Leadership of Community Education:

Evidence from Indonesia

By

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Abstract

Literature and research on educational leadership and management have received increasing attention in the last three decades. However, out-of-school leadership and community education are two areas that remain under-researched, globally and in Indonesia. This study aims at gaining an understanding of the ways in which the leadership of community education is practiced in Indonesia. It examines the nature of leadership in Indonesian Community Learning Centres (CLCs). It further explores CLC organisational structure, the relationship of CLCs with the community, CLC networking and partnership strategies, curriculum development, and the methods employed by CLC leaders and teachers to engage with learners.

The study embraced constructivist and critical paradigms, employing a multiple case study design to obtain thick data from four purposively-selected CLCs in three different regions of Indonesia. Nine participants were selected from each case CLC and its community to investigate the ways in which the leadership of community education is practiced. Interviews, observations and document reviews were employed as the methods to collect data. Thematic analysis was used to generate themes from the data, linked to the research questions.

The study found that CLC leadership in Indonesia is susceptible to various dimensions of context and community, and it focuses on social justice by aiming to provide equitable learning opportunities for all. The empirical findings indicate that both state and privately funded CLC leaders resisted government policy about ideal CLC organisational structure by developing a structure that best suits the context and community where they are working. While acknowledging community as the primary reason of CLC establishment, the study reveals that relationships between the community and the CLCs are mutual. The empirical evidence suggests that building and expanding networks and partnerships primarily mean maintaining good relationships with government authorities to secure resources to support each CLC's daily operation. The study also discovers that CLC leadership calls for individualised and self-directed learning by resisting to fully follow the prescribed government curriculum. The study shows that, in CLC leadership, persuasion is key to student engagement, as many of them have experienced some level of exclusion and marginalisation from education.

The study provides recommendations for practice at CLC level, policy makers at the national level, and for further research. The study recommends that CLC leaders need to engage better public accountability measures, to the state and the community members, to gain more support, and to explain how resources are (re)distributed respectively. It also recommends that policy makers should maintain and increase support for community education and its programmes, because CLC leaders and teachers try to fulfil the government's promise to ensure education for all. Finally, the study recommends further research to widen the geographical coverage of the study, involve other categories of CLCs, and explore the perceptions of government officials, to provide complementary data for comprehensive understanding of CLC leadership.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Introduction

This chapter presents the context and rationale for this study. It begins with the national and policy context of the study, with a specific focus on Indonesian Community Learning Centres (CLCs), the focus of the research. This is followed by consideration of the theoretical dimensions underpinning this study, namely critical theory and leadership for social justice, linked to educational policies in Indonesia. The second section presents the research problem and rationale for the study, followed by aims and research questions. The chapter ends by providing the overall structure for the thesis.

National Context

Indonesia is the largest island nation in the world. It has roughly 17,508 islands of which fewer than 6,000 are inhabited (Maslak, 2018; Statistics Indonesia, 2019). The islands form an archipelago that bridges Australia and Asia. The archipelago stretches around 5,000 kilometres between the Indian and Pacific Oceans across three time zones from its western to its eastern end (Forbes, 2014; Maslak, 2018; Morgan, 2007). Strategically, Indonesia is one of the most important sea routes in the world.

The country has a narrow stretch of water called the Straits of Malacca that links Sumatra, the westernmost island of Indonesia, and Malaysia and Singapore (Morgan, 2007). Estimates differ, but the Straits carry at least 50,000 vessels per year, and bear approximately one quarter of the worlds' sea trade, including oil for China and Japan (Evers and Gerke, 2008; Morgan, 2007). This helps the country to be the largest economy in Southeast Asia, and the 16th largest economy in the world (IMF, 2018; Salim, 2010). Since 1999, Indonesia has become a member of the G20 group of major economies. Figure 1.1 shows the map of Indonesia and its three time zones.
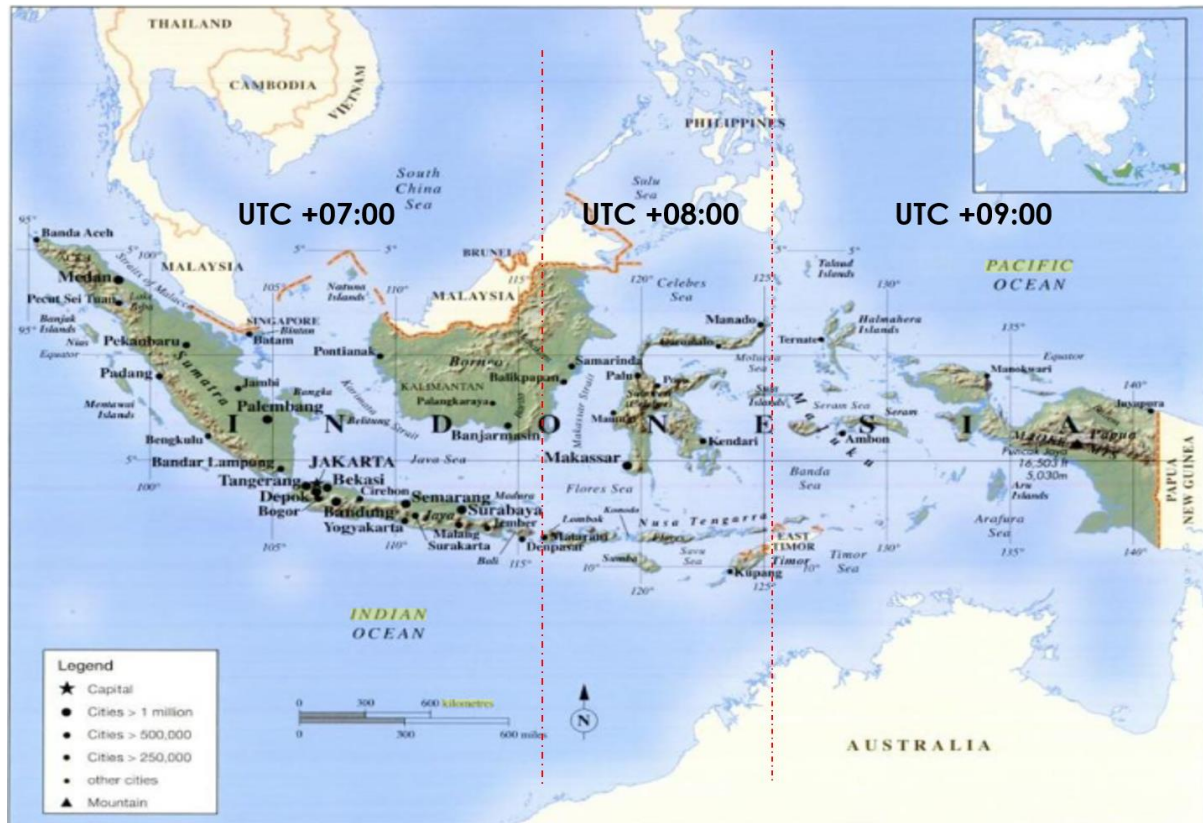
Figure 1. 1: Map of Indonesia depicting its three time zones
Source: Modified from Maps of World (2017)

Indonesia is home to a widely distributed population, totaling more than 260 million, making it the fourth most populous country in the world after China, India, and the United States (Statistics Indonesia, 2019; World Population Review, 2020). While recognising five different religions – Islam, Christianity (Protestantism and Catholicism), Hinduism, Buddhism, and Confucianism – Indonesia is the world's most populous Muslim country (Hosen, 2005; McDaniel, 2017; Pedersen, 2016). There are more than 200 million Muslims in Indonesia, 99 percent of whom are Sunni (Han and Nasir, 2016). There are also a number of minority religions, such as Sikhism and Indigenous native belief systems (McDaniel, 2017; Pedersen, 2016). Over the centuries, however, Indonesian people were influenced by a form of ancient beliefs and Hinduism (Hosen, 2005; McDaniel, 2017). Today, there remain a few religious practices which are characterised by Indigenous beliefs and cultural traditions.

Indonesia is also widely known as a country that has great socio-cultural diversity. There are more than 300 ethnic groups and 680 native languages spoken throughout the country (Statistics Indonesia, 2018). Seeing the country's extensive diversity, Anderson (1983: 6-7) believes that Indonesia is an "imagined" nation. The country is imagined, because it requires a sense of kinship, or what Anderson (1983: 7) regards as "horizontal comradeship", between people who sometimes do not know or have not even met each other. Regardless of their differences, the people imagine belonging to the same collectivity, and share a similar experience of colonisation, characteristics, values, and attitudes. Anderson (1983) further explains this imagined nation as limited and sovereign: limited, because each area or island in the country recognises some boundaries and the existence of other areas and islands; sovereign, because the country replaced traditional relations of kinship as the state's foundation. Although Indonesia is an imaginary construct, Anderson (1983) notes that the country's imagined communities have a strong horizontal comradeship, because people have willingly sacrificed their individual/communal identities for the sake of the nation.

The country's great diversity makes governing Indonesia complex and difficult (Morgan, 2007). Acknowledging this condition, Indonesia's first president – Sukarno – promoted the idea of "Unity in Diversity". This motto represents the diversity of Indonesian ethnic groups in which each has its own language and culture (Guerreiro, 2002; Morgan, 2007). The motto was used by Sukarno's Old Order Regime as a nation-building strategy, especially after the country gained independence from foreign colonisation in 1945 (Feith, 1962; Meuleman, 2006). The motto was strongly lauded by the 32-year Suharto authoritarian regime to maintain power, and justify repression by providing little room for freedom of speech (Leith, 2003).

The socialisation of "Unity in Diversity" is facilitated through the widespread use of *Bahasa Indonesia* as a national language. *Bahasa Indonesia* (Indonesian) is originally a variant of the Malay language, renamed to give it a national flavour (Mohr, 1984; Sneddon, 2003). When Indonesia gained its independence, Bahasa Indonesia was declared as the national language, and used to substitute for Dutch that was used as a major transethnic language in major cities in the country (Safran and Liu, 2012).

Bahasa Indonesia gained more prominence in the country as access to media and education became more available to the public. Newspapers increasingly included specific columns on national identities, and on the appropriateness of using Bahasa Indonesia (Suryadi, 2006). By 1941, there were 20 local radio stations in the country, which often broadcast content associated with nationalism and the Indonesian language (Mrázek, 2002). Bahasa Indonesia was also used in all sectors associated with government administration, business, and education. Since then, the language has become the official medium of instruction in all educational settings, reiterated by its use in the national curriculum and in education policy (Kirkpatrick & Liddicoat., 2019).

Policy Context

Education in Indonesia has been influenced by religious and traditional principles and values, the interests of the ruling powers, and a sense of nationalism (Tilaar, 1995; Djojonegoro, 1996; Mestoko et al., 1985). Prior to the colonial era, education in the country was typically characterised by the lack of formal scholastic institutions, suffused with Hindu and Islamic values, and provided by wealthy nationalist figures and faith-based institutions (Kroef, 1957). In the Dutch colonial era (1592–1942), education was targeted only to people of high social status, and was aimed to create groups of elite and educated to be obedient human resources (Finkelstein, 1951; Tahalele, 1971; Van Der Veur, 1969). Ki Hajar Dewantara – an Indonesian elitist and nationalist – managed to build *Taman Siswa* (Pupil's Garden) schools in 1922 to introduce Indigenous Indonesian values, particularly tolerance, solidarity and religious commitment (Kroef, 1957; Tsuchiya, 1975). Together with a group of Javanese activists, he set up different schools throughout the country in order to provide Indigenous non-governmental education during colonial times (Hadiwinata, 2003). During the Japanese occupation (1942-1945), discrimination in access to education was revoked, but schooling was primarily dedicated to preparing human resources for the military and workers during World War II (Suratno, 2014).

After approximately three and a half centuries of colonisation, education became available for wider public. One of the greatest challenges that the Indonesian government and people had to face was the reality that more than 80 percent of

the Indonesian population were illiterate (Finkelstein, 1951). To address this challenge, the government called for public participation, and *Taman Siswa* schools grew in number throughout the country. The schools were initiated and funded by wealthy figures who shared infrastructure and facilities to provide educational activities (Tsuchiya, 1975). During this period, education was intended to develop a sense of nationality by introducing *Pancasila* – five basic values of a sovereign state (Suratno, 2014). The principles encompass: (i) a belief in the One and Only God; (ii) just and civilised humanity; (iii) the unity of Indonesia; (iv) democratic life led by wisdom of thought in deliberation amongst representatives of the people; and, (v) social justice for all people of Indonesia.

Today, the Indonesian education system has emerged into one of the largest in the world. At primary and secondary levels, education follows a 6-3-3 framework, comprising six years of primary education, three years of junior high school (lower secondary) education, and three years of high school (upper secondary) education. By 2019, there were approximately 60 million students, and around 3.5 million teachers, in some 350,000 educational institutions (Statistics Indonesia, 2019). Two ministries are involved in managing the education system. The Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC) administers private and state general or secular primary, junior and senior secondary schools, as well as universities and polytechnics; and, the Ministry of Religious Affairs (MoRA) oversees Islamic schools and universities. The MoEC is responsible for 84 percent of the schools, and the MoRA caters for the remaining 16 percent. Private schools have played a significant role in providing access to basic education in Indonesia. While only seven percent of primary schools are private, the figure increases to 56 percent of junior secondaries and 67 percent of senior secondary schools (World Bank, 2014).

Access to primary and secondary education has improved substantially since the 1970s. Under the Suharto's New Order regime, many schools were built, resulting in more children attending school every year. A significant proportion (17–18 percent) of central government expenditure was allocated for education in the 1980s, and primary education became available to 95 percent of Indonesian children (World Bank, 2014). Following this success, nine years of schooling were made compulsory in the 1990s (Presidential Decree No. 1/1994). A rapid growth

in enrolment also happened at senior high school level. By 1990, boys' and girls' enrolment percentages in primary and secondary schools were competitive with those of other Southeast Asian countries (see table 1.1).

Country	Primary School		Secondary School	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Singapore	100	100	70	71
Philippines	100	100	53	55
Indonesia	100	100	49	41
Malaysia	93	93	55	58
Thailand	92	98	33	32
Lao P.D.R.	66	53	17	13
Myanmar	n/a	n/a	71	75
Cambodia	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Viet Nam	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a

Table 1. 1: Primary and secondary school enrolment percentages by sex in South-East Asian countries, 1990 (%)
Source: Baden and Green (1994)

Growth in enrolment at all levels of education continued at a steady pace. By 2019, primary education enrolment reached 97 percent, and more than 78 percent and 59 percent for junior and senior secondary education, respectively (Statistics Indonesia, 2019). Girls' and boys' participation in primary and junior secondary schools also increased (see table 1.2). This achievement was also supported by the allocation of 20 percent of the national budget for education and by the Free School Programme (FSP) policy in 2009 (MoNE, 2009). However, it is important to note here that although FSP is in place, formal and informal fees continue to be required (Rosser and Joshi, 2013).

	Primary	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary	Higher Education (19-23 y.o.)	Higher Education (19-24 y.o.)
Total	97.64	79.40	60.84	20.38	18.85
Male	97.63	78.87	59.40	19.04	17.84
Female	97.65	79.96	62.38	21.77	19.89

Table 1. 2: Education enrolment percentages by levels of education and sex in Indonesia, 2019 (%)
Source: Statistics Indonesia (2019)

Despite the steady improvement in access and funding, improvements in the quality of education in Indonesia have been sluggish. A large quantitative study by De Ree et al. (2017) provides a glimpse of how and why it is difficult to realise quality education in the country. The study found that doubling teachers' salary led to no improvements in student learning outcomes. The salary increase also had no significant impact on teaching measures and working performance.

Quality indicators

Several international studies provide evidence about the quality of education in Indonesia. In the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), scores in science have declined since 2000, despite a steady improvement in average reading and mathematics scores (OECD, 2014, 2015). Indonesia lags behind two neighbouring countries; Singapore and Vietnam. It is estimated that only 25 out of 100 Indonesian students who enter school obtain minimum proficiency levels in literacy and numeracy (World Bank, 2018).

The Indonesian education system has also been compromised by repeated accounts of corruption. Despite its steady 99 percent pass rate (Statistics Indonesia, 2019), the Indonesian national exam processes are affected by cheating practices (i.e. sharing, selling and buying answers) that involve not only children, but also teachers (The Economist, 2011). The practices are so systemic that, when some students exposed the cheating, they and their family had to move out of their village due to the actions of their neighbours (Kuhn, 2011). In 2017, an 18-year-old high school student committed suicide after a teacher threatened to send her to jail for exposing a cheating scandal (Karensa and Sianturi, 2017). Responding to the never-ending polemic and criticisms, the Indonesian government decided that the national examination would no longer be the only determinant of student graduation (MoEC Regulation Number 5, 2015). By 2019, the Indonesian national examination was officially removed, and all schools in the country were granted autonomy to develop and organise their own examinations (MoEC Regulation Number 43, 2019).

