and was initially established to take care of orphans during the war against colonial powers. After the war, institutional-based care became more common throughout Indonesia as the primary option to help orphans and neglected and abandoned children. The meaning of neglected and abandoned children, however, has shifted due to parents' inability to provide education and other needs for their

children. This was a reason behind a large number of children of poor families living in institutions, even if they had living parents. Even Martin, F and Sudrajat (2007) found that only about 10% of orphanage populations were actual orphans. The second residential-based type of institution for children is *pondok pesantren*, an Islamic-based dormitory that commonly provides schools. While *panti asuhan* provides accommodation for free and supports the children's school fees, some *pondok pesantren* charge costs for living and education that vary from one *pondok* to another. Vignato (2017) pointed out particular confusion in differentiating *pondok pesantren* from *panti asuhan* due to the similar services for children who are fatherless, motherless, or orphaned, or who otherwise lack access to basic needs and education. It is likely that the government's program of child social welfare, targeting children living in institutions, is a causal factor for the increasing number of institutions claiming to provide residential child care.

Figure 3 shows that the public mindset is strongly interconnected with religious belief, societal values, law, and gender constructions. Most people identify children living in residential child care as orphans. They have faith in religious teaching that helping orphans is a noble deed and rewarded with a place in heaven, and also believe that orphans' prayers go directly to God. Religion provides the purpose of life for many people. It provides fundamental motivation and goals in life, as well as guidance to live a good life (Park 2005). Spiritual motivation to provide residential-based care support is in line with the findings of (Neimetz 2007). She conducted research in one orphanage in Northern China, finding that belief in God's help was the strongest motivation for both institutional care providers and caregivers in helping children in need. The study found that the belief in eternal life inspired the care provider and caregivers to fulfil the God's calling to help people in hardship. Wanat et al. (2010) and Nourian et al. (2016) also note that religious beliefs influence people's mindset, writing that children living in institutions developed resilience with the help of such beliefs, trusting that their pain would be rewarded.

In Islamic teaching, for example, the ultimate goal is the afterlife. There are many ways to achieve a good afterlife, including sincerely worshipping God and avoiding His prohibitions, being supportive and caring to other people, as well as performing altruism. The religious belief underlying social work practice in Indonesia is confirmed in the findings of Fernandez (2009b), who show that a large philanthropy movement in Indonesia has been developed by religious-based organisations. Fahrudin, Adi et al. (2016) focused their study on Islamic philanthropy, argued to exist long before the adoption of Western social work practice. *Muhammadiyah* and *Nahdlatul Ulama* are faith-based organisations with long

records of philanthropy. The research findings indicate the participants' belief in God's rewards for helping people in need, and the obedience to the Prophet's tradition, stating that "the best Muslims are those that bring most benefit to the rest of mankind". These were noted as strong motivations for altruism (Fahrudin, Adi et al. 2016, p. 51). Religious values emphasising the spirit of giving have been internalised in societal values and expectations that include social work practice in Indonesia.

Doing good deeds in the interests of the afterlife, and the cultural heritage of helping the needy, have created a particular societal perspective on residential child care. People believe that good deeds may help them through Judgement Day; hence, performing philanthropic actions, such as giving charity for children living in *panti asuhan*, is a popular option. This belief has resulted in the typical attitude of giving donations to non-government residential child care and frequently inviting children to certain occasions, for example during *Ramadhan*, the holy month for Muslims. A vicious circle, the increased donations and government support have increased the number of residential child care facilities. Poor data management concerning the establishment of non-government residential child care has also caused difficulties for MoSA in monitoring the institutions' quality of care. The general affiliation of *pondok pesantren* with the MoRA adds to this complexity, in which MoSA has restricted authority to impose the regulations regarding the quality of care. The culture of entrusting children to certain institutions hoping for better education and living, religious faith resulting in values of helping orphans, and the law restricting authorities have influenced the public mindset in viewing residential-based institutions. Most people consider that institutions are doing honourable actions that need to be supported; therefore, encouraging them to deinstitutionalise children is against the religious teaching.

The long presence of residential child care in Indonesia is closely related to the various interpretation of term "abandoned children" in the Article 34 of the 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia[6]. Before system-based child welfare was promoted, any child of a poor family was able to enrol in residential care to pursue education for free. This situation corresponded with most residential child care that interpreted poverty as a risk leading to child neglect. The Act No. 23 Year 2002 on Child Protection defines an abandoned child as "a child whose needs are not decently fulfilled, be it physical, mental, spiritual or social needs" (article 1). The Act explains the State's role: "the government is responsible for providing free tuition and/or aids or special services for children from underprivileged

[6] "Impoverished persons and abandoned children shall be taken care of by the State"

families, abandoned children, and children living in remote areas" (article 53), which includes arranging care both in and out of institutions (article 55). The lack of further explanation indicating the children's vulnerabilities has led to a simplification of situations in which children are living. The difficulties faced by parents experiencing poverty or other hardships, that impact their ability to meet their children's needs is frequently pitched as parental abandonment.

This simplification of the definition of the abandoned child has slightly deteriorated from the previous Act No. 4 Year 1979 on Child Welfare, which organises the situations of abandoned children into different categories, which subsequently lead to different interventions. Article 1 distinguishes powerless children from the abandoned. The former is caused by particular circumstances, such as poverty or parents living with disability, while the latter refers to parents' lack of responsibility to meet their children's needs. The Act further explains that orphans are eligible for residential-based care, while powerless children deserve particular support so that they can grow and develop within their own families and neighbourhoods (articles 4 and 5). This societal understanding, however, has generalised the parents' difficulties in fulfilling their children's needs as a trigger of abandonment.

The option to send children to residential child care institutions is considered to work in two ways: it provides for children's basic needs and education, and it eases the parents' burden. Several studies documented children's perceptions of benefiting from residential care service (Khoo, Mancinas & Skoog 2015; Raj & Raval 2013; Thoburn 2016). The opportunities to access support lead to societal perceptions that residential child care is a safe, conducive and supportive environment for children to develop within (Calheiros et al. 2015). In this research context, institutional support provision has been considered to be part of the State's role in assuring children's social welfare. Placing children in residential child care was suggested to be a form of 'rescue', rather than a risky attempt, due to the children's separation from their families. Some participants implied that living in institutions was a better option for some children considering their families' financial hardship. This finding is in line with Whetten et al. (2009) whose findings portray the positive image of residential child care compared to single-parent households.

Another part of the macrosystem includes gender construction. The issue of gender is contextual, meaning that its definition depends on the society's characteristics and it changes over time as a part of recent economic, political, and ideological trends (Weber 1998, p. 16). Despite the immense influence of social, cultural and political situations, gender construction inevitably influences individuals' psychological processes in perceiving and

denoting socio-cultural meanings and images. The use of individual senses results in new denotations that are unique, based on individuals' own profiles and histories (Chodorow 1995; Weber 1998). Hence, the relationship patterns between public mindset and gender construction in this model is described as reciprocal, as the two contribute in shaping each other.

Gender systems arise from how cultural beliefs specify distinct attributes of men and women, and their expected behaviours. It is reflected in people's processing of gender categorisation, that is, a socio-cognitive process performed by individuals to label people as male or female (Ridgeway & Correll 2004). Categorising individuals based on their gender is commonly the first thing process when sorting an individual from another, since it is less complicated than identifying people based upon their age, race, or any other personal characteristic. Distinguishing individuals based on their sex is indeed socially constructed. The way individuals label others are generally influenced by the cultural beliefs with which they were raised. This can, however, lead to gender stereotyping and judgements or expectations of behaviour of the genders (Ridgeway & Correll 2004, p. 516). Portrayals of how men and women should look and behave are wide-spread and have become consensus, taken on by the media and public policy; for example, in Aceh Indonesia, the enacted Islamic laws regulate how people should behave, including the way they dress.

Gender construction is also influenced by religious beliefs. Unlike cultural values, the influence of religious beliefs is more internalised in public minds. This is due to religion's role as a basis for many people's life systems, despite its varying degrees of importance. Religion provides diverse alternatives in comprehending any occurrence in life, thus, it influences other societal beliefs (Park 2005; Roccas 2005). Concerning gender construction, people commonly acknowledge that religious teaching covers the gender roles in spite of various interpretations. For example, in gender role attitudes, Algan and Cahuc (2006) find that religious affiliation contributes in shaping perspectives that men are the family's financial sole contributor. Despite the changing perspective over time, it is still widely believed that women, as the man's companion and based on their reproductive nature, are supposed to stay at home and be responsible for caring and nurturing the children. Achour, Grine and Roslan Mohd Nor (2014) explain that Malaysian culture, which is strongly influenced by Islamic belief, shapes a societal construction that married women are not required to work. This assumes that working may take them away from their main responsibility of taking care of the family.

The advanced development of knowledge, nevertheless, apparently had weak connection to gender construction compared to socio-cultural values and religious beliefs. The different culture has seemingly, again, influenced people's perceptions towards new knowledge that has been developed in Western countries. The research findings indicated that social workers often viewed their roles from the position of being either male or female and how they deal with the children in need together with their various background. Before the new paradigm was introduced, all the government's child residential-based care centres applied regular working hours, a day shift, for most employees. Only a few people who agreed to live in the centre took care of the children for the rest of the day. The regular working hours allowed the employees to return home in the afternoon. This enabled female social workers to manage their time for work and family. Most social workers maintained this circumstance as an institutional support to balance their work and family time. With a regular workload, female social workers had no work-life balance issues, since they could still manage their time between office work and domestic chores.

Wu et al. (2013) found that work-life balance linked organisational support and job value with job satisfaction. Work-life balance, according to Grzywacz and Carlson (2007, p. 458), is defined as the "accomplishment of role-related expectations that are negotiated and shared between an individual and his or her role-related partners in the work and family domains". The authors emphasise that work-life balance is more a social than psychological construct, which may be achieved through negotiation of related systems. Clark, SC (2000) highlights that work and family systems are related. This is based on the circumstances differing today's world from before, in which there is no longer a dichotomy of men as the breadwinners and women as the homemakers (Clark, SC 2000, p. 749). To conceptualise the work-life balance, Clark, SC (2000) develops the work/life border theory that comprises four basic components: domains, borders, border crossers, and border keepers. Despite the interconnectedness, work and family systems remain different, including how those are valued and the goal achievement. The borders refer to physical (where the system takes place), temporal (the time range), and psychological (attitudes-related). While border crossers are people taking different roles in different domains, the border keepers are those who have significant roles in defining domains and borders. In a work context, border keepers are associated with upper management, while in the family, this attribute goes to the spouse. Using the border theory, Clark, SC (2000) defines work-life balance as a situation in which the individual attains satisfaction both at home and at work, with minimal conflict between their roles in the respective domains.

Handayani (2015) uses the border theory to examine female employees' work-life balance. She maintains that border crossers should have controls in understanding their domains and borders. Their communication with border keepers contributes to maintaining both their domestic and professional roles. Handayani (2015) further raises the case of Javanese women, who were mainly raised in the mindset of having their main responsibility as taking care of their husband and children. Maintaining communication with the border keepers of work and home appears difficult when it collides with cultural values that still designate women as homemakers. Concerning religious beliefs and societal values, women should prioritise family over work. The finding, regarding residential child care work hours before the paradigm shift, that supported married female workers' time management, created a balance for female social workers, in which they could manage their roles with minimum conflict.

Before the shifting paradigm was introduced, the existing laws were the main base of the policies concerning child protection and social welfare. The ratification of UNCRC on 5 September 1990, and social work as a body of knowledge, were insufficiently considered in the policy making. This is apparent in the social service procedure applied in most residential child care centres in Indonesia. The Convention mandates that State Parties ensure that children grow and develop with family, and that parents are responsible for their children' upbringing (Preamble and article 18.1). It does not oblige State Parties to provide institution-based care for economic problems. Instead, the State should provide assistance for parents to care their children (Article 18.2). According to the Convention, children's placement in residential-based care should be based on judicial review determining that the institutionalisation is in the best interest of the child. Neglect, abandonment, and abuse are circumstances that children at risk and urge child separation from their parents (Article 9.1).

On the practical level, despite the long-time ratification of the Convention, the standard procedure in government residential child care is to still use a recruitment process known as an outreach program. The process is about disseminating information regarding the vacant places, referring to the number of children soon to graduate from high school. This recruitment process is done to meet quota and budget requirements. Social workers acquiesced to the recruitment duties. The lack of access to knowledge and resources on the best interest of the child, as well as structural weaknesses, significantly shaped social workers' perceptions that recruiting children to meet the capacity was part of their professional roles.

Several studies in Indonesia concerning policies on child welfare indicate a similar pattern, showing a strong connection between policy and law, the weak link connecting policy – CRC and policy – body of knowledge, and the missing link of policy – public minds. Some studies discuss the use of the residential child care model as an intervention in the case of children living on the street in Makassar, Surabaya and Malang (Anasiru 2011; Asmorowati 2008; Rizzana, Soeaidy & Hadi 2013; Setijaningrum 2008), while Fatony (2011) discusses it as a method of poverty alleviation in Yogyakarta. All studies indicate little improvement of child welfare, although residential child care has been used for a long time. The findings show that a policy of institutionalising the children assumed that economic hardship underlid the children's choice to live on the street.

Anasiru (2011) discusses four models of intervention used by the Makassar local department of social service: institutional-based, family-based, community-based, and half-way house service. The author argues that despite laws underlying local policy, there is a lack of detailed guidelines, including clear indicators for the placement of children in residential child care. Residential child care was considered a correct option to provide for children's physical needs and safety compared to the other three. The methods used in family-based intervention, including religious preaching and food aid, were considered ineffective to prevent the children from returning to the streets. The use of repressive methods in taking the children off the street, and the lack of inter-local departments' coordination were argued to hinder local efforts to take children off the streets. The missing aspect, according to Anasiru (2011), is changing the public mindset of giving. The children remained on the streets because people gave them money they needed.

The analysis presented by Anasiru (2011) indicates that local policies lacked connection with children's rights and social work knowledge. The use of repressive methods in taking them off the streets violated the children's right to protection from abuse and violence. It would only cause trauma and increase children's resistance to the intervention. Phenomena of children both working and living on the street requires a comprehensive intervention that addresses the core problem. An integrated support system, which is based on the children's rights and best interests, is vital to not only take children off the street and prevent them from returning, but also to create a gatekeeping mechanism. The charity-based intervention model that focuses more on physical needs has been proven unable to stop children returning to the street. The link between policy and public minds need to be built to change the paradigm of giving, in order to diminish the sense of reliance that encourages children to return to the street.

The explanations describing the relationship patterns of various macrosystem parts rationalise social workers' perceptions in this study, despite their minimal involvement. Those with civil servant status perceived the child welfare system as providing assistance for orphans and neglected children, where parents' inability to provide school fees and supplementary was included. They referred to the 1945 Constitution of Republic of Indonesia, which states that "the poor and neglected children shall be taken care of by the State" (article 34.1). The inadequate explanation of this article has led to multi-interpretation of the focus that is eligible for benefiting the services and the intervention forms. Residential child care was believed to be the State's best way to provide support, as mandated by the 1945 Constitution to alleviate the parents' burdens and fulfil the children's needs. The presence of non-government residential child care reflects cultural and religious beliefs to provide institutional support for children in need.

After

The shifting paradigm in child welfare system as well as the changing political context have inevitably brought about various changes in some areas and implications on the relationship patterns among the *macrosystem* units. The changing circumstances have caused more interaction dynamics of the system units in this *after* model that did not appear in the *before* model (refer Appendix 6 to view side-by-side *before* and *after* comparisons).

