

## **Education Analytics Service (EAS)**

### **Non-State Actors in Basic Education:**

#### **Indonesia Case Study**

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## Acronyms and Abbreviations

BOS	Bantuan Operasional Sekolah (School Operational Assistance)
BPK Penabur	Badan Pendidikan Kristen Penabur ('The Sower' Christian Education Board)
BSM	Bantuan Sisiwa Miskin (Low-Income Student Assistance)
FP	For Profit
JSIT	Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu (Network of Integrated Islamic Schools)
KIP	Kartu Indonesia Pintar (Smart Indonesia Card)
LAPIS	Learning Assistance Program for Islamic Schools
MAK	Madrasah Aliyah Kejuruan (Vocational Islamic Senior Secondary School)
MoEC	Ministry of Education and Culture
MoRA	Ministry of Religious Affairs
MPK	Majelis Pendidikan Kristen di Indonesia (Christian Education Council of Indonesia)
NFP	Not For Profit
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
PKBM	Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat (Community Learning Centre)
PKH	Program Keluarga Harapan (Family Hope Program)
SLB	Sekolah Luar Biasa (Special School)
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
YPLP PGRI	Yayasan Pembina Lembaga Pendidikan Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia (Indonesian Teacher's Association Education Development Foundation)

## 1 Introduction

Over the last two decades, sustained efforts by the international community have led to considerable growth in access to education for children across the globe, particularly in low-income countries. Between 1990 and 2011, the World Bank reported an increase in the net enrolment rate in low-income countries from 55 percent to 80 percent, and an increase in the primary school completion rate from 46 percent to 68 percent (World Bank 2014, 6). These gains have been a result of increased investments by donors and domestic governments in the education sector, backed by more effective education policies. However, despite this positive trend, 60 million primary school children in developing countries remain out of school and many of those who attend school are not achieving the minimum standards in literacy and numeracy (Steer et al 2015, 4). In order to close this gap, UNESCO estimates that the cost of delivering good quality universal education from preschool to junior secondary school by 2030 in low-income countries will be approximately \$10.6 billion, which is more than four times the current level of commitments by international donors (Steer et al 2015, 14).

The pressure will be predominantly on donors and domestic governments to fill the fiscal gap. However, there is a mix of non-state actors (including religious and charitable organisations, private foundations, and for-profit and not-for-profit providers) already active in the education sector. These actors provide an additional source of finance in the education sector. The growth in private education providers over the last two decades is thought to have contributed to the increase in access to primary education in developing countries, where the percentage of students attending private primary schools has doubled from 11 to 22 percent (World Bank 2014, 8).

While the scale of private contribution to education and its impact is not clear, the growing presence of non-state actors in the education sector is becoming an important issue for donors and governments. Much debate centers on education as a human right. Some see education as a public good and as such the responsibility of the state. The provision of education by private providers therefore raises concerns over issues of equity, quality and ownership. Others see the increasing role of non-state actors in education service delivery as an opportunity to increase access and quality through improved interactions between government and the private sector (Steer et al 2015, 4). Recent studies demonstrate that some countries have been able to ensure equitable access to quality education for all children (both in public and private schools) by increasing oversight and coordination with the private sector, underpinned by a strong regulatory environment (World Bank 2014, 8).

### 1.1 Typologies of state and non-state actors

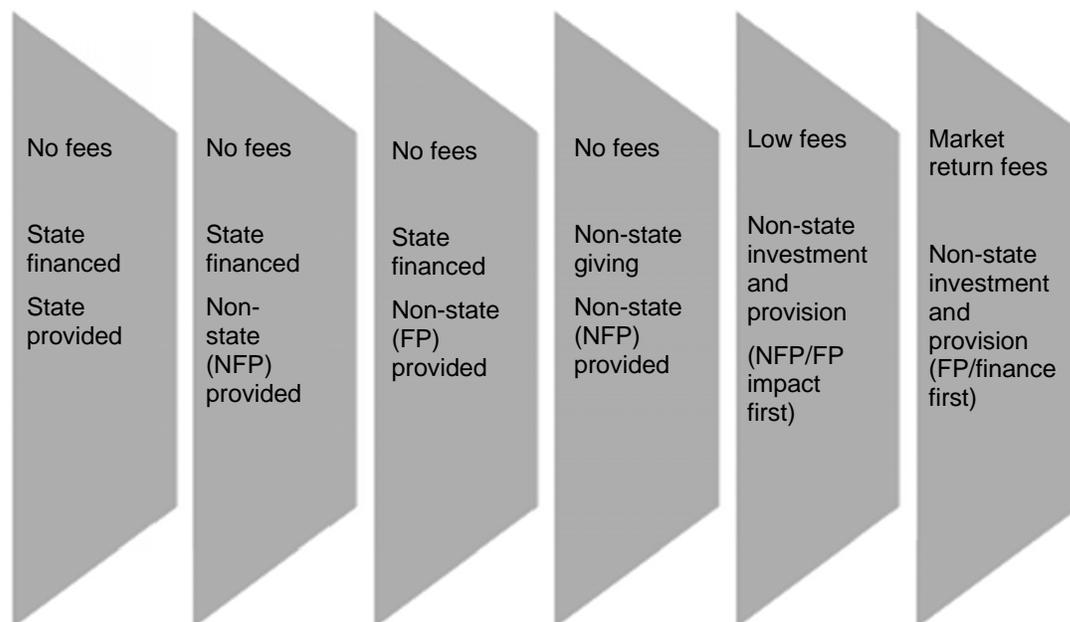
Studies examining the role of non-state actors in education need to take into account the complexity of interaction between public and private providers, including funding arrangements, oversight, ownership and management. For example, many non-state providers are publically funded, while some are not funded by the state but fall under the management of the government ministry of education. There are private schools that are not-for-profit and those that charge a fee. In addition, the provision of formal versus non-formal schooling further blurs the distinction between what is public and what is private. For example, both the government and the private sector offer non-formal schooling to children in rural and remote areas and for socially and economically marginalised groups.<sup>1</sup>