The increase in education enrolment at national level also masks significant regional disparities between and within provinces. At primary school level, the enrolment percentages range from 98.12 percent in Jakarta – the Capital of Indonesia – to 79.19 percent in Papua – the country's easternmost, and poorest, province (Statistics Indonesia, 2019). For junior secondary school enrolment, the provincial disparity is wider, from 81.68 percent in Jakarta to 57.19 percent in Papua (see table 1.3).

Province	Primary	Junior Secondary	Senior Secondary
Aceh	99.12	86.48	70.35
North Sumatra	97.67	80.26	67.53
West Sumatra	98.67	78.10	68.53
Riau	97.32	79.94	63.55
Jambi	99.07	79.48	60.92
South Sumatra	97.91	77.58	59.92
Bengkulu	98.66	78.81	65.51
Lampung	99.24	80.40	59.41
Bangka Belitung Islands	97.73	74.13	58.41
Riau Islands	99.13	85.54	72.97
Jakarta	98.12	81.68	60.24
West Java	98.27	81.26	57.53
Central Java	97.77	79.84	59.35
Yogyakarta	99.53	84.04	70.49
East Java	98.01	82.84	61.77
Banten	97.98	81.93	58.80
Bali	96.81	86.75	73.01
West Nusa Tenggara	98.87	83.92	66.04
East Nusa Tenggara	96.16	69.19	53.68
West Kalimantan	97.09	66.67	51.21
Central Kalimantan	99.14	77.71	53.82
South Kalimantan	98.81	74.84	57.82
East Kalimantan	98.41	80.42	68.55
North Kalimantan	93.15	78.42	64.39
North Sulawesi	94.97	74.30	62.98
Central Sulawesi	93.17	73.82	64.66
South Sulawesi	98.06	75.82	60.14
Southeast Sulawesi	97.53	76.95	62.92
Gorontalo	98.41	70.28	57.52
West Sulawesi	95.86	69.36	57.64
Maluku	96.21	74.68	64.23
North Maluku	97.09	76.20	63.95
West Papua	93.76	69.92	63.15
Papua	79.19	57.19	44.32

Table 1. 3: Primary and secondary education enrolment percentages by province, 2019 (%)
Source: Statistics Indonesia (2019)

Eastern provinces have lower enrolment percentages, and the poorest children, children with disabilities, and children living in these areas are also most at risk of exclusion from education (UNICEF, 2020). Within provinces, children living in urban areas are more likely to attend primary and secondary schools, with a gap of close to 10 percentage points compared to those living in rural areas (UNICEF, 2013). In addition, there are approximately 8.5 million illiterate adults (aged 15+) (UIS, 2020), mostly residing in slum western or rural eastern regions of Indonesia (Yulaelawati, 2010). Although there is a greater chance of being in school, no less than 4.4 million children and adolescents aged 7–18 throughout the country remain out of school (UNICEF, 2020). Educational expenditure and poverty at municipal level, household spending on education, and family educational background, are some key factors that significantly reduce Indonesian children's likelihood to never attend school (Muttaqin et al., 2017).

The issues of quality and regional disparities in education also relate to the economic crisis that hit Indonesia in 1998. The Indonesian economy was hit the hardest in Asia (Nasution, 1998). The crisis led to the fall of Suharto's regime, and triggered inter-communal and religious conflicts in many parts of the country (Lamb and Coleman, 2008; Newberry, 2010; Van Klinken, 2001). One of the most destructive riots in post-Suharto's regime occurred in Ambon and led to the deaths of thousands of "Indigenous" Christian Ambonese and non-Ambonese "newcomers" who happened to be Muslim (Van Klinken, 2001). Furthermore, the legacy of the economic crisis and violence was also evident in the education sector.

During the first several years of the financial crisis, only 80 percent of students completed primary education, and enrolment in junior secondary schools decreased to 69 percent (SMERU, 2003). In accordance with the Washington Consensus, the IMF and the World Bank offered a post-crisis rescue package that was conditional on the implementation of privatisation, deregulation and devolution. Indonesia, as well as many other countries in Asia, was obliged to introduce devolution and privatisation, with an increased emphasis on education (Bjork, 2003; Bonal, 2004; Jütting et al., 2004; Kristiansen and Pratikno, 2006; Lugaz et al., 2010; Manor, 1999; Newberry, 2010).

A feature of educational decentralisation in Indonesia is a stronger emphasis on the role of local government and community participation in education. This shift

is encapsulated in Law Number 20/2003 on the National Education System. The law explains that there are three streams or channels of education in Indonesia: formal, non-formal, and informal education, which can complement and enrich each other. Education can be provided with an open system through face-to-face or distance learning. Education levels consist of primary, secondary, and higher education. Education types include general, vocational, professional, vocational and technical, religious, and special education. The streams, levels, and types of education can be organised by the government or the community. Figure 1.2 shows the overall Indonesian educational system based on Law Number 20/2003. This law marks the official birth of an education institution in Indonesia that is today known as the Community Learning Centre (CLC).
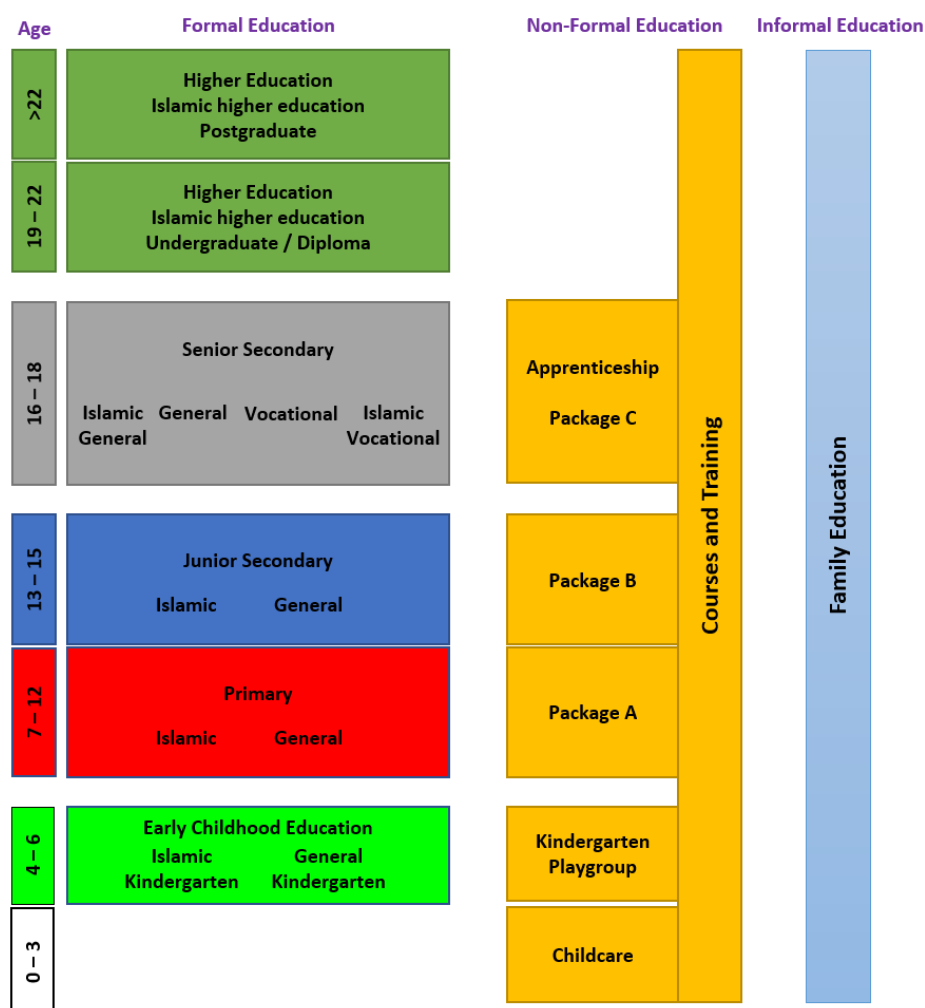
Figure 1. 2: The Indonesian education system
Source: Law Number 20/2003

Community learning centres

UNESCO played a significant role in stimulating the establishment of CLCs in Indonesia as well as in many other countries in the Arab and African regions. In 1998, UNESCO launched the CLC project within the framework of the UNESCO Asia-Pacific Programme of Education for All (APPEAL) (UNESCO, 2008, 2012, 2013). CLCs were developed to generate people's interest and participation in literacy and continuing education, especially for the disadvantaged and poor (UNESCO, 2008). The CLC is expected to function as the centre that provides:

- education and training;
- community information and resource services;
- community development activities; and,
- coordination and networking.

(UNESCO, 2008, 2012)

Given the economic crisis, the push from the IMF and the World Bank, and the UNESCO APPEAL project, the Indonesian Government encouraged local government, and any capable and willing individuals, to pioneer the establishment of CLCs in their area.

Introducing the concept of CLC as a non-government and non-profit organisation providing education in Indonesia is a process of "romanticising education by looking back to the past" (Yulaelawati, 2009: 15). The historical aspect of education in the country, noted earlier, made the government's policy to improve public participation and funding in education, through the establishment of CLCs, easier to implement. This is evident in the rapid increase in the number of CLCs across the country over time.

By 1999, 815 CLCs were established throughout Indonesia. They were generally established by an individual or group of people from a wide range of backgrounds, but a few were initiated by the government. The number tripled to more than 3,000 units in 2000 (UNESCO, 2008; Yulaelawati, 2012). The rapid increase in the number of CLCs helped to improve access to primary and secondary education, because the CLCs provided Equivalency Education Programmes. Equivalency education is a second-chance learning opportunity programme dedicated to those who never enter primary or secondary schools, or who leave them early. The

success put CLCs in the spotlight and, in 2003, they were formally legalised as non-formal education institutions (Hawadi, 2012; Law Number 20/2003). This signifies that, by law, CLCs have an equal position with primary and secondary schools.

CLCs in Indonesia serve students at all ages, especially those not readily accommodated by formal schooling. For this reason, they also played an important role in boosting enrolment in early childhood education. Since the early 2000s, Indonesia has taken steps to prioritise early childhood development (Denboba et al., 2015; Octarra and Hendriati, 2018). In order to reduce the financial burden, CLCs were involved in delivering early childhood education services within the framework of a "generic learning menu" (Denboba et al., 2015: 35). It was generic, because the teachers and teaching personnel did not need to have a bachelor's degree and/or a teaching certificate, the students did not require uniforms, and the teaching and learning process could take place anywhere, either in a rented building or even a garage. Government funding was mainly allocated for competition-based subsidies and the organisation of skills-set training for the teachers. Any CLC requesting funding had to submit a proposal, adhere to a range of administrative requirements, and be selected by a bidding committee.

In 2018, there were approximately 11,142 CLCs in Indonesia (MoEC, 2018). With the exception of 39 CLCs in Jakarta, the other 11,103 CLCs (99.6%) in the country are all private non-profit institutions. One of the main reasons why there are state CLCs in Jakarta is because the province has greater financial capacity than the other 33 provinces. However, the fast-growing number of CLCs also led to huge disparities between provinces and quality gaps between CLCs (MoEC, 2018).

More than 62% of the CLCs are concentrated in Java and Sumatra, the two most populous islands in Indonesia (MoEC, 2018; Statistics Indonesia, 2019). CLCs located in these regions generally have better infrastructure and facilities, and more sustainable funding. In contrast, many CLCs located in eastern parts of Indonesia are characterised by minimum resources. Of 11,142 CLCs in the country, only 264 of them are accredited with Grade A, 1,369 with Grade B, and 879 with Grade C (NAC, 2021). These grades refer to "excellent" (A), "good" (B), and "functional" (C), in the fulfillment of eight national education standards, namely graduate competency, content, process, teacher standards, school

facilities, education management, funding and assessment, as stipulated in Government Regulation Number 32/2013. However, the accreditation is not for the CLC as an organisation, but for its learning programmes, based on administrative paper work. Therefore, it is possible that some well performing CLCs do not receive grade A, due to poor paper work, despite their active learning programmes. It is also important to note that the main objectives of the accreditation process are to monitor the quality of CLCs, while at the same time overseeing a large number of "on and off" CLCs that operate when they have a budget from the government or donor agency, and temporarily shut down when they do not.

The scandals of certificate-selling and poor research also mark the intricate history of CLCs in Indonesia. A number of well-off politicians allegedly bought equivalency education Package C (equivalent to senior secondary) certificates to be eligible for their political candidateship (Yulaelawati, 2010). The success stories of CLCs have also been poorly documented and under-researched (Hawadi, 2012; Yulaelawati, 2012).

Despite these shortcomings, CLCs provide a vital role in providing and expanding access to education as well as other learning services in Indonesia. CLCs have been able to provide hope for everybody, especially the unreached and under-served populations in education (Septiari, 2018; The Jakarta Post, 2015; UNESCO, 2010a). In providing education to specific tribes strongly rejecting formal schooling, school-age pregnant women, youths engaging in crime, facing conviction or prison, and illiterate adult populations residing in remote places, CLCs in Indonesia often function as what Rogers (2004: 37) calls the "panacea for all educational ills". Indonesia's experiences with CLCs have also inspired Nigeria's National Commission for Mass Literacy, Adult and Non-Formal Education (NMEC) to set up literacy centres to reduce the high illiteracy rate in the country (Yorozu, 2014). Under effective leadership and management, there are also successful CLCs in Indonesia that continuously operate and provide learning services, often without any financial support from the government. This reflects evidence from other countries where CLCs are available (UNESCO, 2008, 2012, 2013).

Theoretical Context

This study focuses on the leadership of community education in Indonesian CLCs. The focus provides an understanding that the theoretical framework underpinning and running through this study encompasses critical theory and leadership for social justice. The following section provides a brief discussion about the relevance of critical theory and leadership for social justice. Further discussion of the two sections can be found in chapter two (see pages 24-28 and 41-42 respectively).

Critical theory

The literature shows that the concept of community education has close relationships with the critical views of Bourdieu (1977), Dewey (1915), Freire (1970) and Illich (1971). In general, these scholars question how schooling reproduces and preserves social inequality and exclusion (Fordham, 1980; Rogers, 2004). Although their philosophy does not specifically focus on community education, it provides support and justification for the advocates of adult, informal and non-formal education.

The articulation of critical theory in education is evident in the concept of critical education. Often referred to using various names, such as critical pedagogy and popular education (Amsler et al., 2010), critical education has its origin in the tradition of critical theory and the work of Paulo Freire (Kincheloe, 2007; Kincheloe and Steinberg, 1997).

The advocates of critical education believe that knowledge and teaching are never politics-free, and insist that education should encourage critical thinking so that all students could gain the necessary skills to question and challenge oppressive forces (Breunig, 2005; McKernan, 2013). This objective articulates the essential philosophy of Freire (1970) that, education should also help to develop critical awareness that leads to individual, organisational and societal transformation. This objective resonates with that of community education scholars, noted earlier.

Critical theory is an important part of the study, and has informed the research throughout. However, the theory is not intended as a theoretical framework but rather is helpful in interpreting data alongside other perspectives.

Relevant to the work on leadership for social justice, and the context of a developing country, the work of Paulo Freire provides a useful basis for theorising community education in Indonesia.

Paulo Freire

Paulo Freire is among the founding figures of critical educators. Freire's philosophy of education, born from his adult literacy work, recollects Marx's theory that the main objective of philosophy is not to interpret the world, but to change it.

Freire believes that improving literacy is designed to help the poor peasants and slum-dwellers become full human beings who can use their conscious agency and make their own history by transforming society at all levels. He also believes that conventional educational aims and methods, which he terms as the banking model of education, and based on the positivist model of knowledge and a non-humanist conception of man, will not help people to free themselves from oppression. To Freire, oppression refers to a state in which a man is treated as an object to be exploited, dominated or controlled by another, and this condition is generally experienced by the poorest and most disadvantaged sections of the population in a country. Freire's work on adult literacy provides a significant philosophical foundation to the justification of the relationship between education and politics, that education can never be neutral.

Freire's contribution to community education perhaps centres on how his emphasis on changing social reality through education is widely welcomed by the advocates of informal education. His philosophy that education should be non-formal – occur beyond the boundaries of the traditional formal, bureaucratic educational system, and celebrate the collectivity of the oppressed fighting for a more just society is probably also the reason why he is considered to be the most well-known exponent of radical or liberating model of community education (Elsey, 1983; Jarvis, 2004; Mayo, 1999). It is not surprising if Freire's philosophical terminologies (domestication, cultural invasion, the culture of silence, conscientisation, praxis, and dialogue) become common vocabularies in the literature of community education. Furthermore, his philosophy also inspires various literature and research advocating leadership for social justice.