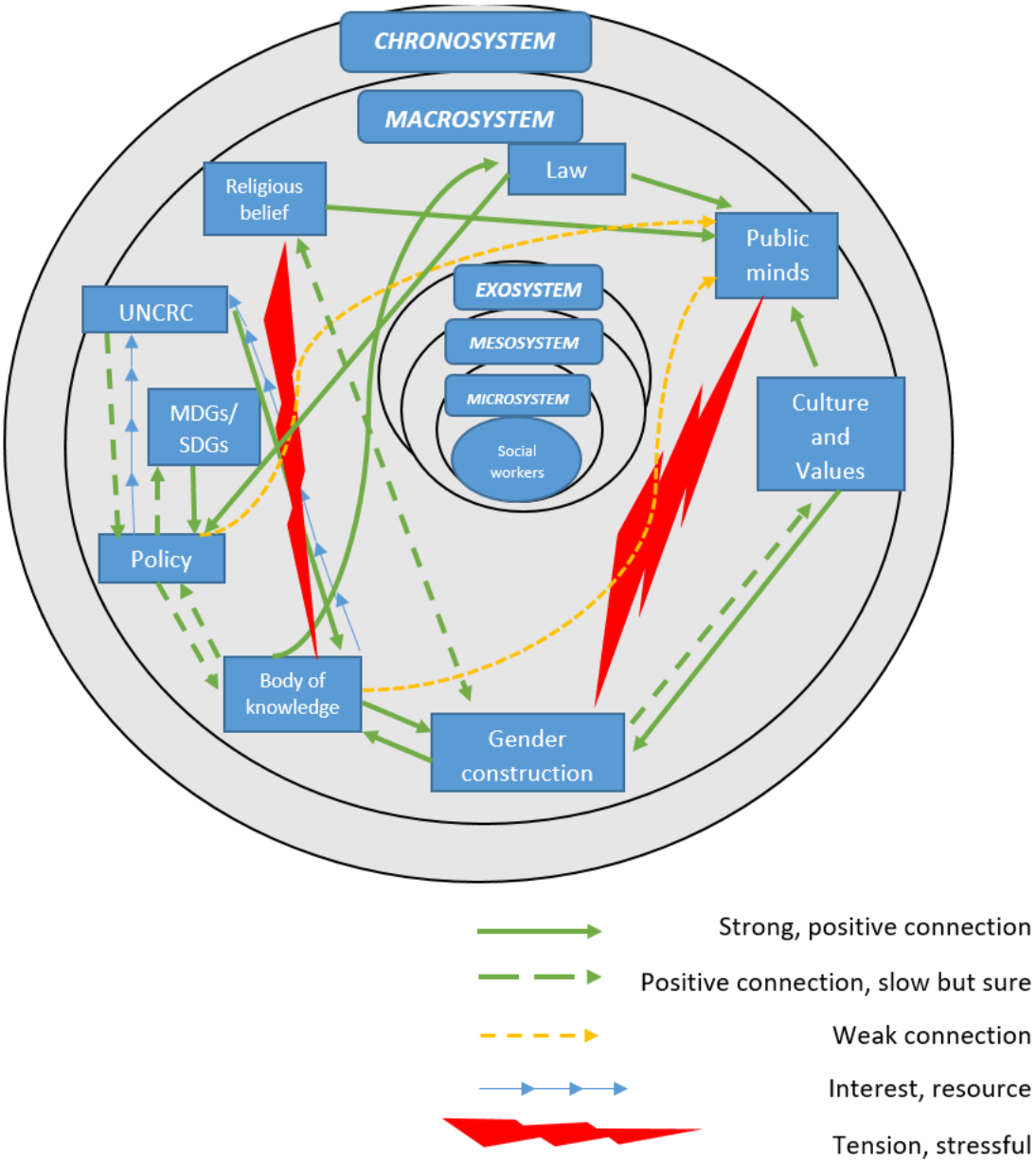

Figure 4: The 'after' macrosystem

Figure 4 shows that some units still maintain similar patterns, while others involve different interactions. Culture and values, law, and religious beliefs maintain strong connections to the public mind, but tension emerges between the public mind and gender construction. On the other hand, culture and values maintain strong positive pattern with gender construction. That said, the model depicts the link between gender construction and societal values with a bold dashed arrow, meaning that some hindering factors remain; this connection implies the need for improvement to synchronise public values and gender mainstream. Other dynamics include the extending sources of policy-making, ranging from the UNCRC, MDGs and SDGs, and bodies of knowledge. The connections vary from strong and positive,

positive with some conditions, and weak. Figure 4 also shows the link arising between the public mind and policy concerning child welfare and roles of the State, while some issues exist between knowledge and religious beliefs.

Gender issues develop within contexts. Both society's and individuals' perceptions of gender evolve over time, subject to particular background and life events (Cowdery & Knudson-Martin 2005). Vespa (2009) points out that individuals develop perspectives of gender construction through new role experiences. He gave an example that men and women formed different perceptions on gender ideology when they got married (Vespa 2009, pp. 367-8). Although it may vary from one person to another, marriage generally leads women to reflect on their roles as mothers, while men think about how to achieve respectable careers and a wife who is in charge of caring the family. Despite the spread of feminism, the perception of women's main responsibility as taking care of their children remains prevalent in most societies. Vespa (2009, p. 369) adds that working women were found to be more egalitarian compared with non-working ones. On the other hand, they often encounter disadvantageous situations, in which women with children are assumed to be less competent at work, since most women put their families first. Many societies holding a patriarchal perspective maintain that working mothers are responsible for keeping a balance in their productive and domestic roles (Achour, Grine & Roslan Mohd Nor 2014). This societal expectation consequently drives working mothers into work-family conflicts that may affect their well-being.

In the Indonesian context, most cultures believe that it is in women's natures to be home, to be responsible for domestic matters, in particular taking care of the children and family. In eastern Indonesia past culture, particularly in East Nusa Tenggara, only young men migrated to trade, while women were responsible for taking care of the households. Similarly, in West Sumatera, Minangkabau people are known for the tradition of *pai merantau* or migration. Minangkabau is well-known as a matrilineal society. In the past, men were encouraged to migrate after graduating from school, while women were supposed to stay at *ranah Minang* to take care of *rumah gadang*, a house inherited from their mothers, and their ancestral land (Iman & Mani 2013). Even if women did migrate, they were single and did so to pursue higher education (Iman & Mani 2013, p. 116). In another context, women were portrayed as *kanca wingking* in the past culture of Javanese, meaning a friend at the back (Hughes-Freeland 2008, p. 141). This term implies that women's position as a wife is minor and inferior, thus, decision making is solely with the husband. There was also the old saying, *suwarga nunut neraka katut,* which means that a woman follows wherever

her husband goes in the hereafter, either to heaven or to hell. This proverb suggests that women's acts are undervalued; she could go to heaven due to her husband, on the other hand, she could be dragged to hell following her husband no matter how good she was.

Furthermore, the domestication of women's roles in Indonesia had been official. The regime of New Order, under Suharto's presidency, campaigned for the domestic roles of women. Women were portrayed as best staying at home, in charge of family matters. The government promoted the importance of motherhood, in which women were responsible for the family's health, care, and education in moral values (Blackwood 2001; Hughes-Freeland 2008). The New Order government even initiated such main duties of women, which was named *panca dharma wanita* (women's five responsibilities). According to the campaign, a woman is supposed to be devoted to her husband, take good care of the household, deliver children and educate them, and obey all rules and laws (Blackwood 2001, p. 137). These social and cultural values implying gender subjugation have been internalised in most cultures in Indonesia, which to some extent have created dilemmas for working mothers. The belief that women's nature is at home, supporting men's decisions, is strengthened by religious teaching, especially Islamic teaching, which emphasises men as leaders. Achour, Grine and Roslan Mohd Nor (2014) write that in Malaysia, where Islamic values underlie societal perceptions, many women feel pressure when they decide to work, as if they are violating their socially- and culturally-constructed gender roles. The difficulties in balancing work and family time has become a stressor, influencing women's psychological states and their perceptions of job satisfaction and organisational commitment.

The Indonesian majority generally view that women are primarily responsible for the household and ensuring the family's well-being, despite developing discourses on women's emancipation. This socio-cultural view has created a double burden for many working mothers, in which they are responsible for keeping their work and family matters balanced. A study on mothers' work-family conflict conducted by Marettih (2013) points out the participants' dilemma regarding their decision to return to work. The various reasons include to support the family's economic situation, to actualise their potential, and to show their appreciation towards their parents' effort of providing them with higher education. These working mothers talked about the difficulty setting priorities between their roles at work and with family. The result indicates that family matters are put as the priority, based on cultural and religious beliefs. The study of Cinamon and Rich (2002) suggests that married women, especially those with young children, show high work value but not work commitment. Being in demanding, distinct roles at the same time often brings working mothers into work-family

conflict (Cinamon & Rich 2002). The conflicts occur when work interferes with family. Conflicts may be time-based, strain-based, and participation-based, according to Greenhaus and Beutell (1985). Married women were found to be more affected by work-family conflict compared to men, despite the similar experiences. The traditional public expectation of prioritising family matters has influenced women to perceive that they bear a dual responsibility; otherwise, they may be labelled as negligent mothers.

In this study context, gender construction in Indonesia maintains strong links and is influenced by religious belief, the public mindset and sociocultural values, while it had a weak connection with developing bodies of knowledge. The systemic change happening in most of life aspects has seemingly affected the mentioned relationship patterns. Slowly but surely, the development of gender construction permeates into culture and values. Cultural perspectives on the subjugation of women's roles have gradually changed, yet time and persistence are required. While previously, societal values held that household matters were predominantly a women's area, it is more common now that married couples consider the household to be their shared responsibility. It might have been awkward to acknowledge the term "stay at home dad" in the past, but it has now become an alternate when the married couple agree with the wife pursuing her career. This non-traditional gender behaviour has become more common, along with growing opportunities for women to pursue higher education. Both of these factors have resulted in increased numbers of women in labour force (Chesley 2011; Kramer, Kelly & McCulloch 2015; Marshall 1998). The double earner situation, most of the time, prompts the need for couples to discuss childcare. Some families might opt for a childcare centre as alternative care on work days, while others negotiate to decide who should stay at home.

The relationship patterns between gender construction, cultural values, and public mindset in Figure 4 indicate the steady development of gender awareness affecting cultural values, but still struggling to influence the way people view gender roles. Despite the gradual change in societal values concerning gender roles, people generally retain a traditional view and consider women's emancipation to violate nature. Men are seen as breadwinners, while women are supposed to take care of the children. In the context of this study, the breadwinner and homemaker standard has been internalised in social workers' mindsets, in spite of developing discourses in gender mainstream and interpretations towards religious teaching regarding gender roles. The socially-constructed standard of women's roles as homemakers has triggered a dilemma when female social workers are rotated through various work shifts, resulting from the implementation of the National Standard of Care in

children's residential care centres. The dilemma results from work interfering with family has caused guilt amongst working mothers, as advised by the female participants. The guilt emerged when the participants realised that they spent more time with children in residential child care rather than with their own children. The perception of women's primary role as to care for their families has elicited feelings of failure within working women. This meets the dimensions of guilt, as Elvin-Nowak (1999) explained, those are the closeness in relationships and responsibility. The research result further indicates that work-family conflict did not appear in the male participants' experiences. This finding resonates with previous studies, e.g. by Offer (2014) and Borelli et al. (2017). The combination of cultural values and religious belief concerning the women's traditional role as homemaker strongly influenced the female participants in this study.

The progressive dynamic is visible in the interaction of social work as a body of knowledge with other macrosystem units, except for the public mindset and religious teaching. Both the public mindset and religious teaching in Indonesia consider social work a Western product that to some extent contradicts traditional Indonesian values. Bodies of knowledge have had positive and strong relationships with gender construction. The perspectives on gender roles have developed and supported gender equality. While gender was previously constructed through societal and religious values only, nowadays it develops along with social science and knowledge. As an applied science, social work has currently maintained a mutual positive connection with the law and policies concerning the child welfare system.

The endorsement of the National Standard of Care, aiming to improve institutions' quality of care based on recommendations of Martin, F and Sudrajat (2007), represents improved interactions between national policies, international commitments, and bodies of knowledge. The current National Standard of Care is child-centred, based on UNCRC. The child welfare paradigm has changed from issue-based to an integrated system in the purpose of achieving the Millennium and Sustainable Development Goals, one of which is through the promotion of National Standard of Care. Efforts to develop the integrated system are required considering the importance of inter-system dependency to achieve the determined goals (Foster-Fishman, Nowell & Yang 2007; Megivern et al. 2007). The annual training on child protection has been part of the government's attempt to improve social workers' knowledge and skills. Mirabito (2012) suggests that updating social workers' capacities was critical in order to manage the changing practice. Sustainable institutional transformation is achievable through linking systems.

The development of social work education in Indonesia is a major factor in improving connections to gender construction, policy and law, as well as the existing link to the public mindset despite the less strength. Curriculum development, including social work specialisation and indigenisation, is a way to familiarise social work practice (Fahrudin, Adi & Yusuf 2016). Specialisation enhances social workers' in-depth understandings of particular issues; therefore, it increases their self-confidence in planning supporting actions. Narey (2014) (Chong 2016; Gray & Allegritti 2003; Gray & Coates 2010; Law & Lee 2016; Rankopo & Osei-Hwedie 2011; Sousa & Almeida 2016; Yip 2005). Connecting social work practice to local cultures allows public recognition of social work as a means to detangle social problems and create support systems.

Acknowledging the social workers' macrosystem is essential in understanding workers in context, and in detangling the problems surrounding current policy changes in residential child care. The macro dynamics have significantly affected social workers despite their zero involvement. Before the child welfare system shifted the approach, working at children's residential-based care centres was a typical job for most social workers. This has since changed completely after they received training on the paradigm shift. Various questions and dilemmas as well as hopelessness raised and influenced their way of delivering services and perceiving their position and roles in the systemic change. Participants were unsure if they had done the right thing in helping the children of poor families, on account of the conflicting ideas of urging family-based care, and societal and religious values emphasising providing support for poor families. Most social workers used to think that institutionalisation was the right way to help children pursue education. This confirms the finding of O'Leary et al. (2018) describing that despite showing professional attitudes and understanding towards the paradigm change, Indonesian social workers had problems in incorporating systematic intervention without leaving the institutionalisation out of the options. Taking children to live apart from family and own community was considered acceptable rather than leaving them unschooled. This perception, however, has become problematic, since CRC suggests that the family is the right place for children to grow and develop. Social workers' feelings of uncertainty in carrying out their roles, implementing proper case management and the National Standard of Care, was in some regions shaped by the dynamics of inter-systems relationships presented in the next section.

Some tension patterns depicted in the *after* model of the macrosystem indicate that social workers are caught between the central government's policy requiring institutional transformation of residential child care, the local government's limited support for the

paradigm shift and society's resistance to change. The required social work skills in dealing with contemporary issues, including being able to access and mobilise resources, negotiate, and develop networks (Skerrett 2000) are demanding for social workers. The conflicting circumstances have affected social workers' abilities and willingness to exert their efforts to critically manage their roles to advocate for related policies and contribute in creating social change. McAuliffe (2005) writes some of the impacts of moral dilemmas include lacking confidence in making decisions and planning effective case management. The dilemmas potentially lead to psychological distress, as many of social workers actually have access to supervision but they avoid discussing the conflicting values experience with their supervisor. Instead they prefer conversing their dilemmas with their colleagues or family (McAuliffe & Sudbery 2005). If it keeps going, there will hardly be effective solutions to solve the problem.

The exosystem

In this study context, the exosystem depicts how interactions between two or more units influence the social worker as the developing person in an organisational context. The exosystem analysis considers the relationship patterns of social workers' workplace (government or non-government residential child care), local governments, religious organisations, MoSA, MoRA, and development organisations that shape social workers' perceptions of changing policy and practice concerning residential child care institutions.

Before

Before the systemic changes occurred, the interactions and dynamics occurring in the exosystem were less complicated; only some system units interconnected. These included the wide-ranging authority of MoSA over local governments, including the institutional provision of residential care. The centralised governance system enabled MoSA to impose central policies and to directly manage and supervise all government residential care institutions. The participants advised that the relationship between the two was positive and strong. The past hierarchical system between MoSA and residential-based care centres enabled the ministry to disseminate any policy and program, and to monitor and evaluate the implementation. The centralised management offered homogenous work environments that ensured similar understandings of social problems, service users, and intervention plans. These circumstances created a comfort zone for both the ministry and social workers.