Given the lack of clarity around the role of state and non-state actors, Steer et al (2015) offer a framework based on a continuum of provision and financing (Figure 1). Instead of classifying schools on an 'either/or' dichotomy, they characterise schools based on the degree of

<sup>1</sup> 'Formal education' refers to traditional schooling, often implemented by the government but also provided by non-state actors; 'non-formal' education is used to describe education activities (usually part-time) implemented by a range of providers including NGOs, community groups and faith-based organisations. Both formal and non-formal education programs can be funded by the state or from private sources.

relationship with the state and the financial incentive of the provider (for profit/not for profit). They propose eight different categories of schools based on a combination of three separate criteria: fee paying/non-fee paying; state/non-state financed; state/non-state provided. State provision is defined by the level of management and oversight by the state, from schools that are fully state-run (e.g. government school) to those that are partially-administered by the state (e.g. community schools). School financing varies according to the type of arrangement with the state, ranging from fully-funded schools to those that receive partial support in the form of subsidised teacher salaries, infrastructure or land. In recent years, there has been a growth in the number of schools funded by the private sector, for example through impact bonds, philanthropic funds or private investments. These schools are further distinguished according to whether they are driven by social or financial gains.

This case study utilises Steer et.al typology as a starting point to assess the role and impact of non-state providers in Indonesia.



**Figure 1:** Steer et.al (2015) typology of state and non-state actors on a continuum

## 2 Education context in Indonesia

The Indonesian education system is the fourth largest in the world, with close to 53 million students, almost 3 million teachers, and over 250,000 schools at the primary and secondary level (PDSPK 2016a-d; EMIS PENDIS 2016; World Bank 2013, 21). Management of education is spread across two different ministries. The Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) is responsible for the management of general public and private schools, while the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) is responsible for public and private Islamic schools and religious education in general schools.<sup>2</sup> All public and private schools are regulated by policies and guidelines developed at the national level, including for registration and accreditation, curriculum and national examinations, as well as national quality standards and minimum service standards. The central government is also responsible for some aspects of teacher management and distribution (World Bank 2013, 23-25; Stern and Smith 2016, 2)

<sup>2</sup> This case study uses the term 'private' (swasta) rather than 'non-government', following the Government of Indonesia's own terminology.

In the past few decades, Indonesia has decentralised the management of its education system and made significant changes to the way education is financed. Reforms introduced in 1999 and 2004 devolved responsibility for administering, financing and delivering early childhood, primary, secondary and non-formal education to district-level governments. Districts are now responsible for disbursing funds to schools and overseeing expenditure, managing civil service and contract teachers, and supervising the delivery of quality education in schools. Provincial governments largely play a coordinating role, with responsibility for the provision of education facilities and professional development of teachers and other education personnel (World Bank 2013, 24). Since the introduction of school-based management in 2003, School Committees which include parents and community members have played a larger role in developing and managing school plans and budgets, teacher recruitment, and aspects of the curriculum (Al-Samarrai et.al. 2014, 7-8). However, because religious affairs is one of the few government functions which is not decentralised, management of Islamic schools remains largely the responsibility of the Ministry of Religious Affairs at the national-level (World Bank 2013, 23; ACDP 2013, 6).

Alongside the decentralisation of education financing and management, the Government of Indonesia has also introduced a range of reforms designed to improve access to and quality of education. These reforms have been supported by a substantial increase in funding for education. The 2003 Law on the National Education System mandated that 20 percent of the budget at both national and subnational levels be allocated to education. This came into effect in 2009 and although the 20 percent target has been met in subsequent national budgets, at the subnational level there is considerable variation, with districts spending between 11 percent and 48 percent of their budgets on education (World Bank 2013, 30).

Government financing of education is complex and highly fragmented, with consequences for the efficiency and effectiveness of education spending. Funds are channelled through the Ministry of Education and Culture, Ministry of Religious Affairs and Ministry of Finance. Individual schools can receive funds from central, provincial and district governments and from up to eight different budget sources (Al-Samarrai et.al. 2014, 16-19). Around 50 percent of the education budget is spent on basic education (primary and junior secondary education) and 10 percent on senior secondary, including vocational senior secondary, education (World Bank 2013, 36).<sup>3</sup> Teacher salaries are the largest single expenditure item, driven in part by the pay increases introduced in 2005.

A central pillar of education quality reforms has been the establishment of a national standards body responsible for developing and monitoring national education standards (OECD/ADB 2015, 75). Both public and private schools are assessed against standards for curriculum, teaching and learning processes, learning outcomes, personnel, physical facilities, management, finance, and performance assessment processes and are accredited at one of four levels (AusAID 2010, Annex B).

A 2005 law on teachers aimed to improve the quality of teachers and address low remuneration. The law raised the minimum qualification for teachers from a two year diploma to a four year diploma or Bachelor's degree, strengthened teacher professional development, and outlined minimum competency standards for professionalism, pedagogy, social competencies and personal behaviour for all teachers. The law also required all practising teachers to be certified, after which they were eligible for an allowance equal to their base salary. New allowances for teachers working in remote areas were also introduced (OECD ADB 2015, 75; Jalal et.al. 2009).

One of the largest education funding reforms of the last decade is the School Operational Assistance scheme (Bantuan Operasional Sekolah, BOS). Introduced in 2005, the BOS scheme aims to reduce the financial burden of education on parents and provide schools with

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<sup>3</sup> These figures are 2008 and 2009 World Bank estimates.

discretionary resources to fund improvements to school facilities and teaching and learning quality. Funds are allocated by the central government on a per student basis to all public and private primary and junior secondary schools (Al-Samarrai et.al. 2014, 20-21).<sup>4</sup> All schools receive the same per student allocation, regardless of whether they are public or private (Stern and Smith 2016, 2).