Leadership for social justice

Building on the philosophy of critical theorists, such as Paulo Freire (1968), critical leadership scholars, Michael Apple (1986) and Henry Giroux (1981), have been advancing ideas on educational leadership that strive for change beyond individual and organisational improvement. They believe that successful leaders are those who not only focus on academic excellence and organisational enhancement, but also on societal improvement (English, 2008; Foster, 1986; Johnson, 2014; Khalifa et al., 2016; Santamaría et al., 2014; Shields, 2018). Shields (2018), and Santamaría et al. (2014), agree that educational leadership should begin with a critical examination of the wider society, especially existing disparities and inequalities that could influence individuals within and beyond the organisation to create change. In the same vein, Johnson (2014) and Khalifa et al. (2016) note that it is only by embracing and celebrating the ethnic and cultural diversity of students and families that educational leaders could create societal change. Collectively, these critical scholars argue that educational leadership should not only consider good leadership and teaching within schools, but also social justice beyond schools (English, 2008; Foster, 1986).

By addressing justice and equality for all students in the school, educational leaders not only invest in the realisation of change within the institution, but also beyond it. Providing equal opportunities, and warranting that no students face discrimination, the leaders contribute to developing the students' potential participation in the academic and social fields that suit their talents and aspirations, irrespective of their family background, social status or economic situation (Beachum and McCray, 2010; Bogotch and Shields, 2014). In other words, by enabling them to recognise and question existing social inequalities and injustice, social justice leaders encourage students to be social justice agents who advocate and promote this value in their community (Jong and Jackson, 2016; Meister et al., 2017). It is partly in this context that leadership for social justice resonates with the narrative of community education in Indonesia, and globally.

As well as arguably indicating the government's inability to fully fund education, indicated earlier, the overall aim of community education in Indonesia is to provide educational opportunities for those who are not readily accommodated by formal schooling. This resonates with the liberating model of community adult education

in the UK (Brookfield, 1985; Elsey, 1986; Gibson, 1979; Jarvis, 2004). To realise this aim, the Indonesian government encouraged philanthropic individuals to initiate the establishment of CLCs that could organise various learning activities with a wide range of foci. This somehow echoes the liberal model of community education practiced in the USA (Brookfield, 1985). There is an expectation that community education in Indonesia could be a learning alternative that provides justice and equality for all students irrespective of their ethnicity, culture, family income, and home language. In this context, community education has parallels with leadership for social justice.

The Research Problem

In line with the research focus, this study has three different dimensions: geographical context, educational space, and theoretical issues. From the geographical point of view, this study was conducted in Indonesia – a country of great socio-cultural diversity and with an immense educational system. It is so diverse that it is often difficult to imagine that the archipelago is a united nation (Anderson, 1983). To capture the contextual complexity of Indonesia, this study was carried out in four different areas that represent the three different regions of the country: western, central, and eastern, and show sense of rural and urban contexts.

In terms of educational space, this study deals with community education, which is equivalent to non-formal education, and is often contrasted with formal education (Rogers, 2004; Robinson-Pant, 2016). The concept has also been under-researched, in Indonesia (Hawadi, 2012; Yulaelawati, 2012) and globally (Coles, 1982; Liguori et al., 2019). As a consequence, there is limited knowledge about literature and research on out-of-school educational leadership. This current study was designed to contribute to knowledge and understanding about the leadership of community education and to address these knowledge gaps.

Finally, the study is also located within a theoretical space. Although indirect, community education has relationships with the views of critical scholars, such as Bourdieu (1977), Dewey (1915), Freire (1970) and Illich (1971). This study drew

on both mainstream and critical leadership scholars to shed light on the leadership of community education in the specific context of Indonesia.

Rationale for the Study

As noted earlier, this study focuses on the leadership of community education in the specific context of Indonesia. This focus is justified by the reviewed literature and research, showing that there has been strong research interest in educational leadership and management in the last three decades, marked by the emergence of competing leadership models and the repetition of previous studies (Bush, 2011; Bush and Glover, 2014; Day et al., 2000; Hodgkinson, 1993; Leithwood, 2007; Makel and Plucker, 2014). However, the reviewed literature also shows that "out-of-school" leadership and community education are two areas that remain under-researched. This study aims to fill this gap and provide a contribution to the body of literature and research on educational leadership and management.

The focus of the study also relates to my positionality. I am a government official in the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC), Republic of Indonesia. I have been working there for more than eleven years as a programme specialist in community education and early childhood education. When assigned to pursue my doctoral degree, I fully understood that my research topic should benefit the office and my country, and at the same time relate to my professional role. Considering the gaps in literature and research, and my position as an MoEC official, I conducted this study focusing on the leadership of community education in Indonesia.

Aims and Research Questions

The overall aim of this study is to gain an understanding of the ways in which the leadership of community education is practiced in Indonesia. In particular, it aims to examine the nature of leadership in Indonesian Community Learning Centres (CLCs). It also aims to explore the organisational structure of both state and private CLCs. It investigates the relationship of CLCs with the community, and the strategies that the CLCs use to build and expand networks and partnerships within

and beyond the centres. It addresses community education curriculum development, and the methods employed by CLC leaders and teachers to engage with learners. Its purpose is to inform educational policy and decision makers, educational planners, and researchers, about community education leadership in Indonesia.

To achieve the aims of the study, the overarching research question is: how is the leadership of community education practiced in Indonesian CLCs?

The following specific research questions are also addressed:

1. What is the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs?
2. What is the organisational structure of Indonesian CLCs?
3. What is the relationship of Indonesian CLCs with the community?
4. How do Indonesian CLCs build and expand networks and partnerships?
5. How is the curriculum developed in Indonesian CLCs?
6. How do CLC leaders and teachers engage with the learners?

The next sub-section provides an explanation and rationale for each research question.

1. What is the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs?

This question explores how leadership is articulated in Indonesian CLCs. Given that community education may be regarded as a second-class alternative to formal schooling (Coles, 1982; Evans, 1981; Rogers, 2004; Romi and Schmida, 2009), has minimal funding from government (MoEC, 2018; Hawadi, 2012; Yulaelawati, 2012), and small number of working personnel (MoEC, 2012), taking responsibility as a CLC leader is a big decision. The reviewed literature also shows that leading is an academically, ethically, physically and psychologically demanding profession, as it often faces a clash of values (Bush, 2011; Bush and Glover, 2014; Day, 2012; Day and Sammons, 2014; Day et al., 2009, 2000). All these challenges lead to the fundamental question about the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs. It investigates whether the leadership is singular or multiple, whether the leaders lead the CLCs by themselves or distribute leadership to the

staff, and whether they spend more time in or outside the centre. Beyond that, it examines whether the Western models of leadership are used and transferable to the specific context of Indonesian CLCs. The question also addresses the professional history (i.e. career trajectory and educational background), cultural traditions, ethnicities and religious background of the CLC leaders and teachers in order to investigate what professional development programmes they may need be more effective.

2. What is the organisational structure of Indonesian CLCs?

This question addresses the extent to which state-CLCs in Jakarta, and privately-owned centres in the remaining parts of the country, have similarities and differences in their organisational structures. This research question also explores to what extent devolution and privatisation are exemplified in the country (Bjork, 2003; Bonal, 2004; Jütting et al., 2004; Kristiansen and Pratikno, 2006; Lugaz et al., 2010; Manor, 1999; Newberry, 2010), and their impact on the organisational structure of CLCs. It investigates whether this trend leaves more agency for leaders of both types of CLCs. In addition, it scrutinises whether or not both state and private CLCs have education, entrepreneurship and industry, information and partnership, and programme coordinators (MoEC, 2012).

3. What is the relationship of Indonesian CLCs with the community?

As CLCs are expected to be centres for knowledge and information sharing, and community improvement (UNESCO, 2012, 2008), this question aims at elucidating how CLC leaders view and build relationships with their surrounding community. If a CLC in Indonesia is defined as "a non-formal education institution, which is established and managed by the community" (Sihombing, 1999: 113), this research question also addresses the strategies adopted by CLC leaders to serve local people. In the context of state CLCs, it also investigates the relationship between the CLCs and the state.

4. How do Indonesian CLCs build and expand networks and partnerships?

This question connects to the third research question, but it develops how the CLCs build networks and partnerships within and beyond their institution in order to sustain their organisations. It also aims to discover how the CLCs engage relevant stakeholders and potential partners. The role of networks and partnerships in securing and sustaining financial support from different sources is also explored.

5. How is the curriculum developed in Indonesian CLCs?

This question explores how the learning curriculum is enacted in the CLCs, in response to government policy and learners' needs. Since the CLCs may provide a wide range of learning programmes (Law Number 20/2003), and the learners are mainly adults who have different ways of learning from children (Knowles, 1970; Taylor et al., 2000), the question explores curriculum development, including the ways it is indicated and practiced. The question also investigates the role and significance of curriculum in CLCs, given that their learning programmes may lead either to academic or professional pathways (Kamil, 2009; Napitupilu, 1997; Sihombing, 1999; Yulaelawati, 2012).

6. How do CLC leaders and teachers engage with the learners?

This question elucidates the methods used by CLC leaders and teachers to engage with their learners. It examines how they recruit the learners, and addresses whether they carry out needs analysis prior to the recruitment. It also addresses whether the leaders and teachers focus on group or individual learning, bearing in mind that the learners generally have few prior formal or informal learning experiences and, yet, might have occupational backgrounds (Hawadi, 2012; Yulaelawati, 2012).

Structure of the Thesis

This thesis has nine chapters. Following this introduction, chapter two provides the literature review, which examines concepts of community, community education, educational leadership, and the theoretical framework underpinning the study. The chapter also discusses empirical research on community education and CLCs internationally, and in Indonesia. Chapter three shows and justifies the research methodology and methods used in this study. Chapters four, five, six, and seven each present the findings from one of the four case CLCs. Chapter eight offers a cross-case analysis linked to previous research and theory. Chapter nine – conclusion – shows how the research questions were addressed, considers the significance of the study, and discusses the implications of the research, grounded in the data.

Overview

This chapter introduces the thesis by discussing the contextual background and locates the study in its core theoretical context. It describes the main theories linked to the study: community education and educational leadership. It also provides the justification for the study, and explains the research problem and the rationale for carrying out this study. A separate section elaborates the aims and research questions that guide this study. The chapter concludes with the description of the overall thesis structure.

Chapter Two: Literature Review

Introduction

This chapter is guided by the components of this study's title: community education, specifically Community Learning Centres (CLCs), Indonesia and educational leadership. These inter-connected aspects situate leadership of community education at the centre of a contextual and theoretical intersection. In this chapter, I intend to untangle this interwoven conceptualisation by reviewing a wide range of literature and research relevant to the study. To achieve this end, it begins by examining critical theory that underpins and runs through the study, followed by the concepts of community education and educational leadership that inform the analysis of the data. Where available, these are extended to the Indonesian context. The chapter also explores previous international and regional empirical research on community education, with a particular emphasis on leadership, presents a synthesis of the reviewed literature, and exposes gaps in the literature on this topic.

Since there is a vast literature on community education, it is important to note that the empirical literature review was conducted by considering a number of criteria. The inclusion criteria include dates (from 1990 onwards), location (UK, USA, and countries in South-East Asia, including Indonesia, that are familiar with the concepts of community education and CLCs), and focus (emphasis on leadership rather than more general aspects of community education).

Theoretical Literature

At the heart of adult and community education lies the notion of critique, scrutinising the weaknesses of a system, institution or practices, and imagining a more just, humane, and equitable way of organising the world (Brookfield, 2017). This critique is often grounded in two major traditions of critical analysis, namely: critical theory, with its foundation in Marxism, and critical education or pedagogy that stems from the work of Paulo Freire (Brookfield, 2001, 2005, 2012).

Marxism and critical theory

Karl Marx is the towering theoretical figure for those who fall into the category of what people today regard as critical theory (Brookfield, 2001). Major figures of the Frankfurt School of Critical Social Theory – Horkheimer, Marcuse, Fromm, and Habermas – drew on Marx's early critique of the alienation[1] and diminution[2] of humanity caused by capitalism (Brookfield, 2005). The work of Habermas (1987), which is talking back to Marx in many ways, has also been influential in Mezirow's (1981) development of transformative adult learning theory[3] that resulted in critical theory of adult learning and education approximately four decades ago. For these reasons, Youngman (2000) explains that there has been a strong relationship between Marxist ideology and the practice of adult education since the early days of Marxism. To support his claim, Youngman (2000) refers to the involvement of Marx with the German Workers' Education Association, the role of Gramsci in organising workers' factory councils in Turin, and the establishment of the Working People's College in 1907 by American Marxist socialists.

Although underpinning transformative learning theory, Marx is rarely cited in American adult education literature. This is partly due to what McLaren (1997: 172) notes as "Marxophobia" that prevents individuals within the US from drawing on his work. Marxophobia makes citing Marx's ideology difficult, because doing so means engaging in "un-American behaviour", and it could cause people to be regarded as subversive or communistic. In the Indonesian context, Marxism is also often perceived as atheism, communism and socialism – ideologies considered as threats to Indonesia (Bourchier, 2019). Therefore, it is difficult to find literature on community education in the country that refers to Marxism. Meanwhile, the English-language studies of how adult education aims at emancipating or liberating an oppressed group in a capitalist environment have been carried out generally by its advocates in Australia (Ollis, 2012), Canada (Welton, 1991, 1993, 1995; Carpenter and Mojab, 2011, 2013), England (Allman, 1999, 2001; Steele and Taylor, 2004), and Malta (Mayo, 1999, 2000, 2005).

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[1] A condition of workers being alienated from the product of their own labour, in their working activity, and from other human beings (Musto, 2010).

[2] A decrease in the size, extent, importance, and value of something (Kauda, 2012).

[3] This theory explains how adult learners make sense of their experiences, how social structures and belief systems affect their learning, and how the processes involved in shifting meanings experience changes when learners consider that they are dysfunctional (Mezirow, 1981).

Although highly contested, Welton (1995) argues that it is impossible to overlook the significant role of Marx in constructing the critical theory of adult education. A number of Marx's central concepts – commodification, fetishisation, exchange value, and individualism – are evident in the application of critical theory to adult education practices. The advocates of adult education, for example, critique educational institutions that commodify learning and education by accepting and processing as many students as possible due to economic reasons. As this happens more frequently, this practice may create a collective belief that it is natural to exchange education for money. Furthermore, those benefiting from the education would most likely be individuals, rather than the community or the wider group. It is clear that these criticisms can be linked to Marxist ideology.

The primary intention of the Frankfurt School philosophers, to identify, and then challenge and change inequity in a particular society, is also found in the literature of adult and community education, and the idea is considered to represent what educators in adult education strive for. Horkheimer's (1995) selected essays that define critical theory, for example, are widely considered to articulate the minds of educators in adult education. His thoughts are primarily grounded in three core critical assumptions. First, Western democracies represent unequal societies with empirical realities of economic inequity, racism and class discrimination. Second, it is through the propagation of dominant ideology that this state of affairs is reproduced as apparently normal, natural and unavoidable. Third, critical theory seeks to investigate and understand this state of affairs, as an initial effort to changing it.

Habermas (1987) has had a major impact on the development of adult education practices and discourse. Habermas's (1987) intellectual legacy of communicative action, specifically, plays a significant role in informing Mezirow's transformative learning theory noted earlier (Mezirow, 1981). Through several books published in the 1970s, Habermas (1970, 1971, 1973, 1975, 1979) developed a concept of democracy based on a communication theory. Building on the philosophy of Karl Marx, he emphasises the importance of communication and rationality as strategies to create emancipation that could lead to a democratic society. His philosophy emerged as a critique of Marx, who believed that political revolution is the only strategy that people could utilise to realise human liberation and an equal

society. In this context, for Habermas, education is a space where individuals can communicate, and build a consensus about their social-societal order. This idea contrasts with that of Marx who sees education as an opportunity that places students as objects who have to master the means of production in order to change social inequity.

Mezirow's (1981) seminal work developing a critical theory of adult learning and education links Habermas' (1987) emancipatory dimensions of communicative action to self-directed learning and andragogy, which are widely considered as contemporary adult education ideas. In viewing these concepts, Mezirow (1981) uses a Habermasian lens to provoke educators in adult education so that they would move beyond the tradition of humanistic psychology that advocates the importance of social transformation to critical action that investigates the unequal relationship between the system (state and work) and the lifeworld (society) (Welton, 1995).