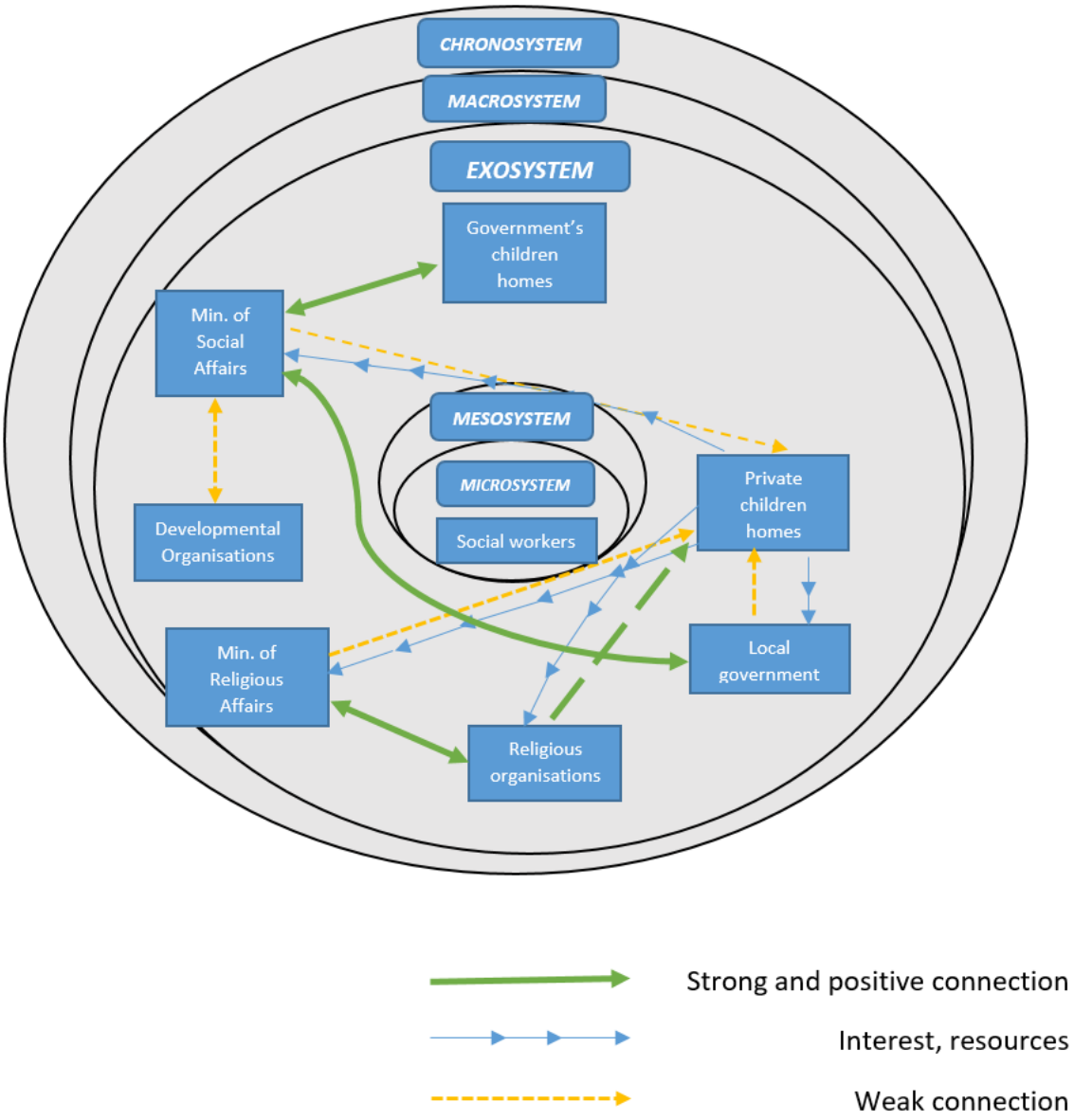

Figure 5: The 'before' exosystem

The strong and positive relationship shown in Figure 5 impacted the resource access that supported the social workers in performing their jobs. The positive pattern between government residential child care and MoSA did not occur with non-government residential child care that weakly connected with any ministry. Before the paradigm shift in child welfare, MoSA had little concern for non-government residential child care, indicated by poor data management in this area across Indonesia. The study jointly organised by Save the Children and the Department of Social Affairs, revealed shocking results concerning the institutional quality of care (Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007). Boothby and Stark (2011) highlight the importance of accurate data on children living in substitute care that would help related stakeholders understand the prevalence of child protection issues in Indonesia. The limited

access to accurate data potentially hindered necessary actions. In the international context, a study estimating the number of children living in alternative care by Petrowski, Cappa and Gross (2017) similarly found that insufficient data limited the results. The lack of data management, including poor documentation and inadequate reliable data collection, is an obstacle in measuring the efforts of developing an integrated child protection system.

In this study context, the different level of connection linking MoSA with government residential child care institutions from the non-government ones has brought about several consequences. First, being registered, managed and supervised directly by MoSA enabled government child care institutions to access resources, including social workers, budget, and capacity building programs. Second, being less informed and monitored, non-government residential child care did not have a particular standard for procedures, which resulted in low quality of care. Opportunities to accessing capital is a form of power, which grants capacities to achieve determined goals and challenge oppression (Tew 2006). Resources facilitate and maximise efforts to create changes and social influences. Houston (2017) adds that inadequate resources hinder creativity and innovation. The interaction gaps between MoSA, government, and non-government residential child care institutions resulted in a different quality of care. A number of religious-based non-government residential child care institutions also built a link to MoRA; yet, support seemed to be minimal as well as in the attempts of linking to the local government. The lack of adequate resources for non-government institutions might be a causal factor for the institutions' lack of improvement in providing care.

The link between non-government residential child care and particular religious organisations, however, indicates a more positive connection. The three largest operators of private children homes in Indonesia are *Muhammadiyah*, *Nahdhatul Ulama,* and *Hidayatullah*. *Muhammadiyah* ran approximately 750 to 1,000 children homes in 2013 (Babington 2015b, p. 75). Save the Children estimated that *Nahdlatul Ulama* ran around 103 residential-based care centres for children, while *Hidayatullah* had 246 branches, most of which operated children's homes (Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007). These numbers are less precise because most children's homes took the form of *pondok pesantren* that based their services on Islamic education. In the case of *Nahdlatul Ulama*, there has been little control over local children's homes at the national level, so the developing number of childcare institutions might have been unmonitored (Babington 2015b, p. 76). The *exosystem* diagram portrays this relationship with a big dashed arrow, describing a positive connection but with

less control and fewer support systems. These different interactions influenced the service quality and support systems provided by private residential child care.

Meanwhile, the link between MoSA and development organisations was unconvincing before the paradigm shifted. The organisations, e.g. Save the Children, UNICEF and higher education institutions, conducted their own programs with little government involvement. The social work profession was hardly known among Indonesian society. Only a few higher education providers offering courses on social work. Even then, generalist social work practice was the most common. The findings suggest that participants were not specialised in their pre-service training. Generalist social work practice has become a policy basis of employment rotations. In addition, the low popularity of the social work profession might be a factor in the lack of social workers in certain regions. This may have contributed to the insufficient quality of care in child residential care centres. This explanation reflects the influence of macrosystem factors as described in the previous section.

The little dynamic in the exosystem explains the participants' various perceptions of the residential-based support provision. Those working at government residential child care institutions managed their work and roles based on the institutional standard of procedure. As government employees, they are bound by regulations that, to some extent, drive them to consider their job as typical and more on paperwork. The accessible budget resources made their service delivery zero problem. The social workers' perceptions of abandoned children and the existence of residential child care institutions as primary support was shaped by limited explanations in government guidelines, in addition to underdeveloped training curriculums. On the other hand, participants working at non-government residential child care institutions based their work on altruism. The spirit of helping was the staff's main motivation, considering the minimal interactions linking them to resources. The similarity between government and non-government staff, however, was that they both perceived that children's physical needs were the highest priority to support. Increased access to training support apparently made no significant difference in apprehending children's needs.

After

The interaction dynamics among units in the exosystem area have been affected by several factors, including change in both the political system and the paradigm in child welfare, as well as the special circumstances of the tsunami disaster. While the previous figure indicates nothing complicated in relationship patterns, in this *after* model the dynamics change into

complex situations, despite the unchanged relationship patterns between socio-religious organisations, non-government residential child care, and MoRA. The changing patterns have both offered resource system and created certain complexities challenging social workers.

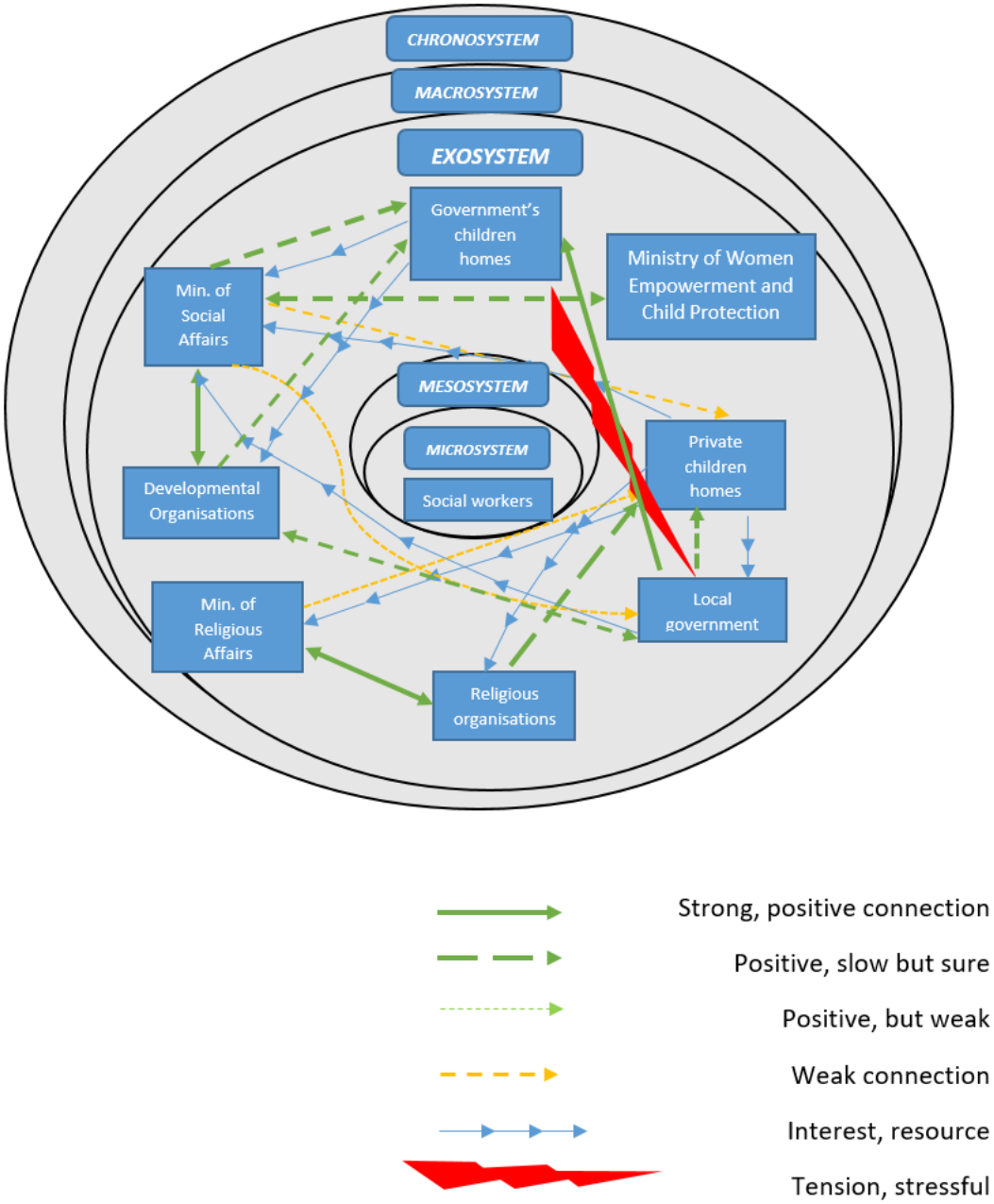

Figure 6: The 'after' exosystem

The tsunami disaster in Aceh prompted the concern of various international agencies and donors. Diverse programs were launched, including helping children who lost their families. International agencies provided funds and material assistance, and also engaged social workers who had managed cases and worked with the local government, as well as social

workers handling donations and planning interventions. This involvement influenced local social workers in their practice, particularly in providing support for children. Setiawan (2016) found that international donors had not only helped manage donations, but also had a significant role in encouraging community-based and family-centred child protection systems and supporting the development of social work professionalisation in Indonesia. She also found that grants, focusing on developing social workers' professionalism, had profoundly affected the direction of social work participation in Indonesia.

Education was also positively affected by international agencies. For example, the scholarship program for Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies concentrating on social work was jointly organised by CIDA, McGill University Canada, and MoRA, and took place at UIN "Sunan Kalijaga", Yogyakarta, Indonesia. The program lasted for three cohorts and combined social work and Islamic perspectives in viewing contemporary social problems. Fahrudin, Adi and Yusuf (2016) observe that the presence of international agencies, volunteers, and social workers post-tsunami, as well as the systemic change and the awareness of sustainable development, all influenced social work education and practice in Indonesia. This strong and positive connection between diverse development agencies and the Indonesian government, particularly MoSA, has offered valuable opportunities and resource access to improve social workers' capacities and capabilities, and national social welfare.

Along with the shifting paradigm in the child welfare system, development organisations built positive connections with selected child residential-based care centres. Despite a weaker connection, these positive relationships have been quite progressive. The large dashed green arrows show that the positive connection only took place in certain areas and in selected residential care centres. Positive synergy was shown in Yogyakarta. In this province, Save the Children, UIN "Sunan Kalijaga" Yogyakarta, and the provincial government established a work team producing solid co-ordination in implementing the system-based approach in child welfare services. Collaboration between international donors and the local government as policy maker, supported by higher education, has created a support system for the implementation of the National Standard of Care, especially in providing assistance for social workers. This case study reflects the "double-edged sword" of decentralisation. On one hand, higher authority should enable local government to determine best practice in program planning and budgeting to suit to their locals' situations, including issuing policies to support the national child welfare system. On the other hand, certain regions still maintain the former paradigm and regard welfare issues as incidental

cash transfer, and institutional and issue-based approaches. Consequently, distinct support systems have been apparent in different regions.

The shifting paradigm in child protection has changed the interaction dynamics of MoSA and other agencies (Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection, local government, and development organisations). Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection has been established since 2009, while before it was Ministry of Women Empowerment. In spite of the developed interagency coordination between two ministries, it was limited to joint organising trainings. The reversed dynamics occurred in MoSA's relationships with development organisations and local government. While MoSA has enhanced the collaboration with UNICEF and Save the Children in promoting the shifting paradigm, the change in political autonomy has significantly influenced the relationship patterns between the MoSA and local authorities. Before the decentralised system, the connection was positive and strong, as regional offices of social service were ready to support any national policy and agenda. This relationship has since changed; with their greater autonomy, local governments connect to MoSA as their resource but MoSA could no longer impose central policies. The slow progress of system-based child welfare service has been partly caused by some regions' reluctance to enact policies supporting the paradigm shift.

Decentralisation has consequently affected the interactions between the central government, through MoSA, and government residential child care. In the *before* model, the connection was strong and positive as the central government had control. The reciprocal relationship allowed the government's agenda and policies to be disseminated efficiently, while social workers were able to access the support system to maintain service quality. The situation has changed since the local government took over management of all residential care centres. The previous mutual interaction has weakened, although the positivity is still maintained at some point. MoSA no longer has the authority to force local government residential child care centres to follow the ministry's recommendations. Nevertheless, MoSA still provides training to maintain social workers' capacities. This situation has created a dilemma among social workers regarding the paradigm shift. They were motivated to apply the approach recommended in the paradigm shift, yet they had to be realistic given the lack of support from their institution head, the local department of social service (*Dinas Sosial Provinsi/ Dinas Sosial Kabupaten/Kota*), or other local apparatus. This situation led to tension between social workers and the local government, subsequently depicted as red lightning in the diagram, while the local government still maintain the strong interaction as

the hierarchy says so. The tension arose when local support systems could not manage the pressures felt by workers.

Gaining resource access is significant in enhancing self-capacity when adjusting with changes. Being resourceful gives power to manage changing practice, while limited resources creates powerlessness and hinders creativity (Narey 2014). Avelino and Rotmans (2009, p. 551) identify a range of resources, namely persons, assets, and materials. They also specify resources including human, information, ideas or concepts, funds, infrastructure, and natural resources. Each diverse resource has its own particular significance and complements the others; one may need the other to make it work. For example, various concepts require competent personnel and adequate funding or infrastructure. Similarly, large amounts of money will be wasted if none of the staff is able to produce effective and efficient programs. Resources as products of a social system coexist with erudite agents, which includes manpower, in the social context. Individuals' power is partly indicated by their access to resources in certain contexts, such as at work. This implies that the individuals' level of power determines the extent of resources they can utilise, as Giddens (1984) states that "resources are media through which power is exercised". The more power an individual has, the more resources they can access. In fact, maintaining power to approach particular resources determines what the individuals know, to what extent they may expand their action and are prevented to do; thus, individuals need to be aware of the support system around them. Amongst various factors, individuals' social position and networks play important roles in influencing individuals' access to resources (Kondrat 2002; Lin, Ensel & Vaughn 1981; Podolny & Baron 1997). Understanding the system dynamics, social workers' positions, and how the dynamics affect workers allows a comprehensive understanding of the social workers' perceptions of the current change in residential-based care policy and practice.

Figure 6 indicates that the interactions within the social workers' exosystem offered both resources and challenges in their efforts to adjust to institutional transformation. Social workers from certain regions might have better situations compared to others when the local government is aware of the system-based approach in child welfare service, and when it is supported by developmental organisations. The synergy among stakeholders concerning the implementation of the National Standard of Care has created a positive atmosphere for social workers to actively promote the best care practice for children in need. This supportive situation, however, still meets obstacles. Based on the findings, the obstacles relate to the influence of macrosystem: the socio-cultural values, religious belief, and public mindset. The

ecological perspective locates each system within another greater system that inevitably influences those inside it. The connection between the macrosystem, exosystem and the developing person as a part of the microsystem, is founded on the belief in institutionalising children as a form of support for children of poor families. It has become a public consensus that sending children to social homes is one way to help the children as well as to ease the family's burden; consequently, suggesting the contrary might trigger resistance that subsequently influences the relationship pattern.