Private schools also receive government funds in the form of civil-servant teachers paid for by the government. However, the majority of teachers in private schools are hired and paid for by the school (World Bank 2013, 21, 23). Although BOS funds are intended for operational (non-personnel) expenditure, in practice many private schools need to use the grants to pay the salaries of non-civil servant teachers, which means they have little left for operational expenses (Stern and Smith 2016, 3).

Some funding of education also comes directly from local level authorities. In addition to the central government BOS funds, around half of Indonesia's 500 districts now have their own school funding schemes (Al-Samarrai et.al. 2014, 20-21). Indonesia's new Village Law will see significant funds distributed directly to villages to be used for development priorities determined by communities themselves. There is potential for these funds to be used for education purposes, such as to fund additional teachers, teacher training or improvements to school facilities.

Indonesia has made a considerable effort to realise its commitment to universal free basic education and address issues of equity in the education system. Regulations introduced in 2009 prohibit public primary and secondary schools and private primary and secondary schools receiving BOS funds from collecting tuition fees, although in practice, most schools still collect voluntary contributions from parents (Al-Samarrai et.al. 2014, 14; Stern and Smith 2016, 2). In addition, two conditional cash transfer programs help support poor households with out-of-pocket school expenses. The Low-Income Student Assistance (Bantuan Siswa Miskin, BSM) program - introduced in 2008 - and the Family Hope Program (Program Keluarga Harapan, PKH) provide cash grants directly to poor families conditional on students remaining in school. The introduction of the Smart Indonesia Card (Kartu Indonesia Pintar, KIP) in 2014 has enabled 24 million of the poorest students from primary school to tertiary education to access funds to support their education directly (OECD/ADB 2015, 76).<sup>5</sup>

Despite these reforms, significant challenges remain. Although national-level statistics show near universal participation rates in primary school, rates of transition to and completion of junior and senior secondary school are much lower, and there is significant educational inequality. Stark disparities in participation exist between rural and urban areas, students from the lowest and highest income quintiles, between provinces and between districts in the same province.<sup>6</sup> There is limited provision of education for children with a disability and other vulnerable and marginalised children are often excluded from formal education. In many cases, low-cost private schools, special and inclusive schools run by communities and private foundations, and private providers of non-formal education are helping to address some of these challenges.

### 3 Non-state actors in education in Indonesia

#### 3.1 Overview

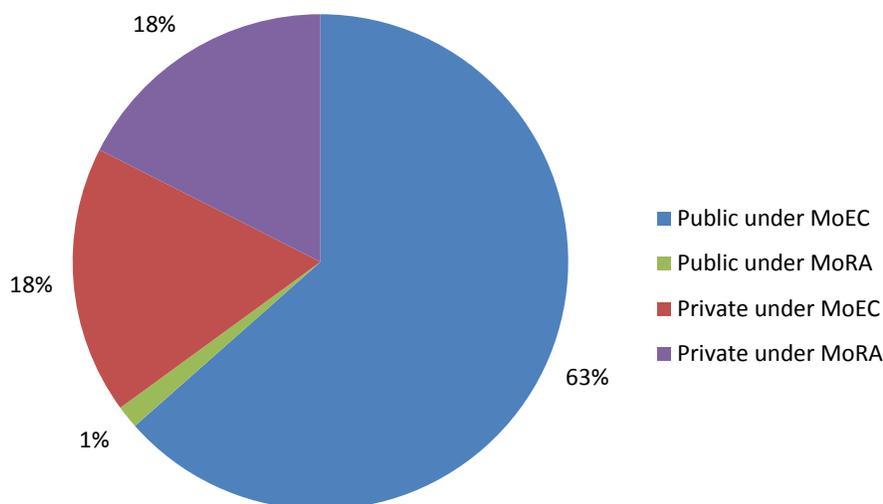
Non-state actors provide an education to over 30 percent of Indonesian students. Over the last decade, private schools have burgeoned across Indonesia: between 2005 and 2015, the number of private schools grew by around 50 percent, while the number of public schools

<sup>4</sup> Similar schemes have now been introduced for early childhood, senior secondary and tertiary education (Al-Samarrai et al 2014, 3).

<sup>5</sup> See <http://www.economist.com/news/asia/21636098-indonesias-schools-are-lousy-new-administration-wants-fix-them-schools>

<sup>6</sup> See <http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/06/29/addressing-gaps-will-ensure-education-all.html>

grew by under 10 percent (Suharti 2011, 32; PDSPK 2016a-d). Detailed information on other non-state education providers is lacking. Some organisations have a network of several thousand schools. The Indonesian Teacher's Association Education Development Foundation (Yayasan Pembina Lembaga Pendidikan Persatuan Guru Republik Indonesia, YPLP PGRI), for example, has just over 5000 schools including preschools, primary and secondary schools, special schools and non-formal education institutions.<sup>7</sup> Others, such as the Taman Siswa (Pupil's Garden) schools, have several hundred.<sup>8</sup> Still others may have a dozen or even a single school. Further research into these non-state actors would shed more light on the services they provide, their funding models, and quality.