Critical education

A second intellectual tradition of adult and community education theory draws on the philosophy of the Brazilian literacy educator, Paulo Freire (1970). The relationship between the work of Freire and Marxism is well articulated in Allman's extensive literature on revolutionary critical education (Allman, 1999, 2001). According to Mayo (2013), Allman's work on revolutionary critical education demonstrates that, only by rooting it in Marx's conceptualisation of oppression, can an individual completely grasp Freire's thought. Drawing from the work of Freire, McLaren (2011) provides a comprehensive understanding of what revolutionary critical education is. By seeing critical education as a reading practice and writing process – people read and write themselves as subjects into the text of history (in the Freirean sense), McLaren (2011: 217-218) describes revolutionary critical education as:

   i.   An attempt to make "other knowledges" (those of Indigenous people, women, and oppressed groups) disturb the dominant categories of knowledges that have immersed into people's mind in general, imprisoning them in seeing different ways of knowing.
   ii. A praxis that is open to the strengths and shortcomings of logics, rationalities, systems of classification, and structures of power.

iii. A struggle to transform knowledge into wisdom by reading the word and the world, that is, making use of knowledge to discover what lies beyond the world, in the unity of diversities, and in the world that unites the big and the small, the powerful and the powerless, in social life.

Thus, the two philosophers named as strongly influential in generating what people today know as critical education or pedagogy are: Paulo Freire (1970) – a literacy educator in Brazil, and Antonio Gramsci (1971) – a founder of a communist party in Italy. Through their analysis, Coben (1998) and Mayo (1999) show that Freire's intellectual legacy of conscientisation and Gramsci's notion of the organic intellectual are two terms that generate a theory of critical practice in adult education. Both Freire's and Gramsci's work places high emphasis on classroom and community practice, and hence, it is often categorised as critical education – education that encourages critical thinking so that students could gain skills that enable them to question and challenge the pressures of dominant ideological manipulation and cultural conformity (Breunig, 2005; McKernan, 2013).

Although both philosophers have significant roles in launching critical education, the work of Paulo Freire is specifically relevant to this study. Freire's philosophy of education, developed from his influential work on adult literacy in Brazil, resonates with the thoughts of Ki Hajar Dewantara, the founding father of Indonesian education (Yoyon and Tohani, 2016). Freire's idea to give all Brazilians education that could enable them to reflect, evaluate, investigate and transform their individual and social life indeed echoes what Ki Hajar Dewantara aspired to when he, together with a group of Javanese activists, set up schools throughout the country to provide education to all Indonesians during colonial times (Hadiwinata, 2003).

Freire's philosophy of critical education is often articulated in the context of primary and secondary education, but its influence in adult education is increasingly evident. To convey their critical views on education, for example, studies on adult education often foregrounded some basic ideas from critical education, at least in their introductions (Brookfield and Holst, 2010; English and Mayo, 2012).

Freire's concept of conscientisation, furthermore, is strongly influential in developing popular education in Latin America (Hammond, 1998; Kane, 2001; Motta and Cole, 2014). Inspired by his work on adult literacy in Brazil, Freire believes that teaching functional literacy skills has to consider and respond to peasants' daily environments, making use of their own problems and concerns as the teaching framework. This philosophy is often misinterpreted as a teaching method of adult literacy programmes in developing countries, disregarding its philosophical, sociological, and political contexts as well as its implications (Yamaguchi, 1999). Fundamentally, Freire suggests that teaching is a political affair, because it continues to oppress people concerning land ownership, landlords' manipulative actions, and water rights. Thus, for Freire, education is not simply knowledge transfer or labour production (banking model of education), but it is also an opportunity to free people from oppression by building their critical awareness.

Largely due to Freire, the lexicon of praxis also becomes a common vocabulary in the literature of community education. For the advocates of adult education, the concept is attached to Freire, although it basically stems from the notion of the dialectic by Hegel, and Marx's development of this thought. In classic Marxist ideology, the dialectical process portrays two opposing forces that collide, and give birth to new social forms. In the adult education context, Allman (2010) illustrates how these two opposing forces – teachers and students – enable each other and transform the teaching and learning process into a dialogic scheme.

Freire's strong emphasis on how education should be able to question and challenge social inequity is, however, what probably makes him widely applauded by the proponents of adult and community education. His fundamental idea of providing education that extends beyond the boundaries of formal and bureaucratic educational systems perhaps also informs the development of Faure's report (1972) that launched the concept of lifelong learning, and Coombs and Ahmed's (1974) development of this idea that introduced the typology of education: formal, non-formal and informal. This philosophy is also what makes Freire, along with Gramsci, one of the most cited figures in the debate and discussion of radical or liberating models of adult and community education (Elsey, 1983; Jarvis, 2004; Mayo, 1999).

Community education

Since "community" is a vague concept, "community education" are the two words that must be among the most difficult to define (Midwinter, 1975). The term community is understood widely and loosely by different people in different circumstances (Bray, 1996, 2000, 2003; Chitambo et al., 2002; Hill, 2007; Nettleingham, 2018; Taniguchi and Hirakawa, 2016).

Building on the work of Hillery (1955), in the American context, resulting in 94 different definitions of community, Plant (1974) notes that community generally refers to at least three areas of meaning, namely place or locality, interest and function. Community as a *place or locality* is the most commonly used definition, specifying a particular group of people who live in a neighbourhood or village. Community as *interest* refers to people sharing a common characteristic for some aspects, such as religion, sexual orientation, ethnicity, etc. Community as *function* refers to people with the same profession, or those with common interests, which makes them acquire a common sense of identity through the activities that they engage in together.

Hillery's (1955) and Plant's (1974) early work in understanding the concept of community have informed thinking about the positive nature of community. Community is often seen from the romantic notion of neighbourhood: individuals have, and make, choice in where they live in order to build close bonds and mutuality between neighbours (Tett, 2010). However, by borrowing Shaw's (2008: 30) language, in reality there are many "contrived communities" – people who live in places for economic, rather than social, reasons.

The early work in defining community also obscures the idea of "imagined communities" (Anderson, 1983: 6). By examining the origin of nationalism in the Southeast Asia, with a special focus on Indonesia, Anderson (1983: 6-7) illustrates a nation as a socially constructed community, imagined by the people who perceive themselves as part of that group. Indonesia, for example, was indeed a fiction before the Dutch came, as it consisted of various territories with different kings, sultans, chiefs and clans without any meaningful unity as nation-states. Anderson (1983) argues that, although it was difficult to understand why Java, Sumatera, Borneo and Papua islands should be in the same nation, there was a

strong sense of belonging and belief that they belong to the same nation due to a response to oppression – 350 years of colonialism. Languages and media help to create what Anderson (1983) regards as "imagined communities", as in Indonesia, by targeting a mass audience and addressing citizens as the public. This view is evident in how the first President of Indonesia, Sukarno, always mentioned in his speeches that his "Indonesia" had always thrived throughout the three and a half centuries of colonialism. However, "Indonesia" is a twentieth-century concept, and most of today's Indonesia comprised separate and independent islands, conquered by the Dutch between 1850-1910.

Based on the various definitions of community, it is clear that there is no easy way to understand the concept of community. This raises a question of whether the notion has similar meaning in educational contexts. Building on Hillery's (1955) research, Bray (1996, 2000, 2003) explains that, in the education sector, there are five types of communities, namely: geographic communities, ethnic and racial groups, religious groups of various kinds, communities based on shared family concerns, and communities based on shared philanthropy. Table 2.1 provides information about different types of communities in education.

Types	Characteristics	Examples
Geographic communities	Defined according to its members' place of residence	Villages, districts or suburbs
Ethnic and racial groups	Ones which are often minorities and which have self-help support structures	Khmers, Yorubas, Europeans, Chinese, Hispanics
Religious groups of various kinds	People that become a community for religious identity	Buddhists, Christians, Jews, or Muslims
Communities based on shared family concerns	Defined by shared family concerns	Parents' shared concerns for the welfare of their children
Communities based on shared philanthropy	Those becoming communities due to specifically-designated agencies	Charitable and/or political bodies

Table 2. 1: Types of Communities
Source: Adapted from Bray (1996, 2000, 2003)

The type of communities in the context of this study can be best defined as geographic communities. Specifically, they refer to people who live in a specific area where a CLC is located. They include people from various groups who contribute to, and benefit from, the CLC. They consist of parents with children at the CLCs, community members who participate in learning and training activities

at the CLC, CLC leaders, teachers, and non-teaching staff. They are united by shared common features, especially geographical area and concerns for their own, or their children's, education. All these people have roles to play in respect of CLC development.

Although the basic concept is that of geographical locality, it is important to note that the CLCs involved in this study have multiple communities. The communities come from diverse ethnicities, religions, culture, financial status and linguistic backgrounds. Despite this diversity, they perceive themselves as part of a community in a particular area, and share commonalities in terms of experiencing exclusion and marginalisation from education. The communities in Bandung, for example, tend to be homogeneous and geographically static, characterised by family relationships and attachment to the locality. Meanwhile, the communities in Ambon CLCs are relatively heterogeneous, especially in terms of economic background, ethnicity, and religion, because the city has been made as one of the destinations for transmigration programme since 1969 (Schulze, 2017). In Jakarta, the communities are highly heterogenous, because they consist of people who come from various regions in Indonesia, seeking for their urban dreams (Avenzora et al., 2016; Sinulaga, 2005; Taylor, 2009). The diversity of communities in this study are exemplified in Manado CLCs. Since the CLCs are located in three separate sites: one in the city centre, and the other in two distinct islands, Manado CLCs have different communities. The communities in city Manado CLCs are similar to those of Jakarta, since they consist of people coming from various surrounding islands to seek an urban life. However, the communities in off-shore Manado CLCs are consonant with the communities in Bandung CLCs as they are homogeneous in terms of ethnicity, culture, and beliefs about the importance of formal schooling.

Given the diverse meanings of community, it is easy to understand how ambiguous "community education" becomes. Many discuss its "semantic chaos" (Brookfield, 1983: 154) without producing an acceptable definition of community education. Many opponents also criticise the term, either because they are confused or unfamiliar with it (Kowalski and Fallon, 1986). This often leads to various misconceptions or fallacies about what community education is and is not (O'Hagan, 1987; Walker, 1977). According to Walker (1977), the misconceptions

of community education are largely caused by the partial understanding of its philosophy.

Philosophically, the concept of community education has parallels in the tradition of adult education in England, community education in Scotland, community organisation in the USA, *sozial pädagogik* in Germany – literally translates as community education or social work (Hämäläinen, 2013), and *animation* in France – the activities of informal educators and community workers to help people participate in, and manage, their communities (Smith, 2012). The concept also has close relationships with the critical views of Bourdieu (1977), Dewey (1915), Freire (1970) and Illich (1971). In general, these scholars question how schooling keeps producing and preserving social inequality and exclusion (Fordham, 1980; Rogers, 2004). Although their philosophy does not specifically focus on community education, it provides support and justification for the advocates of informal learning.

As it is often associated with, and akin to, the adult population, the discussion of community education would also be incomplete without mentioning "andragogy" (Taylor et al., 2000: 359). Andragogy is often defined as the art and science of helping adults learn (Knowles, 1970). It is the antithesis of pedagogy – a set curriculum regulated by the state to help children learn. By borrowing Freire's language (1970: 72), pedagogy represents a functional or "banking model" of education where learning "comes-from-above".

In the more current literature, the basic assumptions of andragogy resonate with the notion of "funds of knowledge", developed by Gonzales, Moll and colleagues (Gonzales et al., 1993: 2). The notion provides an understanding that all individuals are competent and have knowledge, and their life experiences with labour, domestic, family and community practices have given them that knowledge (Gonzales and Moll, 2002). This implies that students come to school carrying their "virtual schoolbag" of knowledge and experiences (Thomson, 2002: 1).

The concept of community education is also often associated with Coombs and Ahmed's (1974) seminal work on the typology of education: formal, non-formal and informal education. The typology stems from the view of education as a

process that is not confined to formal schooling (Coles, 1982; Coombs and Ahmed, 1974; Coombs et al., 1973; Evans, 1981; Rogers, 2004; Romi and Schmida, 2009; Tight, 2002). It came into stronger focus after Faure's (1972) report introduced the concept of lifelong learning that broadens the understanding of education as a process which is not bounded strictly by time and location, and entails a variety of methods and sources of learning (Yasunaga, 2014). Table 2.2 provides a definition of each category.

Formal education	The highly institutionalised, chronologically graded and hierarchically structured education system spanning lower primary school and the upper reaches of the university.
Non-formal education	Any organised, systematic, educational activity, carried out outside the framework of the formal system, to provide selected types of learning to particular sub-groups in the population, adults as well as children.
Informal education	Unorganised, unsystematic and even unintentional at times, yet it accounts for the great bulk of any person's total lifetime learning – including even that of a highly "schooled" person.

Table 2. 2: Typology of education
Source: Adapted from Coombs and Ahmed (1974)

Although widely accepted, there have been some criticisms of the typology of education summarised in table 2.2, especially the concept of non-formal education. Krupar et al. (2017: 188) criticise the inappropriate semantic use of non-formal education, and suggest to use "non-formal learning" instead, to represent the idea that education is a learning process. Colley et al. (2003) argue that, as learning is not confined to discrete categories, seeing formality and informality as attributes of learning is better than categorising learning to be formal, non-formal or informal. In the same vein, Farrell and Hartwell (2008) explain that the focus of attention should be on school and community linkages, in which parents and community members support the work of the school, but take different organisational roles, instead of debating whether it is formal or non-formal education. Furthermore, Rogers (2004), and Robinson-Pant (2016), suggest that contrasting "formal" and "non-formal" educational provision is meaningless, and it is better to see all learning processes as a continuum rather than being polarised.

These criticisms, however, ignore the reality that non-formal education remains a practice and policy in many countries. They also discount the idea that the

discourse of non-formal education is linked to the problems of developing countries (Brennan, 1997; Coombs, 1968, 1985). Although it is also applicable to developed countries, non-formal education is more likely to have another label. In Japan, a term used almost synonymously with non-formal education is "social education" that has existed since the 1880s (Ando and Noda, 2017: 39; NIER, 2011: 1) – systematic educational activities, including physical education and recreation, primarily designed for out-of-school young people and adults (Law No. 207/1949). In England, Germany, Scotland and the USA, as well as many other Western countries, non-formal education is understood in various terms, such as "further education", "adult education", "community education", "continuing education", or "lifelong learning" (Findsen and Formosa, 2011: 21; Merriam and Brockett, 2007: 11; Poster and Krüger, 1990: 14; Tight, 2002: 56; UIL, 2016: 28). It is important to note here that further education, widely known as FE, in England perhaps resides at the boundary of formal and non-formal education, as it does not quite fit either definition in the table 2.2. Nevertheless, here is where the concept of non-formal education interlinks with community education.

A feasible strategy to understand the concept of community education, therefore, is by exploring its historical aspect. The literature shows that the UK, for example, has a liberating model of community adult education. By liberating, community adult education is understood as the collective advancement of an oppressed or disadvantaged group fighting for a more just, egalitarian society (Brookfield, 1985). In Scotland, specifically, the sub text of community education is often narrated in a story of "people power" – a celebration of the liberating achievements of individual and community action and learning (Gibson, 1979: 33). Due to its aims, this liberating model is also often referred to as the radical type of community education (Elsey, 1986; Jarvis, 2004).

In contrast to the liberating or radical model of community adult education, the liberal model is widely practiced in the USA. This model is premised on the principles of programme design and delivery systems to meet everyone's needs (Brookfield, 1985). In this model, adult educators are seen as the experts who can develop an educational programme in the form of classes, courses, and other activities that satisfy that needs of all members of a community.

In many developing countries of Asia and Africa, the focus of community education is non-formal education or community participation (UIL, 2016). The literature shows that the notion of community education is often used interchangeably with other terms, such as non-formal education, youth and adult education, literacy education, working-class action, and sustainable jobs (Coburn and Wallace, 2011; Griswold, 2013; Maclachlan et al., 2008; Martin, 2008; Poster and Krüger, 1990; Shaw, 2013; 2008; Tett, 2010; Wallace, 2008).

In Indonesia, the limited literature and research show that the basic narrative of community education is often associated with the educational movement and philosophical thoughts of Ki Hajar Dewantara (1935). One of his views on education, widely cited by the advocates of community education in Indonesia, indicates that there are three main pillars in the system:

> "In their life, children have three world-life settings that play as key learning centres for them: the world of schooling, the world of family, and the world of youth movement."

> Ki Hajar Dewantara (1935: 70)

The "three pillars of education" articulate into today's Indonesian national education system that acknowledges three different, yet equal, streams in education: formal, non-formal and informal (Law Number 20/2003). The system resonates well with Coombs and Ahmed's (1974) typology of education (see table 2.2). However, there is evidence that there has been a long-standing debate on using "non-formal education" to articulate Ki Hajar Dewantara's (1935) "world of youth movement". The terminology underwent several changes over time (MoEC, 2013). In 1945-1979, it was called community education, then changed to out-of-school education from 1980-2007, non-formal education from 2007-2015, and back to community education in 2016. Furthermore, regardless of whether this is a semantic or fundamental shift, the typology of education remains in place. The main educational institution embodying community (non-formal) education has also always been the CLC.