The mesosystem

In the context of social workers as developing people, the mesosystem refers to the settings where they are directly involved: family, the workplace, and the surrounding neighbourhood. The mesosystem includes the connections between these and links the interaction patterns with the social workers in the organisational context, including shaping their perspectives. Recognising how social workers' immediate environments connect one to another is an essential start to comprehending their perceptions of their profession and how they value their roles and respond to various changes, which in the end is valuable in developing support systems to sustain the child welfare system.

Before

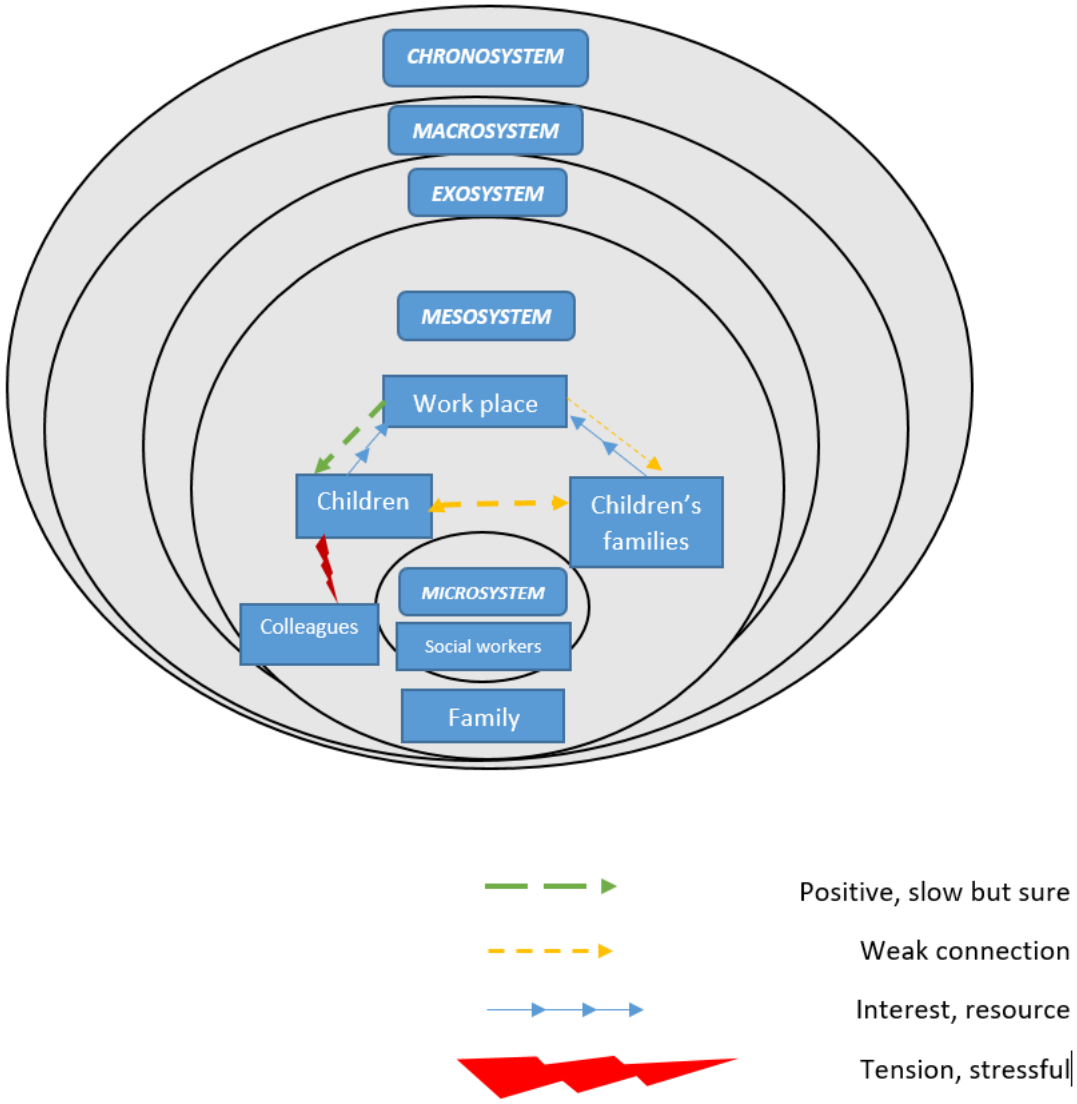

Figure 7: The 'before' mesosystem

Figure 7 shows residential child care as a resource by both children and their families living in poverty, while the institution responds in a weak pattern to the children's families but positively to the children. As the support provider, residential child care took control over the children, represented by the large dashed arrow. This control is seen in the rules of the centre. The broken line suggests struggle in some areas. Martin, F and Sudrajat (2007) note that a lack of government control led to many non-government residential child care centres paying so little attention to the quality of care that they actually risked children's lives. Before the National Standard of Care was promoted, for example, only a few institutions respected children's participation in setting daily rules, or privately-owned institutions used children as "commodities" to interest donors.

The weak connection between residential child care and the children's families was reflected in the minimal interaction between the institution and children's families, either parents or extended family. This might be caused by a lack of understanding of the importance of maintaining an emotional bond with their children. Retaining the attachment between parents and children is a foundation for children's healthy physical and psychological development. In an individual's early years, secure attachment with the parents establishes condition where a child develops a concept of self and others, in which s/he views that "I am lovable, and others are trustworthy" (Cortina & Marrone 2004, p. 133). The parent-child attachment is also closely related to children's development cycles. Adolescence is a period when the peer group is influential on the individual's development, including shaping their mindset and contributing to personality development. The parents' presence is fundamental to support their children accomplishing their developmental tasks. Various circumstances, however, have weakened the connection for parents whose children live in an institution. Living in remote areas or experiencing economic hardship hindered parents' efforts to maintain communication with their children.

The triangular relationship of residential child care, children, and children's parents/family should have been an ideal support system for children, in the sense that parents are primary caregivers, while residential care provides additional support on behalf of the State or the community. The evidence, however, indicates that children's placement in institutions results in weakening children's rights fulfilment, particularly their rights to secure attachment with their primary significant other. Suggesting residential-based care service as the primary support with the emphasis on physical needs support overlooks the children's rights to participation and to maintain bonds with their family and community roots.

Another inter-setting link influencing social workers' views depicted in the mesosystem diagram is the link between children and institution employees. Before the children's rights became a concern, these relationships were often tense. Many employees regarded the children as benefiting from the services, and so asked the children to do certain things, such as buy them food or cigarettes, completing domestic chores and other tasks. This was considered normal and acceptable. More knowledgeable social workers believed that there was nothing wrong with ordering the children to complete chores, as it was a part of their learning to be independent. They believed that children would leave the institution after finishing high school; therefore, they needed disciplining to survive. The reframing of getting children to do chores as acts of discipline, even domestic chores in the workers' private homes, is consistent with other studies discussed earlier on how workers justify their

exploitation of children as discipline, e.g. Omidire, AnnaMosia and Mampane (2015) in South Africa. The staff in the current study argued that no laws forbidding domestic chores.

The tense relationship between children and other institution's employees indicated in Figure 7 shows unjust power relation, in which it puts children as service users in the subordinate position. The common portrayal of residential child care institution as an important provision, which enables children to access basic needs and education, ignores potential abuse within disciplining. As it is suggested by Rodrigues, L, Calheiros and Pereira (2015), the positioning of institution as needs provider is likely to sustain the unequal relationship between children in care and the staff. The tension that linked the children and staff inevitably affected the interaction pattern of children and social workers. Feeling inferiority and less important led the children to create distance with their social workers that might restrict openness, a significant factor comprehensive assessment as a base of an integrated intervention.

Recognising the different patterns amongst settings that directly involve and affect social workers depicted in the mesosystem ecomap is meaningful in developing the current approach. The mesosystem analysis informs the linking systems that need to either be maintained or strengthened to enhance the support system, along with unlinked system units that need to be considered in their connection to other units to extend the support.

After

Promoting changes in child welfare system is for the purpose of extending protective measures for all children, so that no child is left behind regardless of the risks they face. The system-based approach is encouraged in order to improve the connection amongst parties involved in child welfare service, both in the organisational and macro contexts. Figure 8 portrays the progress that has occurred during the shifting approach. Most connections have turned into more positive patterns, with the exception of one obvious tension, which involves a previously unlinked system unit.

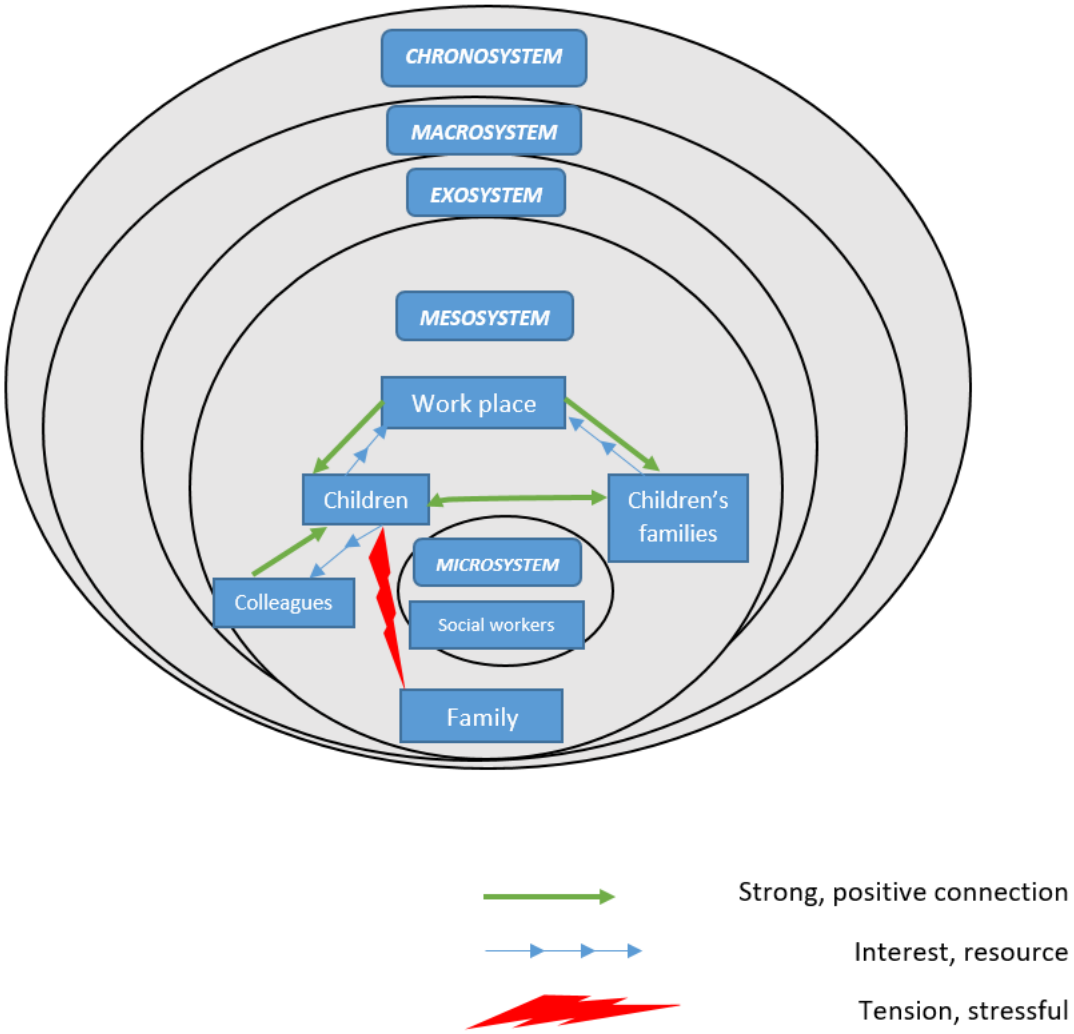

Figure 8: The 'after' mesosystem

The new standard of care puts children at the centre, mandating the institutional improvement of understanding of children's rights, including rights to participation, non-discrimination, and protection from all forms of child abuse, neglect, and exploitation. In spite of slow progress, institutions no longer focus only on physical needs, but also give more respect to children's voices. The advocacy of the National Standard of Care has improved the interaction quality between the institution and the children, and also between the institution and the children's families. Despite encouraging family-based care, the residential option is still inevitable due to certain circumstances, such as inaccessible schooling in remote areas. Maintaining communication between parents, children, and institutions is a way to bridge the support system for the children and to maintain their familial roots and strengthen the family's role. Involving parents in the intervention process is necessary to raise parents' awareness of their main role as primary caregivers for their children.

Communication needs to be developed for several reasons. First, whatever the reasons for placing children in an institution, parents are still responsible for them. They need to be informed regarding their children's circumstances. Second, communication is also important to strengthen parents' capacities to prepare them for the reunification process, as the current child welfare system mandates that only children with certain risks may stay in the institution. The improving relationship between the institution and the parents indicates the partnership in providing support that is consistent with the best interest of the child. The endorsement of the National Standard of Care shows that the social workers' professional roles are no longer related to the children only, but also to the parents and community. It also suggests that despite the various roles of social workers, they are not replacing the parents' role as the children's primary caregivers.

The benefits of maintaining family contact for children in care includes the children's ability to maintain their sense of identity and to build relationships with their relatives (Atwool 2013). In addition, regular contact between alternative care providers, children in care, and the children's birth family is likely to increase the chance of reunification (Sen & Broadhurst 2011). The extent of family contact needed, however, depends on various circumstances. Children traumatised by parental violence, for example, should be kept at a distance from the parents. Atwool (2013) emphasises that when deciding the appropriate level of contact between children in care and their birth family, several factors should be considered. These include the family history, children's developmental stage, views and wishes, cultural factors, parental capacity, and the purpose of the placement. These factors should be recognised so that the family contact maintenance is consistent with the best interest of the child.

In spite of the positive changes resulting from the implementation of the National Standard of Care, a tense dynamic has arisen involving the social workers' own family as one of their immediate settings. This was previously unlinked with other settings. Before the NSoC was applied, there was no issue concerning the social workers' family. The regular working hours and workload laid minimal burdens on most social workers, particularly women. Since the institutional transformation, however, this has become a particular issue. The current standard of care obliges social workers to go through different working shifts to ensure their availability for children living in the institution. In addition, for some institutions that serve as referral shelters, social workers are required to respond to any case involving children. They must manage the case, including conducting assessments, planning and monitoring interventions, and reunifying, as well as reintegrating the child into their family and community. The institutional transformation demands that social workers maximise their

roles as case managers and advocates, ensuring the concerned children's rights to protection are met whether their status is as victim or offender. The unusual working shifts, which sometimes oblige social workers to spend the night at the centre; case management workload that is often time-consuming; and the massive workload that involves them in family and community empowerment, have dragged social workers from their family and into their work. Female social workers, in particular, have this dilemma when tension emerged between their own children and those under their supervision at the institution. Jealousy among children has triggered feelings of guilt in female social workers, which has influenced negative perceptions towards the shifting approach in child welfare and affected workers' resilience. They have inevitably questioned their roles in the NSoC implementation that have affected their roles as parents. The pressures of role transformation, the increasing workload, and feelings of guilt may cause stress and burnout, which endanger their mental health, and more broadly, the system-based child welfare service sustainability in general. This situation certainly has direct impacts on the rights fulfilment of the children in need and, in this context, may present risks for social workers and their families as well.

The work-family conflict challenging the female social workers resonates in the studies of Borelli et al. (2017), Elvin-Nowak (1999), and Lambert et al. (2006). The findings indicate that work-family conflict was mostly experienced by working mothers, especially those who had young children. Their jobs interfered with their sense of responsibility for taking care of their children, since they had to work various shifts and be on stand-by to deal with issues involving children. The conflict created tension between children under care and birth children and has caused guilt in mothers. This situation potentially shaped a perception that the changing practice in residential child care does not make any sense.

After all the explanation, the mesosystem analysis with the social workers at the centre is significant in examining the current child welfare system, particularly in the implementation of the National Standard of Care and institutional transformation. The *before* and *after* analyses are helpful to recognise several things: the circumstances of various settings, where social workers are directly involved, how this link with each other, and how various changes have occurred. All of these are valuable inputs when identifying the existing resources to maintain, the potential ones to strengthen, as well as potential risks to overcome. In this ecomap context, the positive connections among the institutions, the children, other employees, and the children's parents are important resources that should be maintained to support the paradigm change. There should be particular efforts made to minimise possible risks involving children living in institutions and the social workers' own

children, which should engage all stakeholders including the ministry, local governments, developmental organisations, and the institution itself.