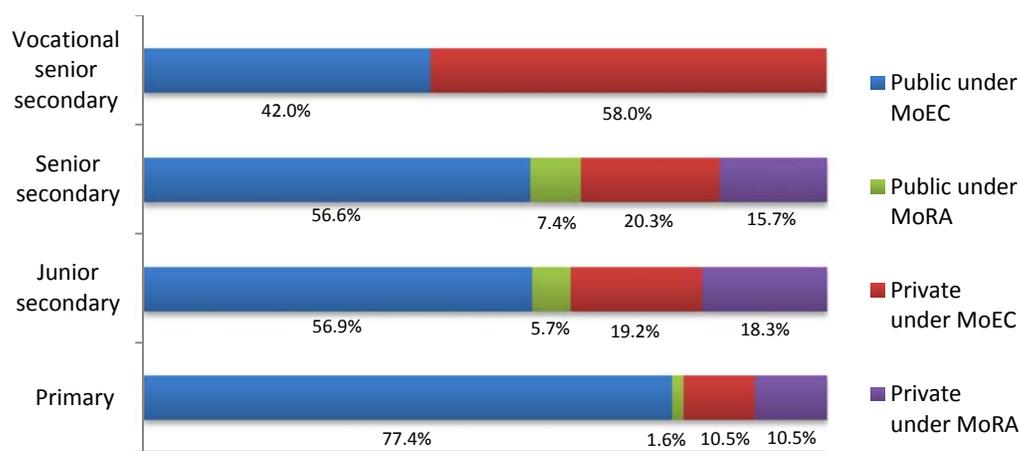
**Figure 2:** Schools by provider type, 2015/2016.  
Source: PDSPK 2016a-d; EMIS PENDIS 2016.

At the primary school level, 22 percent of schools are private. This increases with the level of schooling, with 56 percent of junior secondary schools and 69 percent of senior secondary schools (including vocational senior secondary schools) privately run (PDSPK 2016a-d; EMIS PENDIS 2016). Student enrolment figures follow this pattern (see Figure 2). The greater reliance on private providers at the junior and senior secondary levels reflects the Government of Indonesia's focus on expanding access to primary education throughout the 1970s and 1980s and, from the mid-1990s, to junior secondary education (World Bank 2013, 21). While primary and junior secondary education were heavily subsidised, private providers helped to fill the increasing demand for junior and senior secondary education.

<sup>7</sup> Over 1100 of these are junior secondary schools and there are almost 400 senior secondary schools and the same number of vocational senior secondary schools. See <http://sekolah.data.kemdikbud.go.id>.

<sup>8</sup> See <http://sekolah.data.kemdikbud.go.id>. The first Taman Siswa schools were founded by Ki Hadjar Dewantara in the early 1920s as part of Indonesia's nationalist movement. The schools were modelled on the Dutch system and aimed to provide children with a 'modern' education (Lee Kam Hing 1995, 3–9, 16–17). Taman Siswa currently has over 200 schools, with the majority at junior and senior secondary (including vocational) level.

Private schools dominate the vocational and early childhood sector. Three quarters of all vocational high schools are privately run (PDSPK 2016d).<sup>9</sup> Vocational senior high school education has been the largest growth area over the last decade, with the number of students in vocational schools almost doubling since 2005 (PDIP 2006; PDSPK 2016d). Despite this growth, the quality of vocational education programs is variable, and many students graduate without the skills needed by employers (Lindsay et.al. 2016, 11-12). Non-state actors also manage 98 percent of all early childhood education institutions.<sup>10</sup> As is the case with junior and senior secondary education, private providers have emerged to fill a gap in state provision. In recognition of the strong returns to investment in quality early childhood education, the Government of Indonesia has increased its focus on this area. A recent Ministry of Education and Culture program of 'one village, one preschool' aims to help ensure that by 2030 all Indonesian children complete one year of early childhood education before they enter primary school.<sup>11</sup>



**Figure 3:** Enrolment by provider type and level of schooling, 2015/2016.  
Source: PDSPK 2016a-d; EMIS PENDIS 2016.

Referring to Steer et.al. (2015) typology, the majority of private schools in Indonesia can be categorised in simple terms as no-fee, state-financed schools managed by not-for-profit, non-state actors. In practice, many such schools also receive funding from the foundation or organisation with which they are affiliated. Moreover, as noted above, while schools receiving BOS funds are not permitted to charge tuition fees, in practice many collect cash or in-kind contributions from parents. A smaller percentage of schools can be categorised as provided by non-state, not-for-profit actors with non-state investment. However, it is not the case that

<sup>9</sup> Almost all of these are under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Education and Culture, although the Ministry of Religious Affairs has recently opened several hundred Vocational Islamic Senior Secondary Schools (Madrasah Aliyah Kejuruan, MAK) in five provinces as part of new program to expand access to vocational education. Private vocational schools dominate in fields such as technology and engineering, information technology and communications, business and management, and nursing. See <http://pendis.kemendikbud.go.id/index.php?a=detilberita&id=6327#.V5Bq8I9OI2w>; <http://indovasi.or.id/content/kemendikbud-bangun-madrasah-aliyah-kejuruan>; <https://acdpindonesia.wordpress.com/2015/10/22/kemendikbud-akan-kembangkan-madrasah-kejuruan/>; and <http://psmk.kemendikbud.go.id/datapokok/>

<sup>10</sup> See <http://referensi.data.kemendikbud.go.id/index21.php>. See also Hasan, Hyson and Chang 2013, 70-73 and Denboba, Hasan and Wodon 2015.

<sup>11</sup> See <http://sp.beritasatu.com/home/kemendikbud-targetkan-tahun-2030-semua-anak-wajib-paud/86245> and <http://www.paud-dikmas.kemendikbud.go.id/berita/1269.html>

such schools have low fees: fees in these schools are generally at market-return rates but the 'profits' are reinvested into the schools.

In recognition of this complexity, Stern and Smith (2016) propose distinguishing private schools based on the extent to they are reliant on state funding. Private independent schools receive less than 50 percent of their funding from public sources, while private dependent schools receive between 50 percent and 100 percent of their funding from public sources. Many private madrasah fall into the latter category. Stern and Smith's study finds that learning outcomes for students in private dependent schools are poorer than in both private independent schools and public schools. They also find that private dependent schools report greater teacher shortages, fewer certified teachers and lower quality educational resources (such as textbooks, library materials and science equipment) (2016, 2, 6-7).