As implied in chapter one, the concept of CLC is not something new for Indonesia. The legacy of Ki Hajar Dewantara, in providing access to education through non-government and non-profit organisations, shows evidence that the CLC has been

part of the country even before it gained independence. However, the notion came into stronger focus when Indonesia was hit by the economic crisis, and UNESCO launched the APPEAL project in 1998 (UNESCO, 2008, 2012, 2013). The history of education in Indonesia, the government's reduced financial capacity caused by the crisis, and UNESCO's APPEAL project, all provide support for the re-birth of CLCs in the country. Regardless of their academic and professional backgrounds, all individuals who have the financial capability and willingness to provide educational opportunities were encouraged to establish a CLC. In addition to generosity and importance of gift, leadership thus plays a fundamental role in determining the success of a CLC.

Educational leadership

The significance of educational leadership in bringing about school success is globally accepted and acknowledged (Bush and Middlewood, 2005; Hallinger, 2011; Leithwood et al., 2004). Although the impact of educational leadership on student learning is recognised to be second after classroom teaching, many countries around the world increasingly invest in principals' preparation and development (Gunter, 2016; Leithwood, 2007; Thomson, 2017). This happens partly due to the extensive literature and research that associate educational leadership with higher academic achievement for every student, school culture development, curriculum and pedagogy development, and individual and organisational change (Day et al., 2009; Harris, 2014; Hoy and Miskel, 2005; Leithwood et al., 2020; Robinson et al., 2007).

The growing interest in educational leadership is also marked by a wide range of studies that developed leadership theory, and further redefined and refined leadership models (Bush, 2011; Bush and Glover, 2014; Day et al., 2000; Hodgkinson, 1993; Leithwood, 2007; Makel and Plucker, 2014). Dispersed throughout the landscape are Western-originated educational leadership models from English-speaking countries (Cravens and Hallinger, 2012; Dimmock, 2000; Dimmock and Walker, 2005; Hallinger, 2011; Hallinger et al., 2005; Oplatka and Arar, 2017). In the Asian context, although knowledge production on educational leadership and management remain in the early stages of development, Hong

Kong and Israel are the most productive sites for research and publications, followed by Singapore, China and Turkey respectively (Hallinger and Chen, 2015).

Drawing on the work of Leithwood et al. (1999) and Bush (2011), Bush and Glover (2014) review nine major school leadership models, namely: instructional, managerial, transformational, moral and authentic, distributed, teacher, system and contingent. The leadership typology section below describes some of these mainstream leadership models, followed by critical leadership models, relevant to the study.

Leadership typology

Instructional leadership generally assumes that the main priority for leaders is teachers' behaviour as they participate in practices that directly impact students' learning (Leithwood et al., 1999). Despite being the longest established concept that connects leadership and learning, instructional leadership has been criticised for two reasons. Firstly, it is considered to be concerned mainly with teaching rather than learning (Bush, 2013). Secondly, it focuses heavily on the principal as the source of knowledge, power and authority (Hallinger, 2003). Regardless of these criticisms, through a meta-analysis study, Robinson et al. (2007) show that instructional leadership has a stronger impact than other leadership models on student outcomes. Due to its high emphasis on the processes of teaching and learning, instructional leadership is often associated with learning-centred leadership (Bush and Glover, 2014).

Transformational leadership suggests that organisational members' commitments and capacities should be the primary focus of leadership (Bush and Glover, 2014). Transformational leaders focus on setting agreed upon and justifiable directions (including vision, goals and structures) for the educational institution, and taking constructive measures to influence people to move in those directions (Leithwood, 2007). Leithwood (1994) claims that transformational leadership is a comprehensive model that has direct and indirect influence on both school improvement and student learning. This model is often contrasted with "transactional leadership" – relationships between leaders and teachers based on

"take and give" approach where the former provides salaries and incentives, and the latter does his/her tasks and responsibilities (Bass and Riggio, 2006).

Distributed leadership stresses that leadership essentially requires shared, as opposed to individual or solo, approaches (Crawford, 2019). Due to increasing pressures associated with financial and human resources globally, this model is claimed to be the model of choice in the 21st century (Bush, 2013; Bush and Glover, 2014). Although acknowledging the importance of structure that guides organisational processes and communication (Fidler, 1997; Owens, 2001), this model recognises various sources of influence within the educational organisation, which extends beyond formal and structural positions and roles (Harris, 2010; Gronn, 2010; Lumby, 2009). This model, however, may articulate differently in different contexts (Hallinger and Kantamara, 2000; Pittinsky and Zhu, 2005). For example, in East Asia, distributing leadership could be understood as appointing several senior teachers as vice principals to assist the principal (Hallinger, 2018).

Contingent leadership emphasises that although all of the leadership models discussed earlier provide helpful insights into a particular leadership aspect, none of them describes a complete picture of school leadership (Bush and Glover, 2014). This model develops because there is a belief that no single leadership style appropriate in all situations (Bush and Glover, 2014; Lambert, 1995). It comes up with an alternative approach, acknowledging the diversity of school contexts, and the benefits of adapting leadership styles according to a specific issue or situation (Leithwood et al., 1999; Morgan, 1997). While this model has several strengths, it is generally criticised for failing to explain why leaders with certain types of leadership are effective in a specific context, but not in others (Northouse, 2007).

Slightly different from the advocates of contingent leadership and other mainstream leadership models described earlier, critical leadership scholars, on the other hand, have long acknowledged context as a pivotal dimension that shapes leadership and leadership effectiveness (Santamaría et al., 2014; Shields, 2018; Smyth, 2017). Drawing on the philosophy of the Frankfurt School figures, and the thoughts of relatively recent critical philosophers, such as Paulo Freire (1968), Michael Apple (1986) and Henry Giroux (1981), these scholars stress the significance of being mindful of contextual differences in leading learning. For

critical leadership scholars, educational leaders have the responsibility of not only creating individual and organisational change, but also breaking the cycle of social reproduction in order to realise societal improvement (English, 2008; Foster, 1986; Johnson, 2014; Khalifa et al., 2016; Santamaría et al., 2014; Shields, 2018), or what Freire (1970) regards as education that transforms life.

Both Santamaría et al. (2014) and Shields (2018), for example, suggest that educational leaders are to be transformative. Different from either transformational or transactional leadership, transformative leadership is grounded on the critical view of Freire (1970, 1998) stressing that the essential role of education is to realise social transformation. Transactional leadership, as noted earlier, requires a mutual or "take and give" transaction, and transformational leadership focuses on enhancing organisational culture effectiveness, but transformative leadership starts by questioning existing inappropriate uses of power and privilege that produce and preserve social inequity and injustice (Santamaría et al., 2014; Shields, 2018). Following the identification and analysis of beliefs, practices, and policies that need changing, transformative leadership calls for intervention – intervention to address these wrongs, and to ensure that any individual who joins an educational institution has an equal chance to participate fully, to be treated with dignity, and to improve his or her abilities (Shields, 2018). Transformative leadership, therefore, offers the promise of not only individual change, but also social improvement by creating inclusive and just learning opportunities. This promise resonates with the emphasis of Mezirow's (1981) transformative adult learning theory described earlier: knowledge deconstruction by acknowledging and appreciating every individual's experiences, knowledge and culture (Gonzales et al., 1993; Gonzales et al. 2005; Gonzales and Moll, 2002; Moll, 1992; Moll et al., 1993; Thomson, 2002).

In the same vein with the supporters of transformative leadership, Johnson (2014) and Khalifa et al. (2016) explain that culturally responsive leadership embraces and celebrates the ethnic and cultural diversity of students and families in order to create societal change. Inspired by the tradition of critical theory of the Frankfurt School as well as more contemporary critical scholars, such as Bourdieu (1977), Dewey (1915), Freire (1970) and Illich (1971), this model integrates

leadership philosophies, strategies and policies that foster inclusive educational settings for students and families from diverse ethnic and cultural backgrounds (Johnson, 2014). This model asserts that, regardless of their gender, financial status, ethnicity, race, and cultural backgrounds, all students should have an equal opportunity to learn (Banks and Banks, 2009; Nieto and Bode, 2011), and be appreciated for what they carry in their "virtual schoolbag" (Thomson, 2002: 1). In essence, culturally responsive leaders aim to create change beyond the institution by understanding, responding, and celebrating the diversity of students that they serve, including their languages, religions, cultures, race, age, knowledge, and appearances (Khalifa et al., 2016). Therefore, like transformative leaders, culturally responsive leaders will identify and analyse beliefs, practices, and policies that need changing to dismantle learning and teaching environments that, in Freire's language, oppress certain group of students.

Although culturally responsive leadership is claimed to be broader in scope than transformative leadership (Khalifa et al., 2016), both share a common, fundamental point: these forms of leadership all acknowledge the importance of context, and focus on challenging oppression or marginalisation by creating inclusive environments that appreciate and celebrate all students' Indigenous cultural backgrounds and practices. Both culturally responsive leadership and transformative leadership aim to challenge inequality and oppression for all students within the school, which will eventually create social justice beyond the institution (English, 2008; Foster, 1986).

Overall, both mainstream and critical leadership models play a significant role in informing the analysis of the data collected in this study. Since community education and out-of-school educational leadership are two under-researched domains, it is important for this study to make use of both mainstream and critical leadership scholarship, as well as locally produced knowledge to conceptualise CLC leadership in Indonesia. Mainstream models of educational leadership, for example, provide a guide to understanding the strategies that educational leaders develop to realise individual and organisational change. However, since community education globally, and in Indonesia, aims at addressing social inequalities and injustice in a specific contextual setting, as indicated earlier, it is

of crucial importance for this study to also draw on critical leadership models, particularly those associated with social justice leadership.

Leadership for social justice

Despite increasing interest, studies exploring issues associated with leadership for social justice are still at the early stages of conceptualisation (Insana et al., 2014; Lumby and Coleman, 2007; Oplatka, 2014). This partly happens because research on leadership for social justice generally tends to be small-scale, and to explore context-specific issues of exclusion, inequality and marginalisation (Furman, 2012; Middlewood, 2007).

Although there are a wide range of definitions of leadership for social justice, there is a strong consensus that social justice leadership requires acknowledging the unequal circumstances of marginalised groups with actions aimed at challenging inequalities, discrimination or favouritism (Bogotch, 2002; Capper and Frattura, 2007; Dantley and Tillman, 2006, 2010; Furman, 2012; Gerwitz, 1998; Wang, 2015). In the view of leadership for social justice, a school is seen as a medium to promote social justice beyond the school context, because it could provide equal opportunities and warrant all students' talents in order to contribute to their future academic and social life (Beachum and McCray, 2010; Bogotch and Shields, 2014).

Social justice leaders identify existing policies and procedures that shape schools, and at the same time cause social inequalities due to race, ethnicity, family background, home language, financial status, and gender (Bogotch and Shields, 2014; Bogotch et al., 2008; Scheurich and Skrla, 2003; Shields, 2014, 2018; Santamaría et al., 2014). Once areas of oppression and unjust practices are identified, social justice leaders take action that addresses all of these "markers of otherness" (Dantley and Tillman, 2006: 19). Regardless of the school infrastructure and resources, the primary focus of leadership for social justice is to disrupt social inequalities and injustice by providing inclusive education for all students (Brooks et al., 2017; Brown, 2006; DeMatthews and Mawhinney, 2014; McKenzie et al., 2008; Theoharis and Causton-Theoharis, 2008).

The premise of inclusive education indeed has an important role in informing the basic concept of leadership for social justice. For social justice leaders, it is of crucial importance to promote inclusive teaching practices that value the backgrounds, experiences and perspectives of all types of students, and their families (Shields, 2004; Kose, 2007, 2009). Another important strategy of leadership for social justice is assigning students to classrooms so that the proportion of students in each classroom corresponds to that of their ethnic proportion in the school (Johnson and Salle, 2010). The advocacy of inclusive education in leadership for social justice also translates into delivering programmes to students in their classroom, instead of sending them out to a special space, as this entails removing them from their natural environment (Frattura and Capper, 2009).

Social justice leaders also strive for inclusive decision- and policy-making processes, support staff to critically reflect on their practices, and ensure that different community groups are meaningfully included in organisational processes (Anderson, 2009; Furman, 2012; Hoffman, 2009). They question, deconstruct, and change teachers' negative beliefs and perceptions about the importance of having diverse students, families, and communities in order to realise transformation within and beyond the educational institution (Theoharis, 2007).

By enabling them to critically question inequalities and injustice, social justice leaders prepare students to be social justice agents in their future life who will advocate and promote social justice reforms in their community (Jong and Jackson, 2016; Meister et al., 2017). In this sense, there is a clear connection between the emphasis of leadership for social justice, and the overall aim of community education in Indonesia, and globally, described earlier.

International Empirical Literature

<u>Literature search strategy</u>

This section provides a review of international research on community education. The literature review was carried out by exploring reputable international journal articles related to the research subject. The keywords used for searching the

articles include "community education", "educational leadership", and "community learning centre". Since community education is understood in various other terms, as indicated earlier, other keywords, such as "adult education", "further education", "non-formal education", "continuing education", and "lifelong learning" were also used as the descriptors to search for articles relevant for the study. Firstly, the community education descriptor was used alone, and then combined with other descriptors in the online databases.

Due to the vast research on community education, the criteria for article inclusion were based on a combination of dates (from 1990 onwards), location (the UK, the US and European countries familiar with the concepts of community education and CLCs), and focus (emphasis on leadership rather than more general aspects of community education). Their titles and abstracts were reviewed, and the articles deemed to be compatible with the study were scrutinised.

The reasons for selecting articles from 1990 onwards are because community education is under-researched, and studies on this area often focus specifically on context-specific issues of exclusion, inequality and marginalisation (Furman, 2012; Middlewood, 2007). Extensive research on the leadership and management of further education colleges in the UK, which will be discussed in the out-of-school leadership section, also largely focus on various changes since incorporation in the 1990s. These factors justify the date inclusion criteria of this study to begin with 1990. Furthermore, the justification for choosing the UK, the US and European countries to include in the review is because community education is mostly applicable to Western developed countries (Findsen and Formosa, 2011; Merriam and Brockett, 2007; Poster and Krüger, 1990; Tight, 2002; UIL, 2016). Asian literature will be discussed in a subsequent section.

Empirical literature on community education

In the US, Griswold (2013) found that community education can support the creation of a sustainable economy and society. By exploring some successful community education practices in Kansas City, he discovered that community education, that incorporates sustainability values, carries the intention of engaging, educating and building communities and citizens in enhancing their

ecological literacy, to create sustainable solutions. Although this finding contains debatable terms, such as sustainability and ecological literacy, it provides evidence to support Tett's (2010) argument that community education does not only address the self-identified needs of learners, but it may also address problems at a social level beyond the individual.

Research by Shaw and Crowther (2014) explores the widespread loss of confidence in community-based educational work in the UK. Based on their interviews with people working in the field, and analysis of two key policy documents, they found that it happens because the purpose, politics and practice of adult education and community development has largely neglected the significant role of critical theory and tradition in the field. These findings echo Shaw's (2013) earlier study, which explores competing ways of thinking about, and justifying, the professional work of community education. The research found that the contested nature of community education work is caused by competing demands in theory, policy and practice. Approaches to community education research, that tend to rely on "good practice" or "best practice", could lead to a never-ending criticism that there is anti-intellectualism surrounding community education work. However, this condition leaves community education practitioners the agency to design their practice with reference to existing peculiarities rather than the contested notions of community and community education.

In Belgium, Diep et al. (2018) investigated the perceptions of adult learners toward the importance of online interaction quality in building their feeling of social connectedness. By analysing responses from 170 valid questionnaires obtained from four adult and community education centres in the country, Diep et al. (2018) found that the quality of online interaction significantly contributes to adult learners' perceptions of social connectedness – the feeling of being close to other people that could help to improve an individual's academic and psychological outcomes. However, they note that online participation should be collaborative and mutual in order to ensure knowledge construction. Diep et al. (2018) add that adult and community education instructors need to understand critical pedagogical perspectives, so that each learner has equal opportunities to realise individual and collective goals: high online interaction quality and the feeling of being connected with each other.

In the north of Portugal, Loureiro and Cristóvão (2010) found that Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) have a key role in the field of community adult education. Together with the central government, these organisations develop various learning activities for adults who dropped out of school, and are seeking employment. However, they note that, since education in the country has increasingly become a function of the state, the learning providers are confronted with prescriptive working contexts, especially in terms of designing curriculum. Regardless of this condition, they conclude that the NGOs are still able to recontextualise the "official knowledge" produced by the national curriculum in order to make sense of it for the adult population.