The microsystem

In the context of the social worker as the developing person, their immediate environment includes their own family (spouse and children), the children they work with, the children's parents/families, clients' parents/family, the workplace, and colleagues. Similar to the outer layers of social workers' life system, this study found obvious dynamic changes between the circumstances before and after the shifting approach in child welfare. It is noticeable that, overall, the social workers' immediate settings are basically categorised into only two, which are work and family. This situation implies that work and family are interconnected, so that changes in any dynamic will bring about significant changes in the entire system. The microsystem dynamic is a reflection of influences resulting from outer layers of the individual's ecosystem. In this study context, the systemic change in child welfare services has affected social workers' relationship patterns with their closest environments. Consequently, the actual changing relationship patterns have then inevitably influenced social workers in perceiving their institutional and professional role transformations. Understanding the interaction dynamics around social workers is as important as comprehending their perceptions of the change. It is valuable to review the current system-based child welfare service, and subsequently to design support systems for social workers to further enhance children's rights-based service.

Before

The world global change has brought about significant changes in family and work life. For centuries, societies across the globe have valued men as breadwinners, and women as homemakers. Consequently, women could barely participate in productive roles, as they were responsible for taking care of family and children. The subordination of female roles has occurred for decades, yet there have been various changes along these years. One of the change indicators appears as the increased number of women participating in the work force, which interestingly also includes married women and those having children. In the Indonesian context, data from the National Civil Service Agency (*Badan Kepegawaian Negara*/ BKN) shows that in 2014, 29.5% of government structural positions at various levels comprised women. In addition, there has been an increasing number of women working as professionals, which in 2015 made up 46.03% (KPPPA & BPS 2016). These rising numbers imply the growing awareness of gender equality in work opportunity, recognising women's

potential and contributions. Despite the significant number of women participating in labour, the subservience towards women roles remains prevalent in the society. The recognition of gender-based development leads to more equal views of gender roles; however, women are still considered to be responsible for taking care of their families and children. Consequently, most working mothers, particularly in Indonesia, are carrying a double burden, responsible for their productive and reproductive roles at the same time. For social workers in residential-based care centres, the previous system of structured daily working hours was an advantage, since women could spend more time with their families and balance their work and family lives, without impacting on their roles as mothers. They were strongly and positively linked with their families, as they perceived that their own children were their primary responsibility. Their relationships with their institutions was only an administrative matter, as the standard of procedures had been the same for years.

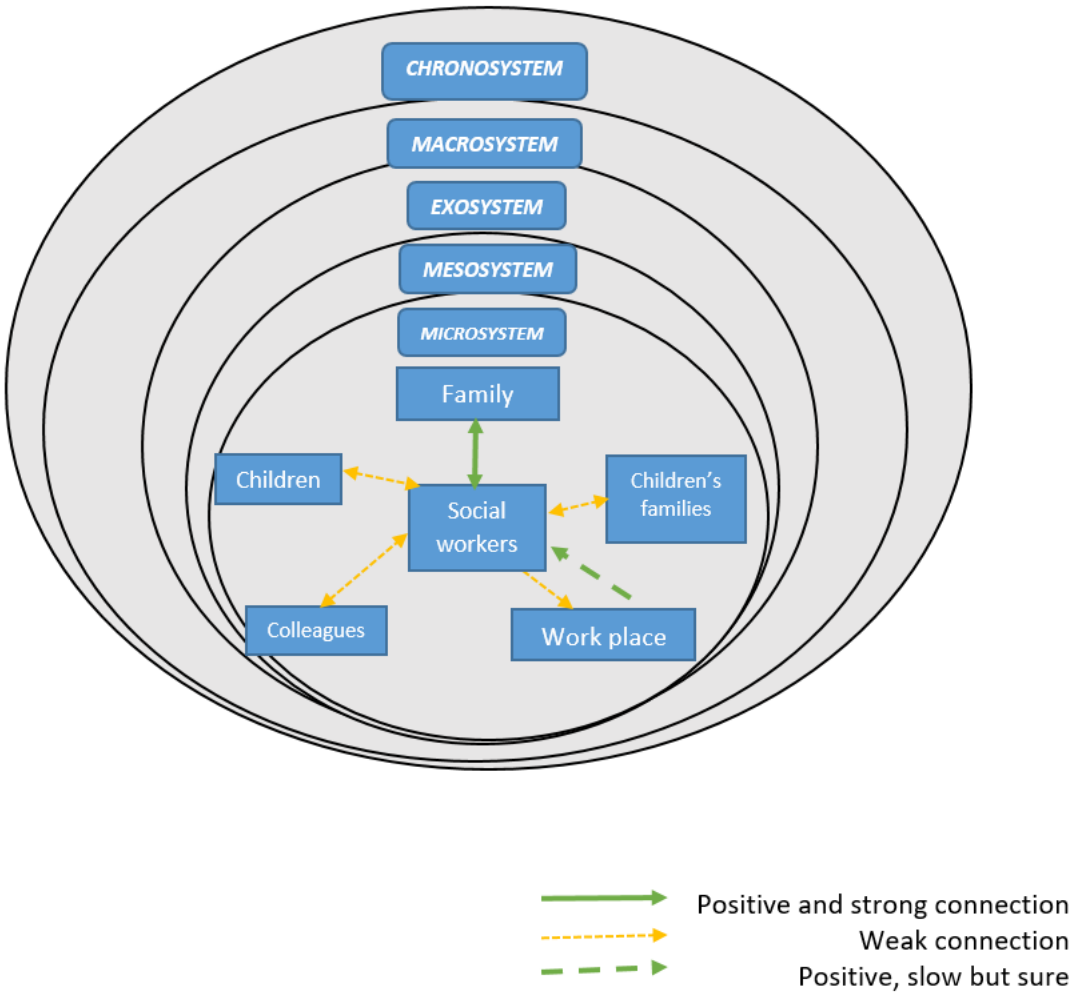

Figure 9: The 'before' microsystem

While the social workers' family aspects have a strong and positive connection, there are problems to do with work. As they went through one day shift only, they got insufficient time to interact with the children under their supervision due to school hours. The perception of children's needs as comprising shelter, food, clothes, and education had led most social workers to believe that providing all of those was sufficient. Valuing their roles from an administrative perspective had weakened their connections with the children living in the institutions. Minimal interaction and inadequate understanding of the children's psychosocial needs and development led many social workers to pay little attention to the importance of conducting comprehensive assessments and monitoring the children's progress and development, except for their school grades.

Similarly, the weak pattern also applies to the social workers' interactions with children's parents/family and their colleagues. Many social workers considered working at children care homes to be typical office work, as the social workers had very little direct contact with the children. The understanding of fulfilling the children's physical needs and educational support had shaped a particular perception of proper assistance provision in spite of overlooking the parents' involvement. The establishment of residential-based care was considered adequate as a manifestation of the State's role, having been mandated by the Constitution. As such, maintaining communication with the children's parents/guardians was seen as insignificant. In addition, inadequate support for improving knowledge and skills related to working with children meant that they lacked initiatives to improve institutional service. Hence, clerical roles were sustained. The connection linking them with other employees was mostly paperwork matters.

The weak patterns between social workers and work-related connections contradict the theory underlying the term 'social' in social work. Kam (2014) highlights the social work's emphasis on social justice as the ultimate goal. Kam (2014) implies that social work is not just a job, instead it concerns about social changes and equality that will broadly affect people's wellbeing in a broader context. The paradox of social work practice in Indonesian residential child care found in this study reflects the influences of dynamics occurring in the mesosystem, exosystem, and macrosystem, and of particular events/transitions at various stages of social workers' lives. The connections of other settings, the penetration of societal beliefs and values, as well as various life episodes all altered social workers' experiences and brought about particular perspectives in dealing with certain phenomena. Ultimately this created a vicious circle, which even upheld the social workers' view of their roles and what the child protection should have been.

After

The systemic changes considering the child welfare system in Indonesia have influenced the social workers in this study, particularly their interaction dynamics with their immediate environments. The change in the child welfare system, including institutional transformation, has inevitably altered their work rhythms, which then influenced their appraisal of their roles both in the domestic and organisational contexts. The improved knowledge of children's rights and child-centred services has led the social workers to review their professional roles. This, indeed, has changed weak patterns into either strong or resourceful ones; however, the current role transformation has also created tension in other relationships.

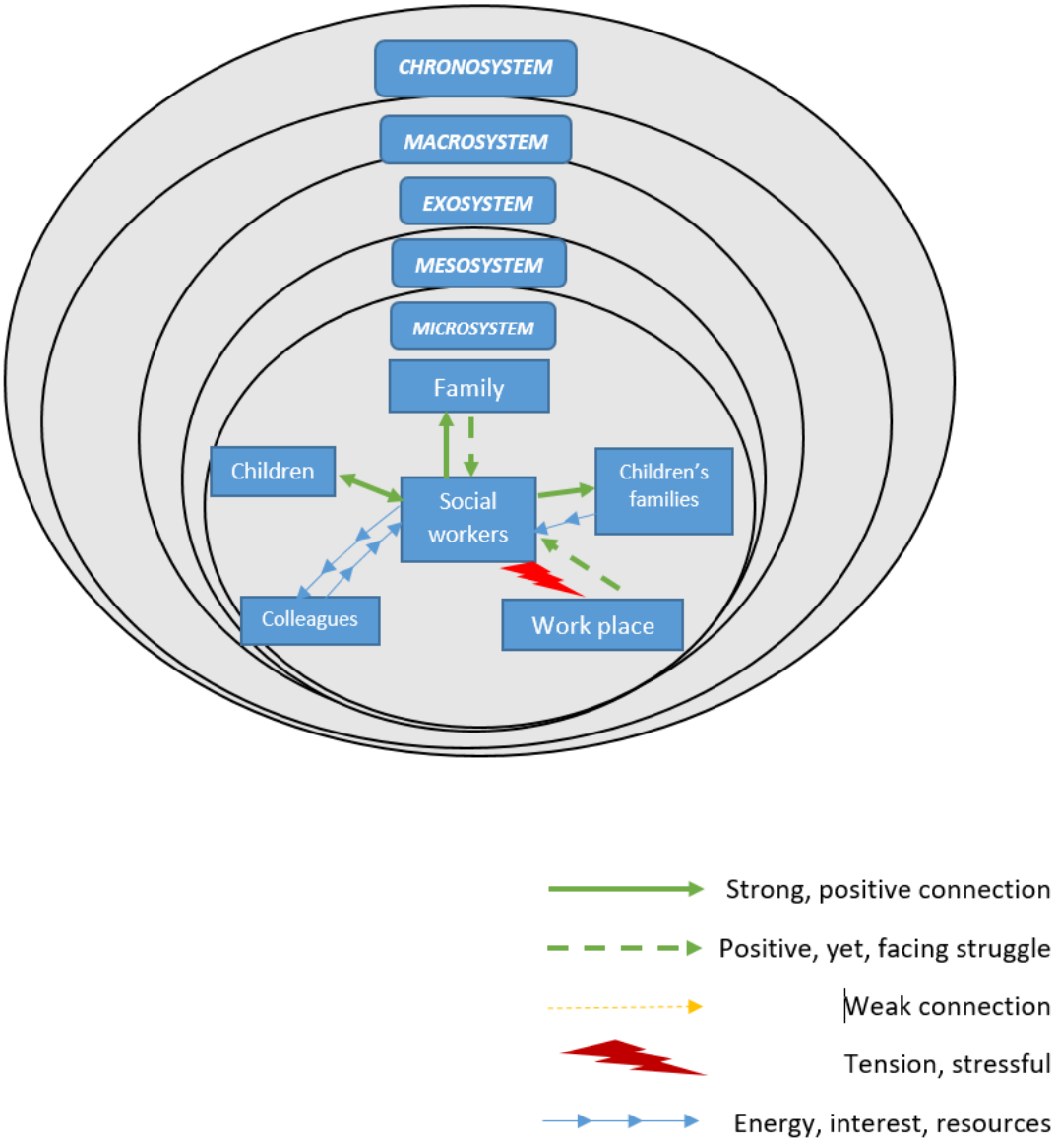

Figure 10: The 'after' microsystem

The new approach in the child welfare system emphasises that all children have the same rights to grow and develop, and to be heard and protected, regardless of the risk level they face. The new standard of care has assured social workers' availability at the centre any time the children need them, through the introduction of varied working shifts. The acknowledgement of children's participation has also strengthened their relationships. Figure 10 shows that social workers have improved their methods based on the human rights principle of the best interest of the child, and that these were responded to positively by the children. This positive rapport, however, has triggered conflict involving the social workers' own children. This is particularly relevant to female social workers, as discussed in the mesosystem section. The potential conflict among the children has affected the attitudes of social workers' children towards their mothers. On one hand, social workers have implemented their improved knowledge of the rights of children into their parenting styles. They maintain their strong and positive connection with their families, since they acknowledge the importance of the family in children's development. On the other hand, the diagram represents their children's (family) response as a dashed green arrow, meaning that the children linked to their parents (mothers) positively, yet there was still struggle involved. These children wanted their mothers to spend more time with them.

The paradigm shift in residential-based care has raised workers' awareness of delivering services based on the best interest of the child. This involves enhancing their relationships with the children under their supervision, partly through different working hours to ensure social workers' availability in the institution, reinforcing the communication with the children's parents/guardians, and maintaining positive connections with other employees in order to strengthen protective factors in the institutions. The various transformations that have occurred in the last few years, marked by the implementation of the National Standard of Care, have led to feelings of guilt amongst female workers. As the norms and beliefs emphasise women's nature as mothers, most female social workers have attempted to adjust their roles as mothers to the systemic changes in child service. They began to reconsider their productive and reproductive roles. Female social workers assure themselves that they are good mothers for their own children, yet they are bound by their professional obligations to ensure protection of the needs of the children under their care. These distinct role pressures have forced them to question their position in the child welfare system; is it worth it carrying out efforts to protect children while "abandoning" their own? This guilt has been detailed discussed in the previous systems, i.e. mesosystem and macrosystem.

Besides the positive patterns developed in the social workers' microsystems, tension arose in the social workers' relationships with their workplaces as institutions. The paradigm change emphasises institutional transformation, which mandates restructuring the service users' eligibility, the standard of care, and enhancing family and community empowerment. This has forced institutions to maximise their resources, particularly social workers. For social workers themselves, however, the change in the child welfare system occurring in the era of decentralisation has been difficult to endure. The decentralised governance system has been challenging for most social workers, as it resulted in the local governments' greater autonomy to restructure organisations, including residential based-care centres. Unlike the previous era when social services were managed and supervised by officials with relevant backgrounds under MoSA, many local governments have assigned personnel with various backgrounds to social service management. This situation often leads to a sense of dissatisfaction among social workers. Since decentralisation, employment rotation has become common. In addition, increasing workloads and the unequal ratio of social workers to children under care have become challenges to workers.

The findings indicate low satisfaction in some regions, since regional governments failed to identify priorities and needs for regional social welfare development. Low satisfaction was reflected in how social workers struggled to perceive and manage their roles, while maintaining their commitment to delivering services for children. The different perspectives between social workers and institution heads, or between local social services and the boards of local planning in several regions hinder the implementation of system-based child welfare. Tension also appeared as a result of increased workloads mandated to the social workers owing to institutional transformation, yet support provision was hardly available.

Contact is important in a work setting, to connect the microsystem units in the organisational context. The term "contact" refers to two-way communications among staff, not simply self-reporting (Leiter & Maslach 1988, p. 299). Contact itself is differentiated into several types that can be either positive or negative and include contact with co-workers and managers/supervisors. While co-worker contact might help individuals cope with existing stressors, contact involving managers has led certain conditions that might trigger particular stressors. Contact might be positive or negative, and each kind has significant impacts on social workers (Leiter & Maslach 1988, p. 298). Constructive, reciprocal relationships generally minimise conflicts. In this research context, the developing contact between social workers and other employees has become a form of support, backing up the

social workers who bear increased workloads resulting from the changing paradigm. The institutional transformation also affects the institution heads. The transformed leaders should be aware of their supervisory roles, which impacts on program achievement. Their skills include being role models, articulating concepts, and stimulating creativity, all of which will help clarify personnel's roles and their management. Different educational backgrounds might be bridged by the institution heads' willingness to learn and adapt. Transformed leaders, who are able to raise awareness, motivate, and encourage, are part of social workers' support system to manage their roles.

The abilities to engage with change naturally develop to different levels in each individual, depending on the accessibility of support systems. Keck and Sakdapolrak (2013) point out that developing social resilience requires adequate support:

1. Social capital and network structures. Assisting individuals coping with vulnerabilities and developing capacities to project future plans aiming at anticipating upcoming changes and even enhancing wellbeing require access to various resources.

2. Rules and norms, and power relations. As a part of larger communities, individuals are influenced by rules and norms that are institutionally constructed, including in developing social resilience. This second point emphasises the importance of opening access to a diverse range of resources to maintain the strength of coping mechanisms.