### 3.2 Schools for children with a disability

Private schools are also the largest providers of education for children with a disability. Of the almost 2000 schools for children with a disability (Sekolah Luar Biasa, SLB) registered with the Ministry of Education and Culture, two thirds are private. These schools educate 60 per cent of the 115,000 children currently enrolled in schools for children with a disability, which is thought to represent only about 30 percent of the total number of children with disabilities in the country (PDSPK 2016e; Adioetomo, Mont and Irwanto 2014, 58).

Schools for children with a disability receive funding from the central, provincial and district governments (Sunardi et al 2011, 9). The central government also provides funds for sports, assistive devices, and scholarships for students with a disability (Adioetomo, Mont and Irwanto 2014, 58). Civil service teachers paid for by the Ministry of Education and Culture made up half of all full-time teachers in schools, with the remainder being teachers from the foundation with which the school is affiliated. Local government funds are also used to support education for children with a disability: just over three quarters of part-time assistant teachers employed in these schools are paid for by the local government (PDSPK 2016e). However, limited budgets mean that in many areas schools have difficulty finding qualified teachers and other professionals (Adioetomo, Mont and Irwanto 2014, 66).

Indonesia also has just over 400 inclusive schools, approximately 60 percent of which are private (PDSPK 2016e). In 2003, the Ministry of Education and Culture issued a directive requiring every district to have at least one inclusive primary, junior secondary, senior secondary and vocational senior secondary school. In 2009 this was expanded to the sub-district level, with every sub-district required to have at least one inclusive primary and one inclusive secondary school. The government provided block grants of up to IDR 50 million (AUD 5000) to each school for teacher training, workshops, or instructional materials to support the implementation of this policy (Sunardi et al 2001, 3). Implementation of this policy varies considerably (PDSPK 2016e), hampered by weak political support at the subnational level for what is seen as a central government policy, as well as limited funds for inclusive and special education, a shortage of qualified teachers, and a lack of understanding of disability issues among sub-national education officials (Adioetomo, Mont and Irwanto 2014, 65)

### 3.3 Non-formal education

Non-formal education providers are also overwhelmingly privately run. Of the over 10,500 Community Learning Centres (Pusat Kegiatan Belajar Masyarakat, PKBM) currently registered with the Ministry of Education and Culture, all but a dozen or so are private.<sup>12</sup> These centres offer a range of educational options from courses in various life skills (hairdressing, foreign languages, cooking, computers, fashion, and handicrafts), to literacy programs, reading groups, kindergartens and playgroups.<sup>13</sup> Many also offer the Department of Education

<sup>12</sup> See <http://bindikmas.kemdikbud.go.id/nilem/?menu=home>. There are also over 20,000 providers offering other types of courses (kursus). See <http://referensi.data.kemdikbud.go.id/index31.php>.

<sup>13</sup> See <http://pkbm-indonesia.net/>

and Culture's primary and junior and senior secondary school equivalency programs - known as Packets A, B and C. These programs enable people who have not been able to complete their formal education because of poverty, geographical isolation or another form of marginalisation to gain a government-recognised qualification. In 2014, over 550,000 people were enrolled in these programs, with over two thirds at the senior secondary school level (Packet C). A further 280,000 were enrolled in literacy programs. Interestingly, while the equivalency programs appear to be taken up by males and females in relatively equal numbers, with males making up 53 percent and females 47 percent, in the literacy programs, women make up over two-thirds of participants. Although they are privately run, the majority of non-formal education providers receive either central or local government funding. Around one fifth of providers are self-funded (swadaya) and a small number are funded through fees charged to participants (PDSPK 2015).

### 3.4 Christian and Catholic schools

Christian and Catholic churches played an important role historically in the provision of basic education in Indonesia and continue to be a significant private provider of education today. Reliable data on the number of Christian and Catholic schools currently in Indonesia is difficult to find.<sup>14</sup> One estimate suggests that there are around 5000 Christian schools from preschool to senior secondary school level. A significant proportion of these are in the eastern half of the archipelago.<sup>15</sup> Private schools run by church organisations continue to provide many children in eastern Indonesia with a low-cost education. In Papua, where participation rates and educational outcomes are the poorest in the country, private schools, predominantly Christian and Catholic schools, provide a better education than public schools. These schools have their origins in the mission schools established in rural and highland areas from the 1950s, which enabled a minority of children to obtain an education. Today, mission schools are often the only functioning schools in many areas (Anderson 2013).

There are a wide range of Christian schools catering to the middle and upper classes in and around Jakarta and other major cities, including schools managed by educational foundations established by Chinese churches or Chinese Christian philanthropists (Hoon 2010). In western Java, including Jakarta, for example, one of the largest Christian education providers is 'The Sower' Christian Education Board (Badan Pendidikan Kristen Penabur, BPK Penabur). It now has 147 schools in 15 cities educating almost 50,000 students. Around half of the schools are in the greater Jakarta area (Jakarta, Bogor, Depok, Tangerang and Bekasi) with the remainder in cities throughout West Java and Lampung, on the southern tip of Sumatra.<sup>16</sup> Chinese-Indonesians make up the majority of students in many of the organisation's schools, although non-Christian students are also accepted. The organisation's two main sources of income are admission fees and tuition. These fees can amount to several thousand dollars per year, although some students, including the children of teachers in the school, receive a discount. In cities outside Jakarta, the schools also receive some assistance from churches.<sup>17</sup> These funds are channelled back into the schools in the form of teacher salaries and school development programs.

<sup>14</sup> In Indonesian the term Kristen (Christian) is used to refer to all Protestants. This is differentiated from the term Katolik (Catholic).