In line with Loureiro and Cristóvão's (2010) study, English and Mayo (2012), Tooley (1993), Torres (1995), and West (1994) investigate the increasing role of the state in sponsoring, mandating and organising education, including community education. In Canada, English and Mayo (2012) found that the government only funds adult education programmes if they can be measured by employment statistics. In England, Tooley (1993, 1996) observed that the only justification why state intervention in education is needed is because there are still certain people, especially those in need of improvement in functional literacy or technological advancement, who seek financial support. Finally, in the US, West (1994) noted that the emphasis of state education has been increasingly stressed, suppressing a vibrant private and voluntary education system supported by families, churches and philanthropists.

Miller et al. (2014), and Geertshuis (2011), on the other hand, focus on the organisation, structure and financing of community education in the US and New Zealand respectively. Both papers define community education as non-accredited courses, short educational programmes, and activities that are often offered for leisure or self-improvement. The community education programmes in the US are organised by community colleges, while those in New Zealand are offered by adult and community education (ACE) providers. The research found that community college leaders in the USA, and ACE providers in New Zealand, need to find a balance between community needs and financial responsibility. Increasing fees could be a viable option, but it has to be derived from consumer decision-making research in order to safeguard learner numbers and access.

Putting aside the contestation of the community education concept, all the studies discussed earlier imply that context is a pivotal feature of community education. The studies also suggest that community education in various countries is often provided as a separate programme outside the schooling system. For these reasons, it is important to review empirical research on educational leadership focusing on the significance of context for educational leaders. Furthermore, it is also of crucial importance to explore research on educational leadership beyond school principalship, such as leadership in further education colleges. They may not be directly related to the focus of this study (the leadership of community education), but echo the tenets of critical theory, widely embraced by the advocates of community education. Reviewing such studies could play an important role in conceptualising CLC leadership in the specific context of Indonesia. These two sub-sections are provided below.

Leadership and context

Critical leadership scholars have long asserted the importance of putting educational leadership in context. Santamaría and colleagues, for example, have published extensive research exploring the significance of taking context into consideration when discussing educational leadership (2014). Through a case study in New Zealand, Santamaría et al. (2014) explored the practice of one Māori primary school principal leading a school consisting of Indigenous, multicultural and multilingual learners. They found that the Māori school principal's leadership practice echoes that of leaders of colour in similarly multifaceted urban societies, such as Canada, the UK, and the US. Based on the findings, Santamaría et al. (2014) recommend that practicing leaders and scholars in New Zealand and elsewhere should carefully consider their own diverse, complex, and Indigenous societies before deciding to adopt a certain Western-originated leadership model.

By reviewing a number of empirical studies employing the principles of critical social theory, Smyth (2017) noted that critical leadership scholars have stressed the importance of balancing styles and context of educational leadership for more than three decades. Since leadership is intended to create a democratic way of life, he mentioned that the political, cultural and social context of schools should never be ignored in any discussion of school leadership. By shifting the focus from

traits, personalities and styles to the importance of context in leadership, the main agenda of educational leadership would emphasise how educational leaders discover and challenge various unjust and oppressive practices that constrain them from positively impacting all learners.

In the US, the work of Shields (2010, 2018) on transformative leadership provides an explanation of the importance of connecting education and educational leadership with its wider social context. Shields (2010) explored the leadership practices of two primary school principals in Illinois serving minority students, many of whom qualify for free lunch. She observed that both principals' experience of hardship while growing up is an important factor that helped to account for their commitment to the underprivileged. Both principals focused not only on improving students' learning outcomes, but also on addressing inequity by creating conditions under which all children can learn. To do so, the principals needed to understand the democratic aims of education: to foster citizenship and encourage community involvement, as well as to resist a narrow educational focus based on test-taking.

Building on empirical findings, Shields (2018) suggests that leading in today's world of volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity (VUCA) requires transformative leadership that does not focus on "business as usual" approaches. Shields (2018) notes that transformative leadership is different from transformational leadership. Although both share some common roots (i.e. Burns, 1978), the former takes seriously the work of Freire (1970) who used the terms *transform*, *transformation*, and *transformative* to describe the changes expected to occur as a result of education, while the latter mainly focuses on improving organisational qualities, dimensions, and effectiveness. Transformative leadership begins with questions of justice and democracy; it raises questions about for whom the system is working, who is advantaged and privileged, and who is marginalised and excluded. Once problem areas of inequity and injustice are identified, transformative leadership offers the promise of changing practices and policies that could promote equity for all. Transformative leadership also calls for action that addresses inequalities, and ensures that all individuals in an educational institution are respected, treated equally, and have an equal opportunity to develop their capabilities.

Other critical studies of leadership in the US highlight the practice of African American educational leaders serving students and families from ethnically and culturally diverse backgrounds (Alston, 2005; Gooden, 2005; Johnson, 2014). All three studies suggest that successful leaders of colour place themselves as servant leaders when leading and dealing with the less advantaged and often underserved communities. Alston (2005), for example, found that Black female superintendents are exemplary servant leaders who want to serve by dedicating themselves to the care of children, practicing survival skills and using relational collaboration, and believing in God. In the same vein, Gooden (2005) noted that an African American principal in an urban secondary school in the US demonstrated the characteristics of servant leadership by showing commitment to the education of African American children, and understanding of the students' and their families' cultural backgrounds. Meanwhile, Johnson (2014) observed that successful African American school principals in New York, serving a multicultural population, aim to create inclusive schooling environments by advocating cultural recognition and community development. In the view of Khalifa et al. (2016), all these findings also show the practice of culturally responsive leadership, described in the previous section.

Research by Ball (2003, 2015), Fuller (2019) and Stevenson (2007), in England, explores how schools have increasingly become a site of struggle where there are potential conflicts between the government and educational leaders. Through his seminal work, Ball (2003) found that powerful international agencies, such as the World Bank and the OECD, have successfully persuaded politicians in England and worldwide to align education with three interrelated policy technologies, namely: markets, managerialism and performativity. In the same vein as Marx's philosophy, education is intended for economic reasons (market), which puts a heavy emphasis on managerialism – a concept often seen to imply the disproportionate adoption of business values and practice in education. With increasing global attention on standardised tests, such as the Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA), Ball (2003) discovered that many school principals and teachers in England have been burdened by the demands for performativity.

Defined broadly, performativity is a culture that measures individual or organisational performances based on numbers and ranking in standardised tests. Due to the burden created by the culture, many educational leaders in England resist or enact the government's policy (Ball, 2015; Bell and Stevenson, 2013). The idea of "policy resistance" (Ball, 2015: 5) centres upon refusing certain externally developed policies or targets in order to produce the leader's own identity within an organisation. Meanwhile, the notion of "policy enactment" (Bell and Stevenson, 2013: xlvi) refers to the process of interpreting, reconstructing, and reformulating the government's agenda as it could compromise the organisational and professional value of an educational institution.

On the note of policy enactment, Stevenson (2007) explored the leadership practice of five school principals in five local authorities across England serving students from a wide range of ethnic population profiles. He discovered that the most difficult moral dilemma confronted by the school principals, in creating inclusive learning cultures, is rarely "right versus wrong", but "right versus right". The former is relatively easy to deal with as the choice is clear, while the latter is much more complex to choose. Stevenson (2007) explains that an example of "right versus right" is evident in the tensions that exist between realising commitments to inclusion and "standards". All school leaders in England, including the five under investigation, are faced with the difficulty of designing inclusive learning environments, while remaining subject to the "league tables" of school performance data.

The practice of policy enactment is further evidenced by Fuller's (2019) recent study in England. By exploring the critical negotiation by 10 successful headteachers of English education policy reforms, she found that headteachers do resist education reforms that they oppose. The disagreement can be seen in what Fuller (2018: 31) regards as "everyday or hidden forms of resistance", which include game playing, selectivity, masquerade and reinvention. By drawing on theories of "everyday resistance" and conceptualisation of the daily resistance of colonialism, she argues that the headteachers' daily resistance is influenced by time, context and intersecting sources of power.

Dimmock and Walker (2000) and Walker (2015) provide robust systematic meta-analysis, recognising context as a feature shaping educational leadership practice and effectiveness. Dimmock and Walker (2000) outlined multiple dimensions of context (organisational structures, leadership and management processes, curriculum, and teaching and learning) being interconnected with various levels of culture (societal and organisational). Walker (2015) examined a number of pivotal issues surrounding successful school leadership and leader development in the last two decades. He used three metaphors to frame, track and analyse recent studies in the area of school leadership, namely: clones, drones and dragons. Clones represent the duplication of what many scholars globally think about successful leadership. Drones refer to the cloned knowledge that is being delivered across contexts, and being controlled or monitored by central authorities. Dragons are the organic models of successful leadership that could mutate according to local needs. In the Asian context, he explains that the dragon is a powerful symbol to remind educational leaders that they would only be successful within their communities if they refer to, not prescribe, standardised knowledge.

The work of Braun et al. (2011) in England further reiterates the significance of context in influencing differences in policy enactments. By exploring four case study schools across the country, they identified four dimensions of context in school leadership, namely: situated, professional, material and external contexts. Situated contexts are historically and locationally linked to the school, such as a school's setting and its history. Professional contexts comprise teacher commitments and experiences, and school policy management. Material contexts are matters related to staffing, funding, facilities and infrastructure. External contexts are pressures, targets and expectations caused by the influence of local and national policies. They argue that all of these dimensions of contexts intimately shape and influence policies taken by school leaders. The findings of this study are then developed by Clarke and O'Donoghue (2016) through a systematic analysis, suggesting that academics, policymakers and educational leaders are to consider various interconnected dimensions of contexts, alongside leadership theories and models, when engaging with school improvement in any specific setting.

Hallinger (2018) extends the discussion about the importance of looking at leadership in context, and elaborates various dimensions of context in school leadership. Drawing on the work of Bossert et al. (1982), at the Far West Lab for Educational Research and Development in California, Hallinger (2018) expanded the instructional management model that identifies a wide range of contexts in leadership. Based on the model, he explains that there are several types of contexts in three different layers that could potentially shape school leadership. In the first layer, there are macro dimensions of context, namely: economic, political, and socio-cultural. The meso dimension consists of institutional context, and the community and school improvement context are the micro dimension. By reviewing literature and empirical research over the past 40 years, Hallinger (2018) notes that there is a need to contextualise educational leadership through the different dimensions of context. By doing so, leadership is not solely focused on a set of generic leadership practices, such as goal setting, and developing people, to achieve school improvement, but also highlights how successful leadership responds and adapts to different contexts. Although arguably slow to assert the key role of context in shaping leadership, Hallinger's (2018) work provides a strong elaboration in justifying why context matters in discussing and seeing educational leadership, and it also complements the work of critical leadership scholars since the 1980s, such as those of Morrison (2017), Santamaría et al. (2014), Smyth (2017), Shields (2010, 2018).

Hallinger's (2018) work is also supported by various studies in different settings. Bush et al. (1998) and Oplatka (2004), for example, agree that principals serving communities from economically developing backgrounds face difficulties in accessing resources, with a direct effect on their leadership practices. At meso level, Bush (2016) and Guarino et al. (2006) note that, in Canada, England, and the US, where power and authority are relatively decentralised, principals can select and employ their teachers. Finally, at micro level, Ball (2000), Day (2005a; 2009), and Hallinger and Heck (2011) identify that the trajectory of a school's improvement: effective, improving, coasting, and ineffective, often pedals school leaders' main objectives.

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Bridging the studies highlighting the importance of context in educational leadership mentioned earlier, Morrison (2017) adds time as an instrumental dimension of context. She explains that leadership practices, especially those aiming for social justice, adhere to various dimensions of context: macro, meso and micro. However, she argues that it is also important to be mindful of time as a factor that shapes context at all levels: local, national and global. By being able to recognise time as a dimension of context, she further suggests that it would be easier for researchers to make sense of data collected from multiple sites. Building on the International School Leadership Network (ISLDN) social justice strand, figure 2.1 illustrates the multiple layers of context that school leaders need to be mindful of:
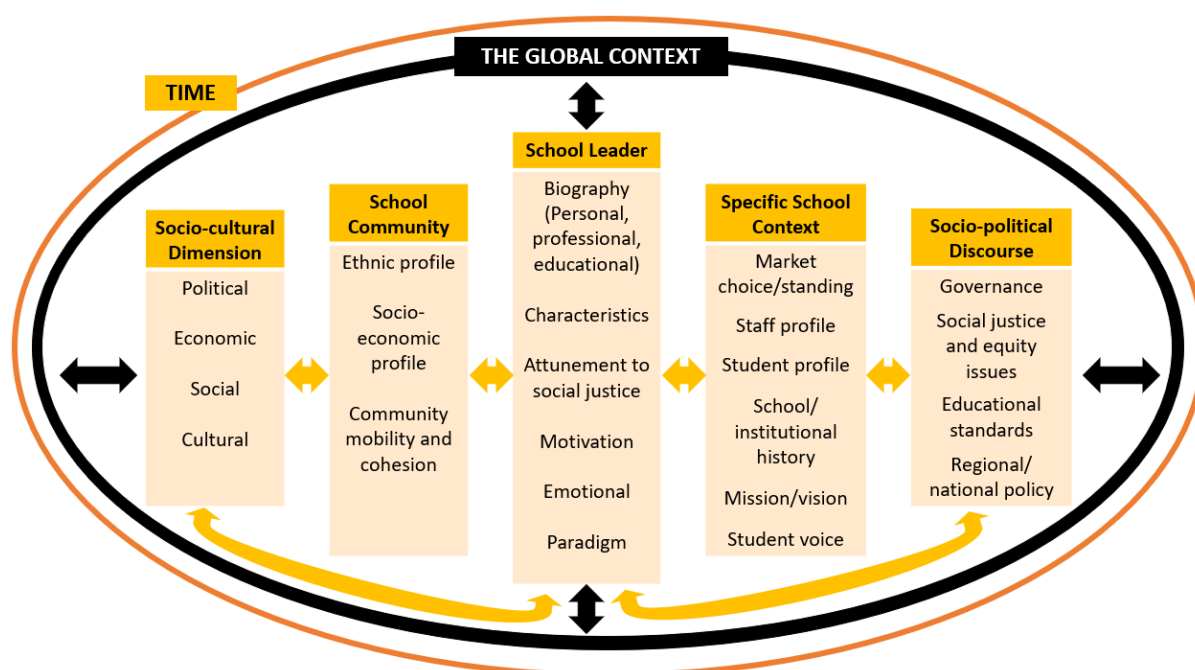
Figure 2. 1: A micro/meso/macro conceptual frame for social justice leadership in schools
Source: Morrison (2017)

Out-of-school leadership

Since education is widely associated with schooling, it is not surprising to discover that research on out-of-school leadership is limited. Despite Hodgkinson's (1993 in Ribbins, 1997: 4) contention, almost three decades ago, that there is "a swamp of literature in leadership", research on educational leadership is mainly

dominated by school principalship. Some work focusing on out-of-school leadership is found mainly in the UK. Etling's (1994) systematic analysis explores the leadership of non-formal education. She argues that effective leadership in formal education may never be the same for non-formal education. By reflecting on her experiences in designing non-formal education programmes in African countries and the US, she explains that leaders in non-formal educational settings may see themselves as servant leaders. The leaders would be more effective when they see their role as catalyst, facilitator, helper and enabler, rather than traditional lecturers or academicians. These findings resonate with other US-based studies in the school leadership context, discussed earlier, which found that successful African American educational leaders working in schools of ethnic and cultural diversity demonstrated some characteristics of servant leadership (Alston, 2005; Gooden, 2005; Johnson, 2014).

In the UK, there is some robust research on educational leadership and management in further education (FE) colleges. Important research on leadership practices in FE colleges includes the work by Briggs (2003, 2004, 2005), Gleeson (2001), Lambert (2011, 2013), Lumby and Tomlinson (1999, 2003, 2006, 2007, 2009), McTavish (2006), Shain and Gleeson (1999), and Wallace and Gravells (2010).

Repetitively stressed in the research is the practice of managerialist behaviours exercised by the principals of FE colleges, especially after the incorporation of colleges in 1992. Incorporation refers to decentralisation of control over colleges that entails the transfer of functions, such as finance, data and human resources management, and quality monitoring, from the local education authorities (LEAs) to management within colleges (Briggs, 2003, 2004, 2005). Significant changes in college autonomy, in tandem with heightened accountability, accompanied by reductions in public funding and increased competition between colleges, have turned the colleges into an industrial battlefield and altered the role of college principals (Briggs, 2005, 2004, 2003; Lambert, 2013, 2011). These changes also created a clash of values between academic staff, whose professionalism largely focuses upon student learning, and college principals whose professional role relates to managerialism, an oppositional culture to academic professionalism

(Gleeson, 2001; Lumby and Tomlinson, 2000; McTavish, 2006; Shain and Gleeson, 1999; Wallace and Gravells, 2010).