3. Knowledge and discourses. Knowledge plays a significant role in shaping individuals' perspectives on any change or disruption surrounding them, and helps people widen their angles in viewing their life transitions. Diverse standpoints enable people choices of how to adjust to life occurrences and to move on. Supporting the provision of these three determinant factors is necessary to support people improving their social resilience, considering the rapid changes in many aspects of human life, including economics, society and politics.

The research findings indicate that providing access to various resources was vital to support the social workers' social resilience development. The complexities resulting from the change in the governance system have allowed some social workers to develop coping capacities and a few more on the adaptation level. Inadequate government assistance has led some social workers to cope with their situations that have been much affected by the current social and political changes for the sake of securing their present wellbeing state only. They would rather focus only on their current status as civil servants, as they lacked

the support to anticipate upcoming changes or disturbances, while a few others have at least prepared for certain occurrences. *Adapting capacities* was shown by some contract social workers. Their status as being under contract made them more resilient when adapting with particular changes such as job relocation. The initial contract stipulated that they were responsible for assisting particular children homes, yet they were transferred to district/city departments of social service (*Dinas Sosial Kabupaten/Kota*) to support all private children homes in the respective district as well as respond to cases involving children. The results of in-depth interviews imply that there was only a small number of both PNS and contract social workers who developed transformative capacities in dealing with changes and problems regarding their work with children and residential care centres. The limited transformative capacity of the social work participants is analysed later in this thesis.

The social workers developing distinct levels of social resilience were spread throughout most of the selected regions, with different support system available. One region considered developing such support systems, providing a range of resources to back up social workers, especially concerning the paradigm shift. With adequate support systems, including specific budget allocations, transformative policies regarding the quota system, and supportive teamwork between the local government, residential child care centres and developmental agencies (universities and international non-governmental organisations), social workers were expected to be well-engaged in the shifting approach. The findings suggest different levels of social resilience amongst workers despite accessible support systems. This proves that resources serve as tools only to enhance social workers' capacities to adjust to changes rather than that they determine their behaviour and attitudes. After all, the different means by which social workers manage transitions or disruptions in their working journeys cannot be judged by any single factor. Instead, multiple factors result from social dynamics and various relationship patterns across their own systems, from micro to macro.

CHAPTER SIX
Conclusion

Overview

This concluding chapter reflects the research question in consideration of the study findings. This chapter comprises a summary of each chapter, addresses the potential limitations of the study, and explains how this research enriches the literature on the changing paradigm in the child welfare system in Indonesia.

Chapter summaries

The large number of children in Indonesia, representing thirty percent of the population, urges the government to develop an integrated child welfare system. Various studies have disclosed situations where children are in jeopardy, as provided in the first chapter of this thesis. Poverty is indicated as the core problem forcing children to work in hazard conditions, such as mining, off-shore fishing, and the commercial sex trade. The underdeveloped child welfare system has also contributed to the children's vulnerability; for example, citizens' lack of resources in accessing birth certificates limits children's access to schooling. These problems snowball, creating more: child trafficking, abuse, and exploitation are significant concerns. The support system created after Indonesia's ratification of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child has seen little progress, considering the upward trend of cases discussed in the first part of this thesis that involve children, e.g. child abuse and exploitation, and of children conflicting with the law.

The enactment of Law No. 23/2002 on Child Protection gave some hope, while the urgency of integrating the welfare system to enhance the children's wellbeing has been strongly intensified in the wake of the 2004 Aceh tsunami. The Ministry of Social Affairs and Save the Children piloted a rapid assessment of residential child care in order to track children affected by the disaster. The survey identified a high societal dependence on institution-based care and that only few children living in orphanages were orphans (Martin, F 2006). Following this finding, the Ministry collaborated with international donors (UNICEF and Save the Children), conducting a study investigating children's lives in residential care in Aceh and several other provinces (Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007). The lack of data on the number of residential child care institutions was a challenge for the research. On the other hand, the study revealed that economic hardship and limited access to schooling were two of the main reasons why many parents send their children to orphanages. The insufficient

data indicated the government's lack of a monitoring system. Consequently, there were a number of non-government residential child care centres that barely meet human rights and sufficient standards of care. The standardised services of residential child care should relate to ensuring the children's rights. Services and the children would benefit from increasing the ratio of social workers to children in care, while considering the adoption of child-centred case management approaches. Review of the policy, application to practice in residential-based care in Indonesia and monitoring may contribute towards strengthening protective environments for children.

The shifting paradigm, intended to develop integrated child welfare provision, applies the system-based approach that focuses on practice in support of the best interest of the child. The systems approach covered a range of domains: universal/primary, secondary, and tertiary, and bases targets and interventions informed by risk assessments of children. The current approach promoted family-based care and puts residential care at the last resort. In doing so, this advocated for the role transformation of residential child care to function as an emergency alternative care for children with high risk status, and where children's immediate environments potentially threaten their safety. To successfully transform institutions and achieve the goal of improving children's wellbeing, the paradigm shift aimed to develop child welfare policies and to bridge policy and practice. It also aimed to build front line personnel's capacity and skills, and to raise the community's awareness of the use of residential child care. The applied systems approach required inter-system units' connections, including between the government, residential-based care providers, social workers, parents/family, and community. Each system unit needed to develop a shared understanding of the changing paradigm and maintain their relationships, as the interaction dynamics influence how the systems work. Implementation of the paradigm change, however, has been met with challenges from across Indonesia's political system.

The policy and practice changes in children's institutionalisation were faced with difficulties in regard to decentralisation. The changing relationship patterns between the Ministry of Social Affairs and local governments has had implications for the endorsement of the institutional transformation of residential child care. Regional autonomy was interpreted as local independence, leading to different policies between regions. The shifting paradigm in residential-based service provision, however, requires local governments' willingness to support it. The interaction dynamics between central and local governments, as well as changing social and political circumstances, have inevitably influenced social workers in their capacity to manage their work. Government social workers, particularly,

struggle with changes resulting from the decentralised system, including the policy authorisation transfer from central government to regional and municipal governments that influences hierarchical relationships, and the local personnel restructuring through local government employee rotation.

Considering the contribution of each part in the child welfare system, social workers play an important role as the front line of institution-based care service. The systems approach requires comprehensive understanding of children's rights and best interests. Strengthening social workers' capacity is one major determining factor in promoting family-based care and transforming the roles of residential child care. Therefore, it was important to understand their views of the shifting paradigm in residential-based care in the midst of the systemic changes to Indonesia's social and political contexts. Social workers' experiences and perceptions shed light on their position, opportunities, and challenges, all of which have been useful in considering how best to enhance the systems approach.

Chapter Two discussed the literature on residential child care and social workers' professional roles. The existing research and studies tend to focus on institutional child care's various uses, care service, and future impacts on child development. Diverse studies document different reasons for the placement of children in residential care across the globe, e.g. orphanhood, civil conflicts and disaster leading to family separation, disability, and poverty. Some research found that residential child care had a positive social image, being considered primary support for vulnerable children, including those of poor families who could not afford basic needs and education (e.g. Calheiros et al. 2015; Khoo, Mancinas & Skoog 2015; Raj & Raval 2013; Rodrigues, L, Calheiros & Pereira 2015). The positive image of residential child care was also discussed in terms of developing self-resilience and spirituality in children in care (e.g. Nourian et al. 2016; Wanat et al. 2010). Other studies, however, identify the potential negative effects of institutionalisation on several aspects of child development (Ahmad, A. & Mohamad 1996; Bakermans-Kranenburg et al. 2011; Browne 2009; Juffer, van IJzendoorn & Bakermans-Kranenburg 2017; Kang'ethe & Makuyana 2014; Maclean 2003; Martin, F & Sudrajat 2007; Miller et al. 2005; Van Ijzendoorn, M, Luijk, MP & Juffer, F 2008). Studies reviewed also examined the impacts of institutionalisation on children's later lives (e.g. Islam 2012; Prisiazhnaia 2008). Reforming the child welfare system, including reducing the reliance on residential child care and promoting family-based care, is a global agenda. This is despite the limited literature discussing deinstitutionalisation practice in developing countries, particularly in Asia. The studies reviewed in Chapter Two, on the whole, suggest that political willingness is required

to transform the role of residential child care from primary to emergency, since integrating the support system is mandatory.

Concerning social workers, this thesis presented literature discussing the development of social work practice, social workers and residential child care, the changing practice to deal with globalisation, how social workers manage the change, and their challenges. Since its beginnings, social work has evolved from charity activities to a developing profession. In Indonesia, this is no different. The development, however, has also brought about a debate about the dual practice of social work; whether helping individuals or promoting social change is the social workers' primary role. Experts emphasise that the two roles are inseparable (Abramovitz 1998; Abramovitz & Sherraden 2016; Kam 2014; Khinduka 2001; Rothman & Mizrahi 2014; Skerrett 2000). Professional development through education, and social workers' involvement in policy-making process are believed to bridge the micro and macro realms of social work practice.

Globalisation has impacted different countries in different ways. Despite the advance of technology and various new opportunities offered, the globalised world has created contemporary problems that have affected people's welfare differently across the globe. However universal social problems need customised interventions, summarised by the idea that one must think globally but act locally. Social work is generally perceived as having grown out of Western values; thus, social work scholars suggest indigenisation to bridge the global to local domain. This refers to the need to acknowledge local wisdom and legacies when adapting the Western perspective of social work practice. Indigenised social work that recognises local culture emphasises the 'interactive and non-linear' process (Law & Lee 2016) to yield locally relevant interventions, and to avoid professional imperialism. As well, when innovations are locally relevant adoption of change is more likely.

Bridging local and Western perspectives when indigenising social work practice comprises local efforts to develop relatable social policies to deal with global problems. In the context of child issues, the potential negative effects of residential-based care identified by research have prompted calls for global campaigns promoting family-based care or family-like environments, rather than children's placement in institutions. The changing policy and practice of residential child care requires the readiness of social workers as the practitioners, and the government as policy maker. Political will is vital to integrate the support system so that social workers at the front line are able to manage their changing roles in assisting children with diverse vulnerabilities. Adequate resources are essential for social workers to develop capacity for self-resilience, also necessary to maintain their

psychological welfare in dealing with challenges. The conflicts between personal and professional values and heavy workloads are two such challenges that were identified among social workers participating in this study that led to personal dilemmas, work-family conflict, and burnout. Positive and empowering work environments contributed to sustaining the social workers ability to meet daily challenges, including working supervision, psychological support systems, family-friendly work environments, and sufficient reward. These institutional supports, in turn, shield the children in care from the potential negative impacts of unstable care due to frequent staff turnover.

This study presented a different angle on the paradigm change in the child welfare system in Indonesia. The specific focus on Indonesian social workers' lived experiences of the paradigm change provides an original contribution to knowledge. Acknowledging the social workers' perceptions is part of "bounding the system" (Foster-Fishman, Nowell & Yang 2007) in order to develop support provision for children living in institutions. To examine social workers' perceptions and experiences in the midst of policy and practice changes in residential child care, this study used phenomenological approach, supported by Bronfenbrenner's ecological theory, and critical social work theory, as detailed in Chapter Three. The social workers are put in the context of systemic changes in both the institution and national society and politics to gain a comprehensive understanding of their perceptions. As the locus of the study, Indonesia itself is noteworthy considering the complexities of its geographical, demographical, economic, and social and political circumstances. The context of a populous country with a large archipelagic coverage area and various systemic changes throughout the last two decades make this study important, as all systems are interdependent and influential in the context of developing social work practice concerning residential child care provision.

The phenomenological approach was employed to understand perceptions towards certain phenomena from the people experiencing them. Involving twenty participants from six provinces in Indonesia, this research views the social worker as a developing person in their professional context. The use of the ecological system perspective is to frame the significance of the systems' interplay surrounding the social workers in relation to changing policy and practice. I also applied critical social work theory as a theoretical framework to examine the power relations among the systems. The in-depth interview, serving as the primary data collection tool, was used to identify the units of social workers' ecological systems and their interaction patterns and dynamics. The application of interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), along with ecological system perspective and critical

social work theory, aims to understand social workers' positions and experiences in the changing paradigm of children's residential-based care provision. The recognition of power relations, their patterns and dynamics, is vital in understanding the situations in which social workers operate, and the factors that shape their positions, including challenges. This must be done to develop the integrated support system for front-line personnel.

Chapter Four depicted the social workers' experiences at various stages of their working journeys. There were three groups of social workers identified in this study: government social workers (civil servants), non-government social workers, and under-contract social workers (recruited cash assistance program for vulnerable children). Having different statuses and assigned to different work settings, the participants held diverse perceptions of their professional roles and their relationships with their surrounding systems. All participants agreed that managing their professional roles was highly influenced by the systems' dynamics around them. The intersystem relationships and interactions have shaped the participants' definitions of becoming social workers. For both social workers with civil servant status and those under-contract, abiding by government regulations is the priority. In doing so, the changing political system and policies have had significant implications on their work. The social workers with civil servant status were frequently assigned to different residential-based care institutions. The decentralised system resulted in differing policies concerning residential child care management from one region to another. Employee rotations have become a regular feature since the regional autonomy law was applied. The findings indicate that shifting employees to one division/technical unit becomes complicated, as the employees' education/knowledge background is rarely the primary consideration for upcoming placement. The social workers' struggle in adapting to institution heads with different knowledge and professional backgrounds was identified as one of social workers' biggest challenges in managing their roles during the systemic change.

Partaking in training on child protection has improved the participants' knowledge of children's rights. The social workers realise that needs and rights are not limited to physical needs, but also encompass the right of the child to voice, to be heard and to be valued. Valuing children's rights is integral the protection of children from violence, abuse and neglect. This improves the understanding that disciplining children does not need to mean corporal punishment that may lead to physical abuse. All children deserve safe environments, including those living in institutions. The improving knowledge of children rights, however, created dilemmas for the research participants. They expressed awareness

of the significance of family for children's growth and development, but they maintained that institutional placement was a better option considering many parents' economic hardship. The situation challenged participants' personal and professional roles. The paradigm shift that urged a reduction in reliance upon residential child care for children living in poverty confronted the social workers' perceptions about how to help disadvantaged populations. For government social workers, this is further complicated by their obligation to meet government regulations on institutional quotas, leading to the practice of child recruitment.

Concerning the changing policy and practice in residential child care, this study found decentralisation to be the root cause of subsequent challenges. Regional autonomy has affected some regions' willingness to equip local resources in support of central policies regarding the role transformation of residential child care. The changing hierarchical relationship limited the central government's ability to enforce policies. The insufficient resource access provided by local governments made it hard for social workers to manage their transformed roles that demanded expanded service coverage to work with families and communities as a gatekeeping mechanism. The increased workload, with a limited number of personnel, was the next challenge for social workers. The situation meant that they had to be on a stand-by employment roster. This challenge became more complex for female social workers who experienced difficulties managing their time for work and family. The bureaucratic challenges, combined with personal and societal values, led to social workers in this study to believe that restricting residential child care to the last option was impossible. The idea of residential child care as the main support for children of families with social adversities has been internalised by a public mindset. It would take time and a lot of effort to break the chain of reliance on, and belief in, institution-based care.

In Chapter Five I presented discussion supported by ecological maps depicting social workers' relationship patterns with their surrounding systems. The analysis addresses expected and unexpected events in social workers' lives. It provides a comparison of interaction patterns and dynamics before and after the child welfare paradigm changed. The ecological analysis shows social workers' interrelated ecological systems and that intersystem dynamics are influential in shaping social workers' perceptions. The various life events experienced by social workers have influenced their perspectives when defining their profession and roles. The employment journey, the political transitions, even natural disasters, have shaped their ways of valuing their profession and phenomena related to the changing social work practice and policies. The comparison model shows that the changing and dynamics of relationship patterns of social workers' micro-, meso-, exo, and macro

systems have significant influences in shaping their perceptions of the shifting paradigm in residential-based care service. The ecological maps show intersystem dependency, in which any changing system affects other systems' circumstances and subsequently influences the other systems' interaction patterns.

The macrosystem dynamics have exposed the social workers to changing social and political contexts, including the decentralised system, shifting policies in residential child care, and developing understandings of gender construction and children's rights. The pressures of global situations have influenced societal values regarding the social work profession, working mothers, and children's rights fulfilment. Contemporary social problems have urged changing social work practice to be more relatable to both local and global issues, bridging micro and macro practices. The findings suggest that the macrosystem dynamics have led to the other systems' dynamics. The various changes of social and political circumstances have affected other systems' relationship patterns. The global agenda on the paradigm shift in the provisions of support to children, for example, has led the developing networks between government and development organisations (exosystem) to enhance the child welfare service. The promotion of the best interest of the child also reinforces the relationship patterns among residential child care institutions, children in care, and their families (mesosystem). Nevertheless, tensions have also emerged from these interaction dynamics. The changed working hours to meet the children's need for access to social workers out of school hours, for example, have affected the social workers' quality time with their own children. Combined with the increasing workload, including work with families and community, this has led to work-family conflicts among female social workers. All the dynamics in the micro, meso, exo, macro, and chronosystem shape the social workers' perceptions that transforming their roles, and those of their institutions, is challenging and take time.