<sup>15</sup> The Christian Education Council of Indonesia (Majelis Pendidikan Kristen di Indonesia, MPK), an organisation founded in 1950 to represent Christian schools, estimates that North Sulawesi has 1000 schools, East Nusa Tenggara, Papua and Maluku each have 400 schools and Sumba has 200 schools. These are managed by the regional church councils. See <http://www.mpk-indonesia.org/features-2/> and <http://pgi.or.id/david-j-tjandra-kondisi-sekolah-kristen-memprihatinkan/>

<sup>16</sup> See <http://bpkpenabur.or.id/history/> and [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan\\_khusus/2011/09/110823\\_sekolahkristen.shtml](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan_khusus/2011/09/110823_sekolahkristen.shtml)

<sup>17</sup> In 2011, one senior high school charged IDR 40 million (AUD 4000) for the first year, which included the admission fee and tuition. See [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan\\_khusus/2011/09/110823\\_sekolahkristen.shtml](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan_khusus/2011/09/110823_sekolahkristen.shtml)

### 3.5 Islamic schools

#### 3.5.1 Historical background

Islamic organisations are the single largest group of non-state education providers in Indonesia: private madrasah registered with the Ministry of Religious Affairs make up half of all private schools in the country. Islamic schools have a long history in Indonesia, first emerging in the sixteenth century. As basic education began to spread from the 1950s onwards, the accessibility of Islamic schools meant that they were particularly important in educating poorer, rural children. Later, Islamic schools helped meet the demand for secondary education. Government secondary schools tended to be located in urban areas, and the higher cost of attending these schools, coupled with parental concerns regarding children – especially girls - travelling to schools some distance away meant that local Islamic schools provided an important means for children in these areas to continue their education (Oey-Gardiner 1991, 64-65). However, because historically these schools have received little government funding, the quality of education was generally very poor (Zuhdi 2006, Subhan 2010).

From the 1970s, Islamic schools were increasingly integrated into the national system of education. Regulations introduced in the mid-1970s but not implemented until after 1989 required all madrasah to teach the national curriculum for non-religious subjects, with 30 percent of the curriculum devoted to religious studies and the remaining 70 percent to non-religious subjects, although in practice there is some variation in adherence to this regulation. To bring them into line with the national education system, madrasah were divided into three levels: madrasah ibtidayah (primary), madrasah tsanawiyah (junior secondary) and madrasah aliyah (senior secondary) and certificates of graduation from madrasah were given equal status with those of government schools.<sup>18</sup> As a result of these changes, madrasah are now considered formally equal to general schools (Zuhdi 2006, Sirozi 2004).

#### 3.5.2 Private madrasah

Private madrasah educate a large number of Indonesian students. In the 2015–2016 school year, 8 million students attended these schools, with over 6.3 million students in non-state madrasah. Overall, private madrasah educate 12 percent of students, although at the junior secondary school level this increases to 18 percent (PDSPK 2016a-d; EMIS PENDIS 2016). Islamic education has continued to increase in popularity over the last decade. Between 2007 and 2015, enrolments in private madrasah at all levels grew by 24 percent. Most of this growth occurred at the junior and senior secondary level, where the number of students grew by 35 and 60 percent respectively (BPD 2008; EMIS PENDIS 2016). Around three fifths of Indonesia's madrasah are located on Java – principally in East, West and Central Java – where just under 60 percent of Indonesia's population lives (EMIS PENDIS 2016; BPS 2016).

Despite their progressive integration into the national system of education, Islamic schools remain community-based. Around 92 percent of madrasah are private (EMIS PENDIS 2016). The majority are affiliated with national organisations such as Muhammadiyah and Nahdlatul Ulama, Indonesia's largest Muslim mass organisations. A smaller number are affiliated with regional organisations such as Nahdlatul Wathan in Lombok, As'adiyah in Sulawesi and Persatuan Tarbiyah Islamiyah in West Sumatra, or with local religious foundations (yayasan) (Yunanto and Harun 2005, 30). Other schools are not affiliated with any organisation but are run by individuals or communities.

Muhammadiyah is one of the largest private education providers in Indonesia, accounting for about 6 percent of all private schools in Indonesia.<sup>19</sup> Founded in Yogyakarta, Central Java in 1912 Muhammadiyah has since its establishment been concerned with providing Indonesian

<sup>18</sup> A fourth level, raudatul athfal (early childhood) was later included.

<sup>19</sup> Calculations based on PDSPK 2016a-d and <http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/id/content-8-det-database-persyarikatan.html>.

Muslims with a general education as well as knowledge of Islamic sciences. In addition to madrasah, Muhammadiyah also has a network of general schools: there are currently over 2500 primary schools and masdrasah ibtidayah, almost 1800 junior secondary schools and madrasah tsanawiyah, and 1100 senior secondary schools, vocational senior secondary schools and madrasah aliyah spread throughout Indonesia.<sup>20</sup> In addition to BOS funds, these schools and madrasah also receive funds from Muhammadiyah which are generated through the organisation's business activities as well as community donations. Muhammadiyah schools are considered to be good quality, making them popular with both Muslim and non-Muslim parents.

Nahdlatul Ulama's schools are managed by the Ma'arif Institute for Education (Lembaga Pendidikan Ma'arif) and its boarding schools by a separate organisation, Rabithah Ma'ahid Islamiyah (RMI).<sup>21</sup> The Ma'arif Institute for Education currently has over 4,500 primary and secondary schools and 1,400 madrasah, mostly on Java. The Institute also has an organisational unit which is responsible for developing private-sector partnerships and fundraising and has recently established a partnership with the Djarum Foundation, the corporate social responsibility arm of cigarette manufacturer PT Djarum.<sup>22</sup>

Private madrasah are significantly underfunded in comparison to both public schools and public madrasah. The Ministry of Religious Affairs' education funds have until recently been largely directed to the public madrasah which make up around 8 percent of all madrasah. As a result, public madrasah are generally of higher quality (Edwards, Ciciek and Dzuhayatin 2009, 120, 124; Permani 2011, 185-87). Under the BOS scheme, private madrasah receive the same allocation per student as all other public and private schools. BOS funds are distributed to private madrasah on a quarterly basis through the provincial or district Office of the Ministry of Religious Affairs, although there are often delays in disbursement, which means that madrasah must find other ways to cover their expenses while they wait for funds to arrive (OECD/ADB 2015).<sup>23</sup> In addition to government funding, private madrasah may receive funding from the organisation or foundation with which they are affiliated. The amount and frequency of this funding varies considerably, depending on the organisation.