Although providing a significant contribution to the under-reseached literature of out-of-school leadership, much of the research in the field is what Gleeson (2001: 181) regards as "ostensibly very English", since the concept of FE is specific to the UK. In addition, although reseach on leadership in FE colleges resonates to some extent with this study, FE colleges in the UK are not fully analogous to CLCs in Indonesia, as they are part of the formal education sector.

Asian Empirical Literature

Literature search strategy

This section provides a review of empirical research on leadership in community education from Asia, specifically South-East Asia. Similar to the search strategy employed in the previous section, the literature review was conducted by exploring peer-reviewed and Scopus-indexed international journal articles. However, as noted earlier, since the notion of community education in many Asian countries is often used interchangeably with "non-formal education" (Brennan, 1997; Coombs, 1968, 1985; UIL, 2016), and "social education" in Japan (Ando and Noda, 2017; NIER, 2011), the keywords used for searching the articles also included these descriptors. Furthermore, since the body of literature from these contexts is limited, but perhaps more relevant to the study context, the search strategy is more open than that employed in the international empirical literature section. For the Indonesian context, for example, some accredited national journal articles focusing on community, non-formal or out-of-school education were also explored. The selected journals are generally managed by respectable state universities in the country offering undergraduate and postgraduate courses in out-of-school education.

Empirical literature on community education

The online search generated four articles from the Asian region that specifically use "community education" in their titles. In Taiwan, Peng and Wu (2016) show

that community education is an affordable means for young Taiwanese to obtain jobs in local and cultural industries. In Myanmar, two case studies by Maber (2016a, 2016b) conclude that community education is an alternative medium that is rich in flexibility to navigate conflict in Myanmar and at the Thai border, and to build women's participation in education and politics during Myanmar's political transition from a repressive military regime to a civilian-led democracy. Ng and Madyaningrum (2014) present two cases of community education practices from Hong Kong and Surabaya, Indonesia. The case in Hong Kong shows that sufficiently-funded, and well-delivered, community education programmes are effective intervention strategies to address inter-generational poverty alleviation. In Surabaya, Ng and Madyaningrum (2014) claim that community education activities which raise people's awareness of environmental issues, has successfully transformed Surabaya, with a significant improvement in its urban environment management.

The online investigation also shows that there are a wide range of UNESCO-based publications focusing on community education and CLCs in South-East Asian countries. The publications include, but are not limited to, country reports, success stories, conference proceedings, guidelines for CLC management, and an online portal called *clcpedia* containing more than 1,000 sets of material on CLC, literacy, lifelong learning, non-formal education, adult education and skill development. In 2019, UNESCO also launched an online platform called Lifelong Learning Online Content (lll-olc) that provides extensive learning modules, short videos, and research on two major topics, namely: lifelong learning and digital skills for employment. However, UNESCO's publications are largely descriptive. There is also confusion in using the terminology of community education. Several terms, such as adult and skills education, alternative education, community-based learning, flexible learning strategies, lifelong learning and non-formal education, are all used interchangeably.

The confusion in understanding community education in the Asian region is portrayed in various terms used to describe the legal educational institutions delivering its activities. By reviewing national reports on existing conditions of CLCs in six Asian countries, NILE (2017) found that CLCs have various labels in the region. CLCs are generally called *Ganokendra* (People's Centres) in

Bangladesh, "Lifelong Learning Centres (LLCs)" in Mongolia, and "lifelong learning halls and centres, community centres, or small libraries" in South Korea. In Southeast Asian nations, such as Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam, the educational institutions are widely known as "CLCs". Regardless of the semantic differences, CLCs in the Asian region are generally taken to mean non-formal education and training institutions that operate independently from the state system of schooling, and are commonly located in areas that lack resources, and show resistance to state provision.

The diversity of CLC foci

By analysing adult and lifelong learning policies and practices in Asia, Osborne and Borkowska (2017) discover that CLCs in high-income countries in the region typically focus on three major themes: employment, community-based learning, and the well-being of elderly people. In Singapore, CLCs commonly highlight issues related to income inequality (Millie and Morries, 2016), while in China, factors relate to career planning and development (Zhang, 2016), and career shifts in the post-retirement phase are central themes in South Korea (Kim, 2013). Ogawa (2009), and Han (2011), in Japan and South Korea respectively, found that the dominant type of learning provided by CLCs in the two countries focuses on social and political activities, such as hobbies, arts and community rebuilding. Furthermore, as Japan, South Korea and Taiwan are all experiencing an ageing population, CLCs in these countries also focus on later life learning that addresses concerns related to the welfare, care and health of older people (Chang et al., 2012; Dhirathiti, 2014; Kee, 2010).

In addition to the three major themes discussed earlier, CLCs in South-East Asia also focus on providing learning and training opportunities for the marginalised as an attempt to create social justice. In Malaysia, Rahman et al. (2015) investigate the role of *pondok* – a non-formal education institution offering Islamic traditional learning – in delivering religious education in Malay Muslim communities in Terengganu. They found that, regardless of the increasing number of modern schools in the country, *pondok* is still popular among the Muslim community for there are various forms of classes and teaching methods used in the institution. In Myanmar, Le (2018) found that CLCs provide learning opportunities beyond the

formal system, especially for adults and members of rural communities (farmers). However, due to constraints in terms of budget, staff capacity and community members' socio-economic conditions, he explains that the impact of CLC activities is limited. In Thailand, CLCs – also often called non-formal education schools – have been effective in providing access to learning and training activities for the marginalised. Phatininnart (2009) shows that, due to their flexibility in considering each individual's learning and training needs, CLCs play a significant role in providing education services to attendees. Furthermore, through a case study in a rural area of Thailand, Rawat et al. (2015) show that educational activities provided by a CLC could equip people who live in a rural area with skills and knowledge needed to develop the tourism industry.

In Indonesia, despite their long history, the empirical research focusing on community or non-formal education and CLCs in the country is limited. There are some sources that discuss CLCs in Indonesia, but they mostly comprise what Banks (2006: 3), McKimmie and Szurmak (2002: 72), Pelzer and Wiese (2003: 435), and Turner et al. (2005: 488) call "grey literature". There are several unpublished research papers and national journal articles in English and Bahasa Indonesia that explore the basic concepts and issues surrounding community or non-formal education and CLCs in Indonesia, but they all reference the same few sources. Kamil (2009), Napitupilu (1997), Sihombing (1999), Yulaelawati (2012), and some policy documents published by the MoEC, are the most cited papers. Based on his professional visit to Japan, Kamil (2009) reported that CLCs in Indonesia are analogous to *Kominkan* in the ways that both operate independently from the schooling system, and offer various out-of-school educational programmes, intended as leisure or self-improvement. Meanwhile, Napitupilu (1997), Sihombing (1999) and Yulaelawati (2012) provide a glimpse of the historical background of community (non-formal) in Indonesia, as well as the development of CLCs and their services.

A country report by Dharma (2008), based on an observation and interviews with CLC leaders and teachers in seven urban areas in Indonesia, found that CLCs organise various learning and training programmes, targeting less-fortunate communities at all ages, especially youth and adults who have left school early. He notes that most of the CLC programmes are government-initiated, and those

that received the highest participation and attendance are equivalency education programmes. However, a case study by Rahma et al. (2019), in urban Malang, provides different findings from those of Dharma (2008). Rahma et al. (2019) found that a CLC in the city has been sustainably organising entrepreneurship education activities in addition to government-initiated programmes. They mention that entrepreneurship programmes have been capable of both supporting the CLC's daily operation, and improving the participants' income. Furthermore, Asmin (2017) investigates factors that could support CLC sustainability in West Java Province. He found that sustainability requires long term financial support from the government, community and corporate social responsibility (CSR), opportunities for continuing professional development, and the active role of local leaders. Although mentioning interview as a data collection technique, Asmin (2017), Dharma (2008), and Rahma et al. (2019), did not present any direct quotations from their research participants.

This review of research from Asia implies that community education programmes in the region are delivered by CLCs, educational institutions operating independently from the state schooling system. CLCs in the Asian context are also often labelled differently. Furthermore, many learners accessing CLCs in Asia, particularly South-East Asia, have also suffered some level of marginalisation. In the South-East Asian context, research by UNESCO (2010a, 2010b) discovers that marginalised people can mean those residing in remote, rural and isolated areas; individuals from linguistic and ethnic minorities; Indigenous tribes; people having disabilities and special needs; underperforming students who are at risk or have dropped out; and, people from economically disadvantaged families. Due to the diverse nature of marginalisation, people experiencing it are often "semi-invisible" (UNICEF, 2015: 17), because they could either be unrecorded drop-outs or those who never enrol in school. Finally, the reviewed Asian empirical literature also leads to an understanding that educational leadership in the territory of community education refers to out-of-school leadership in a particular context aiming to realise social justice. However, limited studies on the field in Asia make it important for this study to draw on school leadership literature that has philosophical and theoretical relevance for community education.

School leadership

Although there has been a steady increase in the number of empirical studies on educational leadership and management in Asia, much research focuses on school leadership. The online search failed to identify even a single study in the region focusing on out-of-school leadership. Relevant to this study, much research on school leadership in Asia emphasises the importance of context in shaping leadership practices and effectiveness. This is discussed in the next sub-section.

Leadership and context

There is some research on school leadership in the Asian region that highlights the importance of culturally diverse constructions of leadership. The research is relevant to this study, because, in the same vein with the pre-text of leadership for social justice, they acknowledge various dimensions of context in shaping leadership practices.

By analysing data from the Progress in International Reading Literacy Study (PIRLS) (2006), Lee and Hallinger (2012) examine how macro-context factors (economic development, societal culture and educational system) influence the behaviour of 5,927 school principals in 34 societies (countries). They found that school leaders in higher Gross Domestic Product (GDP) societies prefer to spend more time on the job than those in low-economic development societies. They also discover that parents in societies with a high-power difference index may avoid formal contact with teachers and principals because they feel intimidated by the staff's greater professional status.

In China, studies by Chen and Ke (2014), and Oplatka (2004), stress that the Chinese cultural and institutional contexts play a fundamental role in bringing about positive school changes. In order to secure resources, both studies note that school principals in China need to build and maintain good relationships with government authorities. Chen and Ke (2014), and Oplatka (2004), agree that this aspect is often missing from the discussion of Western school leadership theories. Studies by Hallinger and Liu (2016), and Zhang and Pang (2016), in urban and rural China, support the findings of Chen and Ke (2014) and Oplatka (2004). Both studies confirm that, partly due to the principals' inability to "network" with the

government authorities, schools located in China's rural areas often suffer from a lack of human resources, which eventually affect learning conditions and outcomes.

Other studies highlight how particular Asian-specific cultural issues, such as Confucianism and social collectivism, shape educational leadership practices. Pittinsky and Zhu (2005), Hallinger and Kantamara (2000), and Hallinger (2018), for example, investigate how distributed leadership is perceived differently in different countries. Through a large-scale research project, called Global Leadership and Organisational Behaviour Effectiveness (GLOBE), conducted in 61 countries worldwide, Pittinsky and Zhu (2005) found that Asian countries embracing Confucianism regard participatory leadership less favourably than English-speaking countries. By exploring the case of Thai schools, Hallinger and Kantamara (2000) reiterate this finding. They found that, due to a strong belief in social collectivism, there is an expectation across Confucian societies that a leader is supposed to carry out the job on behalf of "we" (followers), instead of "I" (the leader him/herself). In addition, a study by Hallinger (2018), which was also conducted in Thailand, provides support for this finding showing that leadership distribution in the country is perceived differently from how it is portrayed in Western contexts. He explains that appointing several assistant principals to support a senior principal is seen as a concrete form of distributing leadership.

Various dimensions of context are further explored by a number of studies on educational leadership in South-East Asia. In Vietnam, studies by Hallinger and Truong (2016), and Truong et al. (2016), explore the impact of political and socio-cultural contexts on school leadership. Both studies show that a principal's leadership role is constrained by the school-level Communist Party holding the highest authority in the school. Echoing the findings of Walker et al.'s (2012) study in the Chinese context, Truong et al. (2016) also note that the Vietnamese school principals adapt their leadership styles to the Confucian principles and norms largely embraced by the society

In Malaysia, Noman et al. (2018) investigate how mainstream leadership practices are enacted within a school principal's own particular context. Through the case of a successful school leader in northern Malaysia, they found that context-based leadership practices are pivotal in bringing success to the school. The practices

consist of seven distinct aspects, namely: strong interpersonal skills, people-centred leadership, consistent vision and goal communication, emphasis on academic success, co-curricular activities, people development and a productive working atmosphere. Based on the findings, Noman et al. (2018) suggest that, instead of borrowing leadership models, school leaders need to prioritise their practices based on unique contextual circumstances within their settings.

Supporting the findings of Noman et al.'s (2018), a systematic literature review by Bush et al. (2018) shows that, although showing prevalence in the Malaysian context, Western leadership models have been interpreted differently in the country's highly centralised system. They note that instructional leadership is conceptualised in the Malaysia Education Blueprint (MEB) as a hierarchical activity, focusing largely on the principal following policy imperatives, such as monitoring. There is also some evidence of distributed leadership, but it tends to be allocative rather than emergent. Similarly, a multiple-case study in 14 Malaysian schools, by Bush and Ng (2019), found that distributed leadership is prescribed as a strategy to move principals and head teachers away from their traditional administrative leadership styles. However, different from the widely discussed and advocated model in Western school leadership theories, and similar to the earlier findings of Hallinger (2018) in Thailand, distributed leadership in the Malaysian context is allocative, with principals sharing responsibilities with a number of senior leaders in a way that is sometimes difficult to distinguish from delegation.

In Indonesia, although limited, there is also some research on educational leadership published in prominent international journals. This body of research, focused on the Indonesian context, is discussed in the next sub-section.

Indonesian empirical literature on educational leadership

Although there is a developing literature on educational leadership and management in Asia (Hallinger, 2015), as noted earlier, Indonesia contributes less to the development of empirical research than other countries in the region. There is some evidence of the evolution of leadership practice in the country, reflected through the adoption of various Western leadership theories (Sumintono et al., 2019), but the literature on educational leadership in Indonesia is still in its

embryonic phase (Pereira, 2016). Sofo et al. (2012) even claim that, despite its globally accepted importance, research on educational leadership in Indonesia has been largely ignored.

The online search generated 18 internationally published articles in the English language focusing on educational leadership and management in the Indonesian context within the period of 1990-2020. Of the 18 articles, 15 are published in one of eight "core" international journals on educational leadership and management (Hallinger and Chen, 2015: 10), one in a Scopus indexed journal in the field of education, and two in non-Scopus-indexed publications. The primary focus of these sources is on successful educational leadership and management practices in either general-secular schools (14), or Islamic schools (4). The two non-Scopus-indexed articles (Raihani and Gurr, 2006; Raihani et al., 2014) deserve consideration in this section as they provide significant contributions to developing the foundation of educational leadership and management scholarship in Indonesia. Furthermore, they were also published in an international peer-reviewed academic journal and edited book respectively, together with articles from highly-cited mainstream leadership scholars, such as Drysdale, Gurr and Robinson (2006, 2014). The full list of internationally published empirical literature on educational leadership and management in Indonesia from 1990-2020 is shown in Appendix 1.

Raihani and Gurr's (2006) paper is the first internationally published study focusing on effective school leadership in Indonesia. Exploring the experiences of three successful senior secondary schools in Yogyakarta, Raihani and Gurr (2006) found that the principals' beliefs and values are pivotal in enhancing school outcomes. They confirm former research findings in Australia (Gurr et al., 2003; Mulford and Johns, 2004), the UK (Day, 2005b; Day et al., 2000, 2009), and the US (Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Louis, 2007; Sweetland and Hoy, 2000; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000) about the importance of universally-held human values and beliefs (e.g. trust, concern, and openness) in leadership. In addition, they show that successful schools in Indonesia put forward some country-specific values, such as *IMTAQ* (faith and piety) and *kekeluargaan* (familyism, family-like relationships, or kinship).