These findings clarified the research question as follows. First, by utilising phenomenology, this study uncovered the social workers' experiences, how they valued their profession and roles, and their readiness and challenges in coping with the systemic changes in local, social, and political contexts generally, and in children's residential-based care practice particularly. The findings showed that in spite of the optimism towards treating child care institutions as the last option, there was still concern about adequate supporting resources. Changing the public mindset to promote family-based care requires systematic interventions, as poverty and limited access to schooling in some remote areas are identified as the main reasons for children's institutionalisation. Each social worker's distinct

perceptions of phenomena are largely influenced by their ecological systems dynamics and by how they appraise their position in personal and professional contexts, as well as their ecological systems interactions. Second, the policy and practice changes in residential child care have generated subsequent challenges for social workers, in addition to decentralisation. The unpredictable work shifts, increasing workload, and increased service coverage are all problems social workers face, intensified by a lack of government support. Despite differing levels of enthusiasm, all participants agreed that they needed more support from both the Ministry of Social Affairs and local governments, in terms of human resources, supporting policies and facilities, capacity development, and adequate supervision. Third, the findings indicate that deinstitutionalisation lacks feasibility at the present time. The need to strengthen the coordination of various stakeholders is necessary to properly equip the currently adapted paradigm. Little steps that are more promising include reinforcing the implementation of the National Standard of Care, along with the monitoring and evaluation system, and the accreditation of both government and non-government residential child care. These will be substantial in improving residential-based care provision and in developing the gatekeeping mechanism to prevent unnecessary child institutionalisation.

Institutionalised or deinstitutionalised?

The findings of this research articulate a complex situation in Indonesia, supporting that deinstitutionalisation has been difficult to fully achieve. The changing political system has affected the bureaucratic relationships between social workers, local government and the central government (represented by MoSA). The political interaction dynamics post-decentralisation has resulted in the insufficient coordination between MoSA and local governments concerning the changing policy and practice in residential child care. The lack of local supporting policies indicates the different perspectives of policy makers in perceiving the need of institutional role transformation in the system of care provisions to children. This study found that only few regions, of the six under study, considered child issues strategically and utilised social work approaches accordingly.

In spite of the developing social work practice, the adaptation of Western perspectives is recognisable, including in the effort of ending overreliance on the residential child care to support children with social adversity. There is a need to improve social work practice in local ways, considering the social workers' difficulties to come up with ideas of a system of care other than institutional-based care. This was identified in this study's results and suggested in the authorship by O'Leary et al. (2018). The indigenising of social work,

including integrating with Islamic perspective as written by Fahrudin and his colleagues (Fahrudin, Adi & Yusuf 2016; Fahrudin, A, Yusuf & Rusyidi 2014; Fahrudin, Adi et al. 2016), is a way of dealing with global challenges at the local level. Making social work culturally relevant enhances understanding when making attempts to improve the social workers' capacities through training provision.

Developing a sustainable system of care model

The challenges of applying the paradigm shift, as indicated in this research, urge the need for a culturally and politically relevant model. This is opposed to the adaptations of approaches from other cultures (e.g., Western systems and practice models) that have struggled to achieve intended goals of improving the child's system of care in Indonesia's context. Identified from analysis of findings from the current study, there are four main considerations for sustaining change via the development of locally-accepted models of care. The first is cherishing the diversity. Indonesia is diverse in its demography, geography, and human resources. The large area and number of population require customised approach, as each region has their own characteristics, potentials and challenges. In addition, the larger local autonomy has made local policies vary from one to another that subsequently needs more effort of intergovernmental coordination to synchronise the action plans.

The second need concerns institutional capacity to assess opportunities and challenges. This includes managing data and information, mapping resources and problems, and maintaining the monitoring and evaluation system. The self-assessment capacity is essential to build, maintain and sustain a program. Recognising the needs, possibilities and challenges enhances the efforts of developing child welfare system, particularly continuum of care for children with any risk level.

The third consideration relates to the bounded knowledge culture in residential child care institutions and organisations. This refers to an integrated data and information management system that could be accessible by any related element or stakeholder in broader the child protection system. In this digital era, the benefit of providing accessible information through official websites is logical. The changing policy and practice in residential child care promoted by MoSA would benefit from being complemented with adequate access to policy documentation and relevant data. In the institutional context, a clear job description for social workers plays an important role for achieving goals associated with paradigm change, particularly when social workers in Indonesia have historically

conformed to rule-based and structured administration processes. Job clarity would assist social workers in residential child care to manage their roles, set targets and identify appropriate supervisory supports in their organisations and supports across their broader systems. An integrated system, in particular, offers potential to improve the network of government and of development organisations, and enhance the interagency, intergovernmental, and inter-local department coordination regarding the changing policy and practice.

The dynamics of intersystem relationships is the final consideration. The ecological system analysis presented in this research shows that the interaction patterns of systems surrounding the social workers have changed over the last two decades. Recognising the changing relationships is substantial to determine the action plans to prevent tensions. As indicated by this research's findings, the tensions identified included the social workers' experiences of struggling with local policies that inadequately supported the paradigm change, the limited resources and personnel, as well as the efforts to balance the work and family life.

These four considerations are in support of a culturally relevant integrated child protection system that values Indonesian indigenous social workers' knowledge, perspectives and political engagement. Indigenisation of social work in residential child care has the potential to better respect processes involved in changing systems of care in more culturally and politically acceptable ways. This consideration supports locally customised service provision, based on understandings that change takes time. As well, change is more likely to be sustained (diffusion of innovation) when those responsible to implement change can observe its perceived worth (Greenhalgh et al. 2005; McLaren & Kenny 2015; Rogers 1983). Unless the benefits associated with change can be understood, which is unlikely if concepts are foreign to the individual, the organisation or not culturally relevant, then innovations eventually get rejected and practice returns to old ways. As in the participants in this research, they adopted the paradigm change, tried it, then many returned to their former practice.

The paradigm change has not been sustained. Institutional transformation does not happen overnight by imposing Western adaptations in training to Indonesian social workers, nor because the book of National Standard of Care has been widely distributed. Transformation is related to the institutional commitment to provide service, willingness to deal with the risks and workers' perception that changes are beneficial or worthwhile. Primarily, social workers need to be able to understand the concepts underpinning and

informing paradigm change. When these are foreign to them, they cannot perceive the value.

Reflecting the slow changes in the child welfare system, there is a need to look into the supporting components comprehensively, one of which is social work. As a body of knowledge, social work curricula of both pre- and in-service trainings are challenged to provide the learners with inclusive experiences that view social work in context. The complex Indonesian situations urge the indigenisation of social work to ensure more culturally relevant practice. The establishment of Interdisciplinary Islamic Studies (IIS) at State Islamic University "Sunan Kalijaga" Yogyakarta that integrates social work and Islamic perspectives is promising in terms of preparing graduates with contextual social work learning and practice. The politically and culturally competent social workers are also linked to the in-service training provided by MoSA aiming to support their professionalism. However, the global agenda in support of the changing paradigm in child protection, and welfare system, comes with public resistance. This is evident in difficulties with reducing the overreliance among Indonesian society on residential child care institutions. Promoting the change requires developing training curriculum that is not only concerned about transferring knowledge and skills, but also sensitising the willingness to engage in activism aimed at social change across the broader macro-system level. The need to improve the training's quality urges MoSA's training to upgrade their capacities in facilitating training, particularly to formularise a culturally relevant curriculum that has, so far, been mostly adapted from Western perspective. The social workers, families and communities would benefit from policy, program and practice designs that engage local values, knowledges and practices. Indonesian social work practice, therefore, is likely to be sustained when conceptualising and implementing intervention management that suits the local circumstances.

Of the factors hindering uptake of the paradigm change in residential child care indicated in this research are linked to the underdeveloped support system for social workers. This is inclusive of professional development systems in support of professionalism and capacity building, and the professional remuneration system. The findings indicated the limited engagement in post-training monitoring and evaluation by MoSA. Monitoring and evaluation is critical for sustainability as it enables implementation of the training of social workers in the paradigm change to be assessed, as well as for assumptions about outcomes for children, families and communities resulting from change to be measured (Breuer et al. 2015; Gillingham 2018; Laird et al. 2017). The absence of evaluation frameworks to assess and monitor desired change could be associated with the professional status of social

workers in Indonesia, specifically when those who are employed by government in social work positions are deemed predominantly administrative.

From my own observations as a social work trainer at MoSA and Indonesian citizen generally, there is a common perception that social work is an administrative residential-based civil service job. This is reinforced in government through of training government officials to work in residential child care as *social workers* irrespective of their undergraduate or disciplinary background. How the research participants perceived social work, whether that was as a social work professional or civil servant, played out in how they expressed their perceptions of the role transformation. While some may have had enthusiasm and optimism, others expressed scepticism and even resistance. This has challenged the Indonesian Association of Social Workers and MoSA in regard to developing a common value, skill and knowledge base to social work as a developing profession in Indonesia.

In addition to capacity development and professional support, there is a barrier to change that is hindered by the government pay structure. This specifically relates to a legally sanctioned remuneration system for civil servants in which incentive payments, known as compensation, are paid in addition to base wages for designated tasks and services (Arndt & Sundrum 1979; Clark, D & Oey-Gardiner 1991; Tjiptoherijanto, P. 2007). Social workers employed in residential child care are civil servants and they receive a base income, then they receive incentive (compensation) payments for specific tasks they do. Currently, social workers and other staff at government residential child care facilities receive honorarium for each child recruited and received into care. With a low base pay, compensation encourages and sustains the practices of outreach (recruitment). Other civil servant workers, NGOs and employees at religious based child residential child care are similarly remunerated. With the introduction of the paradigm change, that advocates for deinstitutionalisation of children and strengthening communities to care for their own children, alternative honoraria has not been introduced as incentives for these activities as training outcomes. Hence, there appeared to be little motivation for the social workers interviewed to stop recruiting children, to alternatively reunify children in care with their families or to undertake preventative work via home visits with families and other primary interventions with communities.

As discussed in the literature chapter of this thesis (Berman 2015; Turner, M, Imbaruddin & Sutiyono 2009), human resource management and pay reform may be a forgotten dimension of the paradigm change in the context of decentralisation. De Ree et al. (2015) reported on their experimental study involving the doubling of teachers' pay rates, with findings indicating that reforms enabled teachers to focus on their work and not focus

on the earning of incentives, compensation or taking secondary employment. It is possible that pay reform for civil servants in residential child care could likewise enable social workers to focus on implementation of the paradigm change, as opposed to working for the compensation as a mechanism to top up their pay. I suggest here, that failure to implement the child protection paradigm change in Indonesia has been hindered by the ongoing incentives to be earned for recruiting children. This needs to stop. Alternatively, the pay for workers in residential child care could be increased, or compensation changed to reward work outcomes related to reunification and for keeping children in their families and communities.

Despite the urgency of developing supports and appropriately remunerating staff for advancing the paradigm shift, assessing the environment needs to proceed. The complex circumstances of Indonesia's social and political contexts must be a primary consideration. Deinstitutionalisation, as a component of the paradigm change, aimed to thwart overreliance on residential child care. However, this is hardly achievable for children originally living in Indonesia's remote areas where there is a lack of infrastructure. In some remote areas there is no access to schools or formal education at all. This further hinders the social workers implementation of training on the paradigm change when their broader systems are not set up or ready to support it.

The relationships identified in the social workers' ecological system, as presented in this thesis, signify the recognition of four aspects that may contribute to sustaining the paradigm change, and with consideration towards the need for attitude, policy, and practice transformation. Every element in the social workers' systems, in some way, is related to the institutional transformation (e.g., government, development organisations, social workers and community. Training, research and evaluation by MoSA, alongside reformation of remuneration changes, can inform attitude change, goal setting, and capacity to undertake coordinated approaches to achieve paradigm change outcomes, and contribute to sustainability. While this thesis set out to understand and interpret social worker's perceptions of the paradigm change by using a blend of phenomenology, ecological systems theory and critical social work perspectives, the original contribution to knowledge here highlights that much more research and application is required on system reform to enable the development of a truly integrated welfare system that is capable of supporting sustained child protection paradigm change and better outcomes for Indonesia's children.

Contributions to Research

This study contributes to four groups of research literature. The first concerns the paradigm shift in children's residential-based care in Asian developing countries. The existing literature on the changing paradigm in residential child care practice generally took place in developed countries and/or in Western countries, e.g. European countries. This study took place in Indonesia, where poverty remains a major social problem, and where societal values viewed residential child care as a primary solution to help children of families with social adversities. In addition, the shifting paradigm was present alongside changing social and political contexts that have both directly and indirectly influenced social welfare development on the local level.

Second, this research adds to the literature of decentralisation and social welfare development, particularly on the child welfare system and social work professional development in Indonesia. Studies on decentralisation and its implications generally focus on economic development and politics. This study, however, focuses on the fundamental idea that under decentralisation, local autonomy needs to be utilised for local social welfare development. The findings indicate that power sharing has had insufficient benefits for social welfare development. In the context of the paradigm shift in developing the child welfare system, decentralisation has become a challenge for social workers. Limited local regulations on improving the child welfare system suggests local governments' lack of political willingness to endorse the national policy. The reliance on residential child care institutions still remains a popular option as a part of poverty alleviation and as an intervention for children living on the street and children who have dropped out of school.

The third contribution is related to the use of Bronfenbrenner's ecological system theory as a theoretical framework. This theory is mainly used to analyse child development. Utilising the ecological theory blended with phenomenology and critical social work theory, this study situates the social worker as a developing person in organisational and professional contexts. This study developed both **before** and **after** ecological maps to examine the social workers' systems' relationship patterns and the interaction dynamics before and after the child welfare provision's paradigm changed. These models were helpful to analyse external factors influencing social workers' perceptions of current phenomena.

Finally, this study is one of few contributing to the examination of social workers' experiences in the midst of systemic changes in Indonesia. While plenty of literature discusses social workers' experiences developing professionalism, dealing with work-family

conflict, burnout, and other challenges, this study is one of few focusing on social workers' efforts in coping with complex circumstances in Indonesia. Not only do social workers have to struggle with the changing work management and supervision, they also have to adapt to policy and practice changes in residential child care. The phenomenological approach is employed to uncover the social workers' perceptions of working under different paradigms, and their readiness in promoting the current child welfare system and in coping with the challenges.

Closing Remarks

About half a million of Indonesian children were estimated to live in more than 3,000 residential child care centres. Despite the institutions being known as orphanages, the data indicated that only a few of the children were actually orphans. Families' difficulty in meeting daily needs and providing schooling access is the major reason why children are placed in institutions. It is the government's obligation to ensure children's needs are met without depriving them of their families and communities. Ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child should mean the government is willing to develop the child welfare system and to synchronise central and local policies concerning support provision, including providing better resource access and developing various options of alternative care.

The changing paradigm has encountered as well and presented challenges that has hindered its success. Since commencing this study, I have personally observed in the existence of antagonists in the social workers' exosystem and macrosystem. These have contributed to slow progress of the paradigm change. Both central and local governments appear to have little motivation towards supporting developments aimed at improving the existing concept of child welfare. The decentralised system has become a significant problem, resulting in inadequate coordination between MoSA and local governments and a lack of desire to conceive improvements to child welfare as politically and economically strategic. The undeveloped post-training monitoring and evaluation system means that there is limited information about goal achievement related to implementation of MoSA training on the paradigm change. As a result, there has been little opportunity for training curriculum improvements. The public mindset, of which social workers and their ecological systems are a part, has either not understood or resisted the paradigm change. When innovations in practice are not evaluated, measured or understood, there is nothing to counter existing social images that residential child care is an appropriate support for children facing poverty and other social adversities.

In terms of social workers' in-service trainings, a particular concern rose that the various training categories related to the paradigm change in child protection and welfare system provided little chance of institutionalised knowledge. The trainings on social assistance of cash transfer for vulnerable children, social assistance for children in conflict with the law, and family development session (supporting Hope for Families Program/ PKH) have been conducted with the little consideration of system's readiness. In addition, most of the curricula that were adapted from Western social work practice have challenged the social workers were to conceptualise the intervention plans in the local perspective. Unless there are sufficient efforts to indigenise the training experiences, develop training level system control, and integrate the support system post-training, the sustainable institutional transformation is unlikely.