A lack of funding impacts the ability of private madrasah to provide a quality education. Although efforts over the last five years have resulted in almost all madrasah teachers being certified, teacher shortages, particularly in rural and remote areas, as well as teacher mismatch and teacher absenteeism impact significantly on the quality of education in madrasah (EMIS PENDIS 2016; Jalal et.al. 2009, 12, 24, 193-94, Suryadarma 2011, 170-72, 174). In addition, classrooms in many madrasah are in poor condition and very few madrasah have well-stocked libraries or up to date computer rooms and science laboratories (Jackson 2013). Many students do not have access to textbooks (Ali et.al. 2011, 46-47). As a result, only around 10 percent of private madrasah have achieved the highest level of accreditation (PENDIS 2015). The poorer quality education provided in Islamic schools means that they are often the second choice for parents whose children have not achieved high enough marks

<sup>20</sup> Muhammadiyah also has over 4500 preschools. See <http://www.muhammadiyah.or.id/id/content-8-det-database-persyarikatan.html>.

<sup>21</sup> <http://rmi-nu.or.id/>; <http://www.maarif-nu.or.id/>. Ma'arif means 'knowledge' or 'wisdom' in Arabic.

<sup>22</sup> Under this partnership, Djarum Foundation has provided free medical treatment in dozens of boarding schools in East Java since 2015 and also conducts programs with Nahdlatul Ulama-affiliated schools in and around Kudus in East Java where PT Djarum is based. See [http://beritajatim.com/ekonomi/261190/ratusan\\_santri\\_dan\\_warga\\_berobat\\_gratis\\_di\\_ponpes\\_langitana.html](http://beritajatim.com/ekonomi/261190/ratusan_santri_dan_warga_berobat_gratis_di_ponpes_langitana.html); [http://www.djarumfoundation.org/mobile/aktivitas/detail\\_media/1639/4/siswi-smk-nu-banat-kudus-merintis-sebagai-perancang-busana--pikiran-rakyatcom](http://www.djarumfoundation.org/mobile/aktivitas/detail_media/1639/4/siswi-smk-nu-banat-kudus-merintis-sebagai-perancang-busana--pikiran-rakyatcom); <http://smk-maarifkudus.sch.id/detailpost/kunjungan-pendidikan-sekolah-binaan-djarum-foundation-oleh-kepala-sekolah-dan-guru-bk-se-kudus>; and <http://www.antarajateng.com/detail/djarum-foundation-dukung-kelanjutan-pakem.html>

<sup>23</sup> See <http://jateng.kemenag.go.id/file/file/Mapenda/jnkq1453355251.pdf>

in the final examination to gain entry into a state school (Permani 2011, 187, 189-91, Parker 2009, 70-71).

### 3.5.3 Islamic boarding schools

There are currently over 27,000 Islamic boarding schools in Indonesia (pesantren) with around 3.6 million students. Three quarters of these schools are located in rural areas of Java (PENDIS 2015, Yunanto et.al. 2005, 41, Jabali and Jamhari 2002, 99). The Islamic boarding school system is highly diverse, with considerable variation in religious and political ideology, texts taught, teaching methods and the rules and regulations which govern school life. Government statistics distinguish between 'traditional' and 'modern' boarding schools, based on curriculum, although in practice this categorisation is quite fluid. Traditional schools teach the classical Islamic texts (kitab kuning), while 'modern' Islamic boarding schools have adopted the madrasah model and teach the national curriculum within a boarding school environment as well as offering an education in the classical Islamic texts. This picture is complicated by the fact that many traditional boarding schools have established madrasah or general schools within their grounds: the majority of students in Islamic boarding schools are undertaking some kind of formal education, either in madrasah, general schools, or tertiary institutions (PENDIS 2015).

Over the last decade, the government has recognised the significant role that Islamic boarding schools play in the provision of basic education, particularly for poor and marginalised children. Since 2000, students in traditional Islamic boarding schools have been able to undertake a program of studies which is recognised as equivalent to the nine years compulsory basic education mandated by the government in 1994. The program is flexible, so students can plan their study around the boarding school curriculum. In the 2013-2014 school year, over 200,000 students were undertaking this program. Around 700 boarding schools, mainly in East Java, also offer the Packet A, B and C equivalency programs to over 50,000 students, many of them from poor households. Around 30,000 of these are studying at senior secondary level (PENDIS 2015). Many Islamic boarding schools also offer training in vocational skills such as farming, small business management, computers, motorcycle repair, sewing, and handicrafts (Lukens-Bull 2005, 65).

### 3.5.4 Integrated Islamic Schools

A relatively recent development in Islamic education has been the establishment of integrated Islamic schools (sekolah Islam terpadu) catering to the urban middle class.<sup>24</sup> These private schools are registered under the Ministry of Education and Culture and provide a high quality education using the national curriculum and an Islamic studies curriculum independent of the Ministry of Religious Affairs. Tuition is expensive and entry to these schools is highly competitive (Subhan 2010, 133-35). In 2013, the Network of Integrated Islamic Schools (Jaringan Sekolah Islam Terpadu, JSIT), an organisation which supports integrated Islamic schools across Indonesia, had just under 2000 member schools.<sup>25</sup>

## 4 Policy Considerations

Building on the information provided in this case study, the following recommendations outline areas where Australia could support non-state actors in Indonesia's education system.