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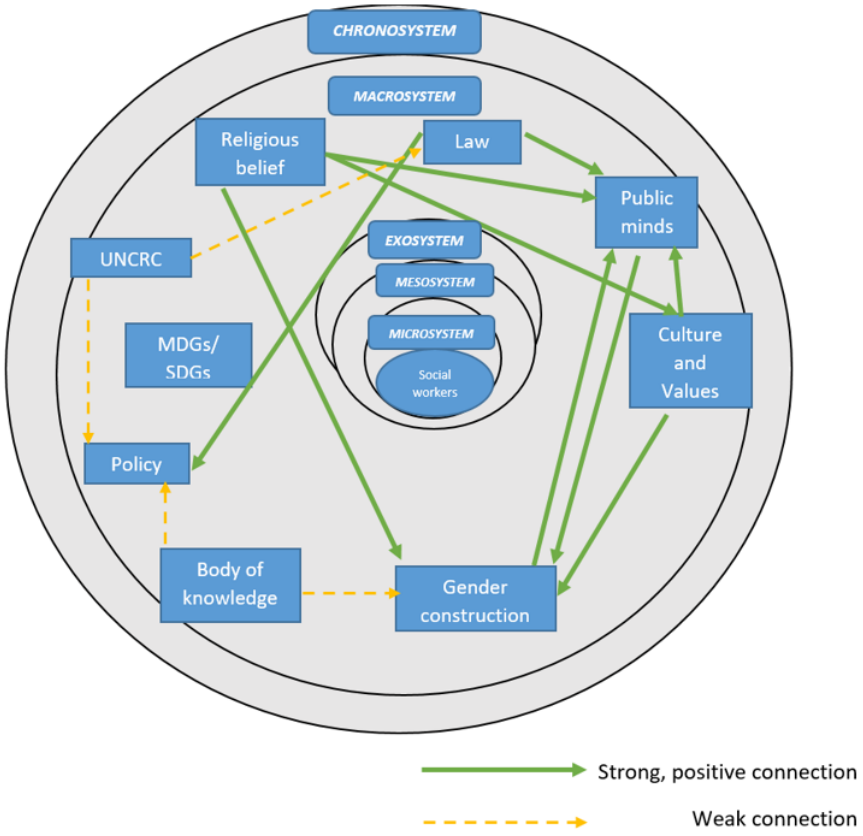
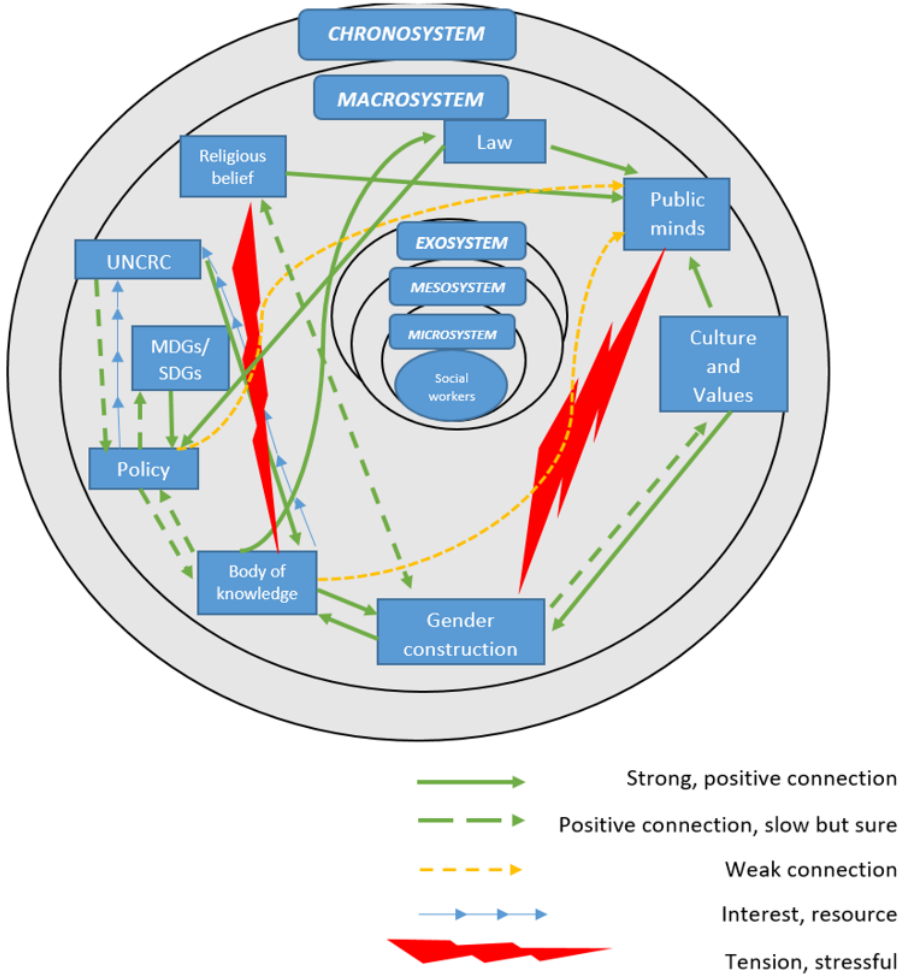
APPENDIX 1 Ecological System Models Comparison

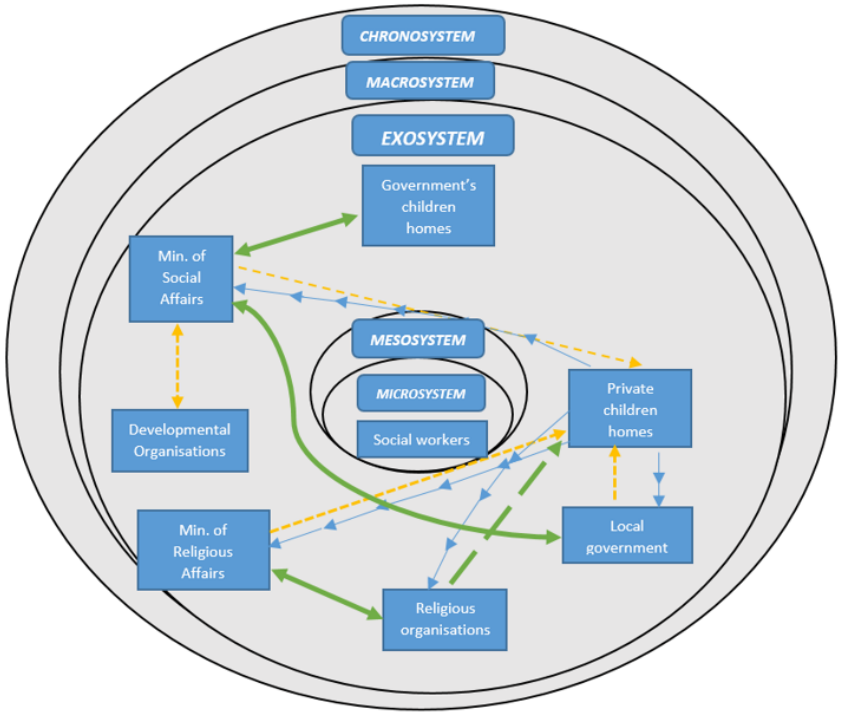
Macrosystem '*Before*' Model



Macrosystem '*After*' Model



Exosystem '*Before*' Model

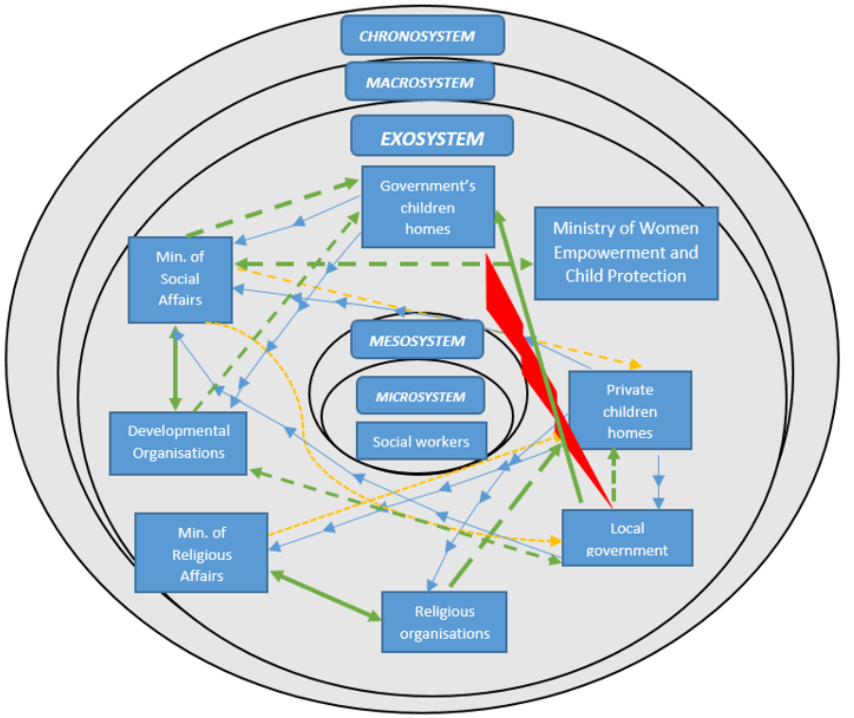


Strong and positive connection

Interest, resources

Weak connection

Exosystem '*After*' Model



Strong, positive connection

Positive, slow but sure

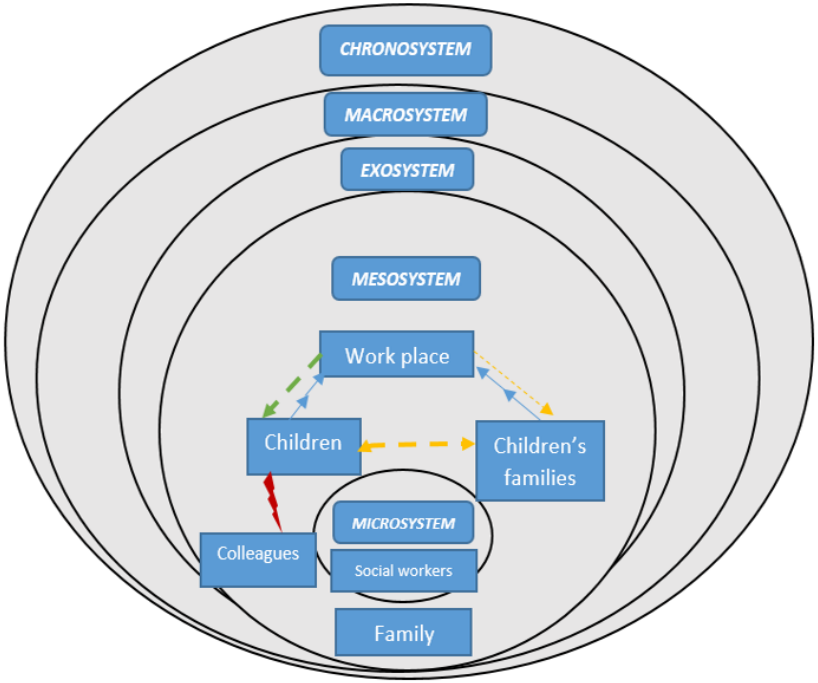
Positive, but weak

Weak connection

Interest, resource

Tension, stressful

Mesosystem '*Before*' Model



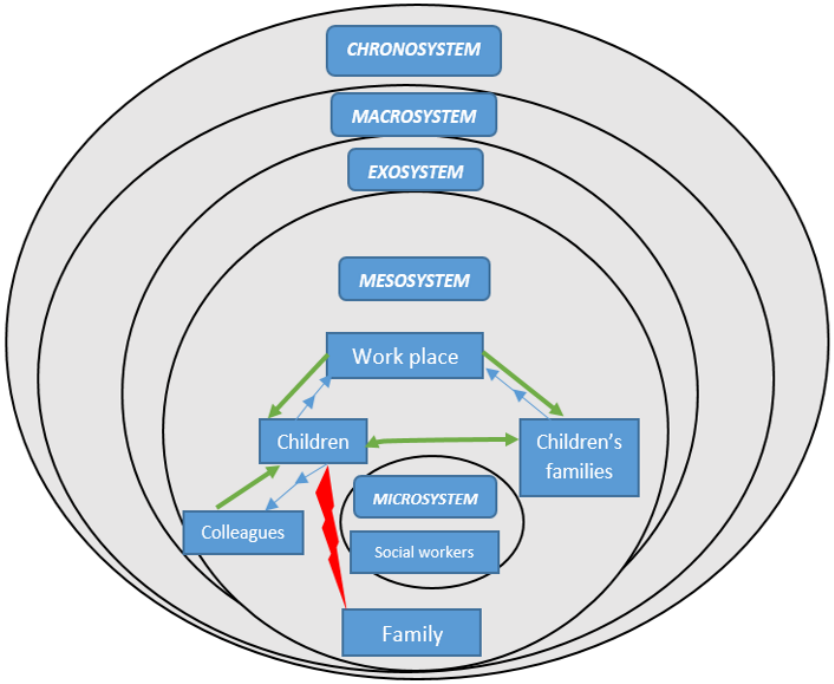
Positive, slow but sure

Weak connection

Interest, resource

Tension, stressful

Mesosystem '*After*' Model

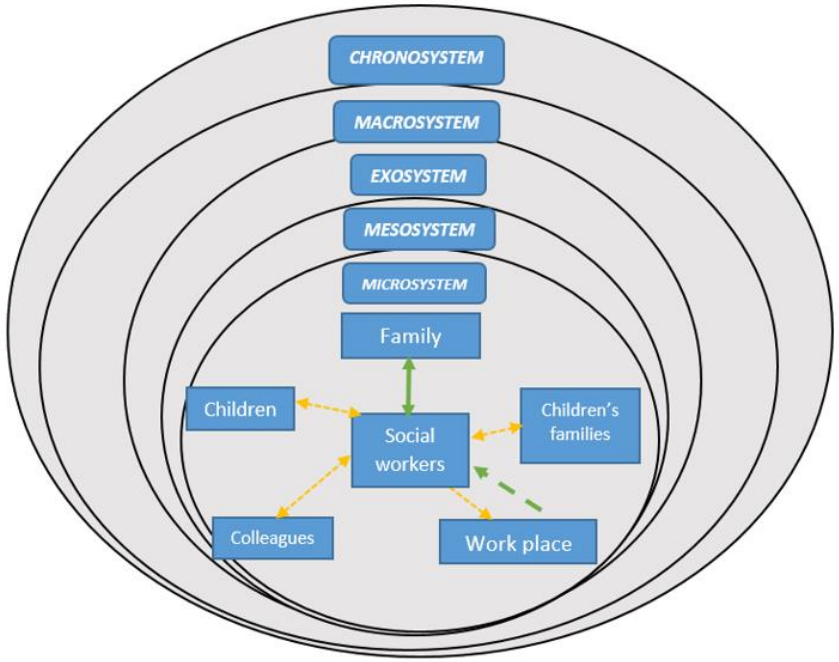


Strong, positive connection

Interest, resource

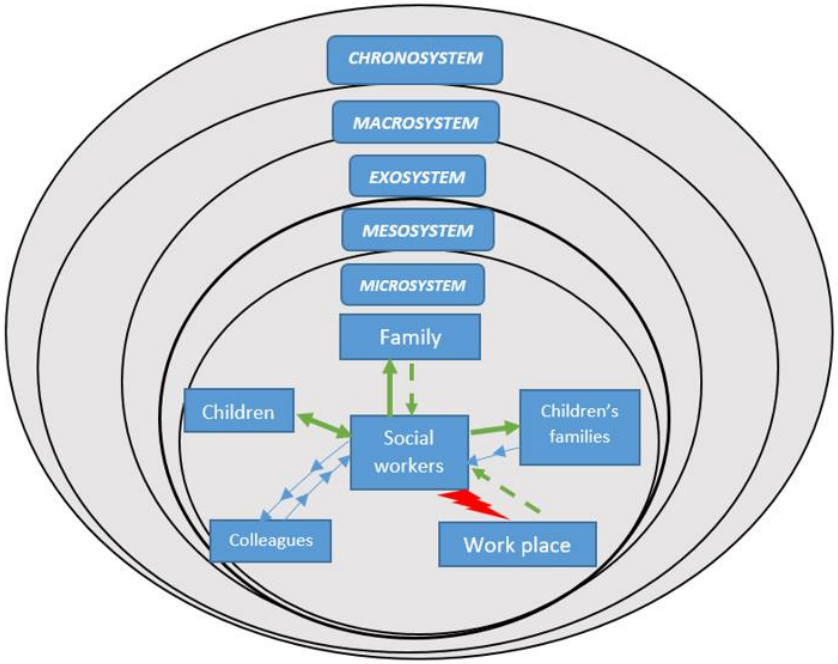
Tension, stressful

Microsystem '*Before*' Model



Positive and strong connection
Weak connection
Positive, slow but sure

Microsystem '*After*' Model



Strong, positive connection
Positive, yet, facing struggle
Tension, stressful
Energy, interest, resources