**Issues of educational equity provide a strong justification for continued donor assistance to the non-state sector.** Private schools – including private madrasah and Christian and Catholic schools in eastern Indonesia - provide an education to some of

<sup>24</sup> See [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan\\_khusus/2011/08/110823\\_sekolahislam2.shtml](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan_khusus/2011/08/110823_sekolahislam2.shtml). See also [http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan\\_khusus/2011/08/110816\\_sekolahislam1.shtml](http://www.bbc.com/indonesia/laporan_khusus/2011/08/110816_sekolahislam1.shtml)

<sup>25</sup> See <http://www.republika.co.id/berita/pendidikan/eduaction/14/01/31/n08dcm-10-tahun-jsit-indonesia-bangun-pendidikan-lewat-sit> and <http://www.jsit-indonesia.com/>. The Ministry of Religious Affairs conducted a census of integrated Islamic schools in February 2016.

Indonesia's poorest and most marginalised communities. However, limited funding means that many of these schools are of lower quality than public schools. Over the last decade, Australia has provided significant support to private madrasah through programs such as the Learning Assistance Program for Islamic Schools (LAPIS) and, most recently, the Education Partnership. These and other donor programs have supported madrasah to raise the quality of education. Continued support for the Islamic education sector, including private madrasah, is critical to ensure that these schools are able to offer an education that meets national quality standards. In contrast, there has been comparatively little support for Christian, Catholic and other private schools which serve the needs of poor and marginalised communities, with most government and donor programs focusing on developing state schools. Australia can assist the Government of Indonesia to support such schools by advocating for their inclusion in government programs and ensuring they participate in activities implemented by Australian-funded education programs.

**Education for children with a disability and inclusive education** is of increasing concern to the Government of Indonesia, albeit coming from a low base. Over the last decade Indonesia has introduced several new pieces of legislation which acknowledge the rights of people with a disability, including the right to a quality education. Indonesia's future economic growth also depends on the country's ability to enable all children – including children with a disability - to achieve their educational potential and live productive lives. At present, most of the work in this area is undertaken by international NGOs such as Handicap International and Helen Keller International. Australia has both the interest and the expertise to make a strong contribution, including by supporting the Government of Indonesia to work with private providers to improve access and quality of education for children with a disability.

**Vocational education is a growth area and is critical for improving Indonesia's productivity and competitiveness in the region.** The Government of Indonesia recognises the importance to Indonesia's future growth of preparing youth effectively for the workforce. Vocational education needs to link better to the needs of the workforce – both in terms of the technical skills that are in demand and the soft skills that employers value. The International Labour Organisation is currently working on skills and employability in Indonesia and USAID has recently announced a new workforce development program. However, Australia has strong expertise and experience of both public and private provision of technical and vocational education which could assist the Government of Indonesia to improve the quality and relevance of its vocational education programs.

**Private provision of non-formal education addresses the needs of socially and economically marginalised groups, and is of particular importance for women.** While the number of participants in primary and secondary school equivalency and literacy programs is small relative to the formal education system, they are an important means of addressing social and economic disadvantage. There is relatively little information available on the quality of these programs and on the outcomes of those who have graduated suggesting the need for further research and analysis.

**There is scope to leverage private sector funds to support education.** A number of Indonesian philanthropic organisations and private corporations already support educational programs on a relatively small scale, such as Nahdlatul Ulama's partnership with Djarum Foundation. However, public and philanthropic giving also takes place on a larger scale through faith-based and other organisations. This, coupled with income generated through business activities, enables organisations such as Muhammadiyah to provide a higher quality education. Further examination of Muhammadiyah's funding model and other similar models would provide greater insight into the potential for private sector funding of education.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> DFAT recently conducted a study of philanthropic organisations in Indonesia as part of a multi-country study.

## 5 Conclusion

Non-state actors in education have historically played an important role in the spread of basic education in Indonesia and remain a significant and growing phenomenon in Indonesia today. Private schools educate large numbers of Indonesian children, particularly at the junior and senior secondary level. These schools make a substantial contribution to fulfilling the growing demand for secondary education and will continue to do so as the Government of Indonesia implements its new policy of 12 years compulsory education. Private providers also dominate the provision of vocational senior secondary education. Improving the quality and relevance of education provided in private vocational schools will be increasingly important for Indonesia's future growth and development. There are strong equity reasons for supporting improvements to the quality of non-state education provision. Private schools serve the needs of a large number of the rural poor as well as other marginalised children and youth, including children with a disability. Private provision of non-formal education enables those who are socially and economically marginalised, including women, to gain basic literacy skills.

Indonesia has made considerable progress in providing universal free basic education by mandating the allocation of 20 percent of national and subnational budgets to education. Both public and private schools are eligible for government funds through the School Operational Assistance (BOS) scheme and schools which receive these funds are - in theory if not in practice - not permitted to charge tuition fees. The Government has also introduced scholarship schemes to help ensure that students from the poorest households are able to obtain an education. However, funding for the majority of private schools is still limited, with consequences for the quality of teaching and educational outcomes.

Indonesia's recognition of private providers as an integral part of the education system provides useful lessons for other low and middle-income countries. While at times driven by nationalistic rather than educational considerations, in practice the integration of private schools into the national system has helped to improve the quality of education provided in these schools, facilitated educational mobility, and contributed to achieving near universal enrolment in primary school and significant increases in enrolment in junior and senior secondary education. The process of assessing all schools against national quality standards will help drive further quality improvements across the system and enable parents and students to make more informed choices. Donors can play an important role in supporting the Government of Indonesia to ensure that all schools – public and private – provide a quality education and prepare Indonesian students to contribute to Indonesia's future growth and prosperity.

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