Raihani and Gurr's (2006) specific finding on *kekeluargaan,* as a unique value held by successful Indonesian school leaders, to foster teamwork and togetherness among the school community, also provides evidence about various reports on educational development in the country. Through their critical analysis of the Indonesian education system, Shiraishi (1995, 1996), Suryakusuma (1996), and Wieringa (1993), for example, note that there has been a strong tendency to advocate family principles in Indonesian public offices, including educational settings, since the country's independence. The value of *kekeluargaan* is evident in how the Indonesian president has always been regarded as *bapak* (father) or *ibu* (mother), and the country's citizens as *putra* (sons) or *putri* (daughters). In educational settings, the value applies similarly in the ways that school principals are regarded as the father or mother, while the staff are the children. Promoting the value of *kekeluargaan* in educational settings is seen as an effective measure to avoid conflicts. After the fall of Suharto's 33 year-tyranny, and regardless of the use of the value to justify corruption, collusion and nepotism (Bjork, 2003), it still gains public acceptance. People's positive image of *kekeluargaan* is partly influenced by the dark memory of colonisation where the Dutch were called *meneer* (Sir/His Majesty/Mr.) or *mevrouw* (Madam/Her Majesty/Mrs.), while the Indonesian were called *inlander* (native) or *honden* (dog) (Shiraishi, 1995, 1996; Suryakusuma, 1996; Wieringa, 1993). With the support of Muslim and Christian societies, *kekeluargaan* is further seen as a value to remove hierarchical social relations, widely accepted during the colonial period (Newberry, 2010).

The 18 published articles all focus on school leadership, stressing the need to develop school principals' knowledge and skills in educational leadership and management, to increase the volume of internationally-published empirical research, and to address the school principal selection process. These three issues are discussed in the next sub-section.

School leadership and management knowledge and skills

School principals' lack of knowledge and skills in educational leadership and management is the most frequently raised issue in internationally published articles on school leadership and management in Indonesia. Studies by Bandur (2012), and Damanik and Aldridge (2017), show that the introduction of school-

based management in 2001 has given school principals across Indonesia new roles and responsibilities. However, they found that the policy was difficult to implement for the principals did not have enough understanding of school-based management, and few opportunities for continuing professional development.

Although significant authority has been transferred to school level, school principals have little knowledge of how to encourage various stakeholders, especially community members, to participate in decision-making (Bandur, 2012; Damanik and Aldridge, 2017; Parker and Raihani, 2011). Fitriah's (2013) finding that Indonesian school committees are restricted to being a "rubber stamp" of the school budget is supported by Parker and Raihani (2011) discovering that, community participation in *Madrasah* – Islamic schools – remains low, even after the school-based management policy was introduced.

The school-based management policy also requires Indonesian school principals to have leadership qualities, consisting of personal, managerial, supervisory, entrepreneurial and social competences (Wiyono, 2018). However, Lee and Hallinger (2012) found that, even after the policy was introduced, school principals in Indonesia primarily focus on administrative and managerial affairs, instead of leadership. This happens partly because the government still has a strong role in directing the practice of leadership at school level through regulatory policies, especially those related to teacher recruitment and the national curriculum (Jawas, 2017). Due to this complexity, Sofo et al. (2012) explain that it is easy to note that Indonesian school principals generally maintain the status quo, and hence, create inefficiencies.

Empirical research

The dearth of internationally-published empirical research is widely emphasised in the collected literature on educational leadership and management in Indonesia. Damanik and Aldridge (2017), Hariri et al. (2014), Raihani and Gurr (2006), Raihani (2008), Raihani et al. (2014), Sofo et al. (2012) and Sumintono et al. (2015), all agree that there is limited scholarship about educational leadership and management in Indonesia. For this reason, Sofo et al. (2012) mention that the Indonesian government often relies only on empirical research on school

leadership from the Western context, without any concrete attempt to contextualise such studies. The adoption of Western leadership theories is indicated by the phrases used in several article titles: "value-driven school leadership" (Raihani and Gurr, 2006), "instructional leadership" (Sofo et al., 2014), and "transformational leadership" (Damanik and Aldridge, 2017).

Despite this scarcity, there is some research in the Indonesian context focusing on Islamic leadership – an under-researched territory in the field of educational leadership and management (Brooks and Mutohar, 2018; Shah, 2006, 2015; Striepe, 2016). Four articles (Parker and Raihani, 2011; Raihani et al., 2014; Uhbiyati, 2015; Shulhan, 2018) explore how Islamic principles and traits converge well with the universal values widely considered to be pivotal in underpinning effective school leadership. By exploring the cases of six *madrasah* in West Sumatra and Yogyakarta, Parker and Raihani (2011) found that the basic premise of distributed leadership is in alignment with the Islamic concept of "shura" – consultation (Brooks and Mutohar, 2018: 58), based on the Qurʾanic instruction to Muhammad to consult with his followers as the best solution to conduct affairs. In other words, in Islam, it is believed that power should never be concentrated in the hands of the leaders (principals). This principle, Parker and Raihani (2011) add, makes teacher participation in school governance relatively high.

In the multicultural setting of Palangkaraya, Central Kalimantan, a case study by Raihani et al. (2014) shows that performing Islamic traits plays an important role in creating change in *madrasah* that recruit students and staff from diverse cultural backgrounds. Incorporating Islamic traits, such as being humble, showing empathy, and respecting others, have been shown to be effective in gaining public acceptance, even for a principal coming from a different ethnicity and religion. Similarly, a case study by Uhbiyati (2015) concludes that successful Islamic school leaders have both personal and social religious competencies. The former refers to personal qualities such as faith, obedience to God, honesty, justice, compassion, cleanliness, discipline, and a strong work ethic, while the latter refers to qualities and experience related to strong social awareness, such as mutual cooperation and collaboration, democratic objectives, and tolerance. Uhbiyati (2005) adds that these competencies, shape the practices of Muslim school leaders. The fourth study by Shulhan (2018) explores the leadership styles of

three state Islamic senior secondary schools in Tulungagung, East Java, Indonesia. The study found that principals are the central figures in the Islamic schools. The principals are not only expected to practice effective leadership and management, but they are also required to be role models for staff and students.

School principal selection process

The final issue highlighted in the Indonesian literature on educational leadership and management is the problematic nature of state school principal selection. Although politicians and policy-makers have acknowledged the importance of school leadership and management, marked by the introduction of the school-based management policy in 2001, and the establishment of *Lembaga Pengembangan dan Pemberdayaan Kepala Sekolah* (LPPKS) or the Institute for School Principal Development and Empowerment in 2009 (Bandur, 2012; Damanik and Aldridge, 2017), the selection process for state school principals remains a concern.

The main reasons why state school principal selection in Indonesia is perceived to be problematic, as noted by Sumintono et al. (2015), is because the process is political rather than merit-based. In the 1980s, state school principals were appointed by central government, and candidates having personal and political connections with the government would invariably pass the selection. From 2001, the process of state school principal selection was handed to local government. However, state school principal selection remains problematic. Personal and political connections with the local government (Mayor or Governor) have a major influence in deciding whether or not a candidate is designated as a school principal (Sumintono et al., 2015).

Overview

This chapter reviews literature on concepts, theories and prior research relevant to this study, to guide and inform this study. It shows that community education aims to address the limitations of the formal system, and the issues of power and privilege that preserve social inequity and injustice. The critique is grounded in

the traditions of critical theory and critical education, and provide the theoretical basis for this study.

The literature also shows that there is a global orthodoxy on how educational leadership is perceived to be pivotal in achieving school success. The orthodoxy is reiterated by the increasing interest in research on educational leadership and management, and the redefinition and refinement of leadership models and theories.

Regardless of the competing leadership models, the literature shows that leaders aim to create transformation within and beyond an educational institution. Besides their leadership behaviour, the leaders' personal and professional values, and their motivation for leading in education, are key factors determining the success of their leadership. When the leaders aim to work towards social justice, their leadership impact could be transformative in ways that bring not only individual and organisational change, but also societal transformation.

The empirical literature provides insights into what is currently known, and reveals gaps in knowledge across various dimensions of context. Evidence from various parts of the world confirm that, when placed in context, educational leadership does play a significant role in bringing about change, within and beyond school. Some sources illustrate how certain leadership models are understood and enacted in a particular context, which is often different from how it is commonly discussed in mainstream Western educational leadership literature. However, the review provides limited knowledge on the leadership of community education globally, and in Indonesia, and this forms the rationale and warrant for this study.

The literature also shows that, either globally or in Asia, much research on educational leadership and management focuses on school leadership. Research on educational leadership in FE colleges in England is the only work that highlights out-of-school leadership. Regardless of the long history of community education and CLCs in Asia, internationally-published research in this field is scarce. Similarly, in Indonesia, the literature on community education generally comprises "grey literature", and the online search only generated one internationally published study in the field. In the territory of educational leadership and management – a domain which is still in its embryonic phase in the country, no

study focused on CLC leadership. Available Indonesian empirical research on school leadership also simply captures the country's urban settings, and only involves school principals and teachers to generate their findings. These limitations show the gaps in the current literature and emphasise the originality, contribution and significance of this study. The next chapter describes the methodology and methods adopted to conduct this study.

Chapter Three: Methodology and Methods

Introduction

The previous chapter provides a theoretical and conceptual overview of community education and its leadership, and a review of relevant empirical literature. It highlights the gaps, need and warrant to conduct this present study. This chapter explains the philosophical underpinning, methodology, and research design employed to address the current study. It also elaborates the rationale for the adoption of the research methodology, linked to the aims of the study: to understand the ways in which the leadership of community education is practiced in Indonesia, and to address the research questions:

1. What is the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs?
2. What is the organisational structure of Indonesian CLCs?
3. What is the relationship of Indonesian CLCs with the community?
4. How do Indonesian CLCs build and expand networks and partnerships?
5. How is the curriculum developed in Indonesian CLCs?
6. How do CLC leaders and teachers engage with the learners?

The research questions are informed by the review of literature presented in chapter two. The first research question about the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs, for example, arises from the literature indicating that there is little published knowledge about out-of-school leadership, and that it is important to put educational leadership in context and discover what is at the heart of leadership. The second question considers the importance of structure in guiding effective organisational processes and communication. The third question stems from the basic narrative of community education which aims to emancipate certain groups of people experiencing some form of marginalisation. The fourth question considers the existence, development and expansion of partnerships as providers of resources. The fifth question seeks to explore leaders' involvement in curriculum development, whether when curriculum is seen as a government policy, there is some struggle and resistance at its enactment. Finally, since CLCs in Indonesia serve people of various ages and background, the sixth question is guided by the principles of social justice to investigate how the leaders and teachers embrace diversity among learners.

To explain how the research was designed to address the research questions, this chapter is divided into ten sections:

- The philosophical orientation of the study.
- The research approach and the rationale for its adoption.
- The methods adopted for data collection.
- Sampling and justification for the selected cases and participants.
- Research instruments and their use.
- Data collection procedures and gaining access to research sites.
- Data analysis procedures.
- Ethical considerations.
- Research rigour and trustworthiness.
- An overview of the chapter.

Philosophical Orientations

Philosophical orientations, including ontological and epistemological stances represent a researcher's ways of looking at the world, the perspectives about what is important, and what makes the world work (Biklen, 2010; Ratcliffe, 1983). These orientations, also known as "epistemologies and ontologies" (Crotty, 1998: 10), "paradigms" (Mertens, 2009: 2, 2010: 470; Lincoln and Guba, 2013: 163), or "worldviews" (Creswell, 2013: 5, 2014: 35), refer to basic beliefs about how the world is seen and how it can be investigated (Guba, 1990; Guba and Lincoln, 1994).

Widely discussed in the literature, there are three major philosophical paradigms: positivism, constructivism, and pragmatism (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2013; 2014; Rubin and Rubin, 2012). The positivists assume that social reality is objective, and can be investigated by using standardised instruments (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). The constructivists, also called "the interpretivists" (Creswell, 2013: 8), "the naturalists" or "the anti-positivists" (Bryman, 2012: 30), believe that knowledge is plural and subjective, constructed through one's past experiences with multiple realities (Creswell, 2013). The pragmatists seek to establish pluralistic understanding by recognising objective, subjective and inter-subjective truths (Bryman, 2012).

The constructivist paradigm is deemed to be compatible with this study for several reasons. Firstly, it stems from the premise that knowledge is relative and constructed through human beings' subjective interpretations, interactions, and sense-making (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Biklen, 2010; Costantino, 2012; Creswell, 2013; Crotty, 1998; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Rubin and Rubin, 2012; Schwandt, 2000; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009, 2013). Secondly, the paradigm allows the social construction of reality based on the accounts of CLC leaders, teachers, non-teaching staff, and community members who were perceived to have rich experiences, knowledge, and perspectives on the leadership of community education in Indonesia (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Rubin and Rubin, 2012). The construction was through the researcher's interaction with them and their environments to gain a comprehensive and in-depth understanding of CLC leadership in the Indonesian context (Creswell, 2014). Finally, the paradigm is in line with the theoretical underpinning of this study that values the significance of contextual factors in constructing knowledge.

The philosophical paradigms are distinguished from each other based on how they respond to four research *-ologies*, namely: (i) ontology: the nature of reality or what the world is; (ii) epistemology: how we know about the world; (iii) methodology: the philosophy that determines the processes for studying it; and, (iv) axiology: the values on which a study is based (Creswell, 2013; Cohen et al., 2007; Mertens, 2009, 2010). What follows is a brief discussion of each part, and where this study stands in relation to each category.

Ontology

Ontology refers to the study of the nature of existence and the structure of reality (Creswell, 2013; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Guba and Lincoln, 2005; McGrath and Coles, 2013; Snape and Spencer, 2003). It is also concerned with an individual's philosophical beliefs about what constitutes social reality, and whether realities are singular or multiple (Yin, 2009, 2013). There are two opposing theoretical attitudes to the nature of social reality, namely objectivism and constructivism/subjectivism (Bryman, 2012). The former believes that social phenomena and meanings are not dependent on social actors, while the latter

sees that social phenomena and meanings are constructed by, and totally reliant on, social interactions.

As this research aims to understand a social reality (the leadership of community education) based on different people's (CLC leaders, teachers, non-teaching staff and community members) views and lived experiences, this study draws on the constructivist ontological assumption. This means that it is in line with the philosophical belief that there are various, multiple and relative social phenomena and meanings, constructed through subjective interpretations, interactions, and sense-making of human beings (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Biklen, 2010; Costantino, 2012; Creswell, 2013; Crotty, 1998; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Rubin and Rubin, 2012; Schwandt, 2000; Stake, 1995; Yin, 2009, 2013). Therefore, the constructed knowledge about the leadership of community education in Indonesia is a product of interactions between the researcher and the participants and their environments (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2013; Noonan, 2012).

Epistemology

Defined narrowly, epistemology is the study of knowledge and justified belief (Crotty, 1998; McGrath and Coles, 2013; Steup, 2005; Walliman, 2006). It involves a certain understanding of what is entailed in knowing, that is, how we know what we know (Crotty, 1998; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Snape and Spencer, 2003; Stone, 2012). In the study of both natural and social sciences, there are two options for acquiring knowledge: empiricism and rationalism. The former refers to knowledge acquired by sensory experience, while the latter means knowledge gained by reasoning (Walliman, 2006). These choices lead to various divergences in the pursuit of knowledge that largely place emphasis on the status of scientific methods or on human subjectivity (Crotty, 1998; Walliman, 2006).

To map its epistemological orientations, this study draws on the work of Capper (2019), Ribbins and Gunter (2002), and Scheurich (1994), that explains three epistemologies commonly used in educational leadership research: positivism, interpretivism, and critical theory. Positivism develops standardised research instruments to create knowledge with the belief that reality refers to objective and unbiased observation (Scheurich, 1994). It is difficult to use this framework for

social research, because it rules out human experiences, reasoning, or interpretation that, in the social sciences, are of paramount importance as foundations for the growth of knowledge (Fox, 2012; Paley, 2012). In educational leadership research, the primary goal of positivist epistemology focuses on efficiency, bureaucracy and top-down leadership (Capper, 2019).

In direct opposition to positivism, interpretivism views that knowledge is relative and contextual as it is socially and historically conditioned (Scheurich, 1994). In other words, this perspective assumes that knowledge is subjective and constructed through social interactions (Costantino, 2012; Crotty, 1998; Legard et al., 2003). In educational leadership studies, the main goal of this epistemology centres on understanding participation and human relations, but generally ignores privilege, power, identity, oppression, equity, and social justice, as well as Indigenous knowledge production and place-based methods (Capper, 2019; Chilisa, 2012). This epistemological approach is also limited as it overlooks a researcher's impact on change and commitment (Ribbins and Gunter, 2002).

Standing in the middle ground, critical epistemology addresses criticisms over positivism by creating room for reflection, criticality, and theory (Scheurich, 1994). From this perspective, the debates between positivism and interpretivism – the former highly associated with quantitative research, the latter with qualitative – have ignored critical approaches to research methods that originate from critical epistemology, aiming to create change (Capper, 2019). Like interpretivism, critical epistemology has a major concern with leaders, leading and leadership, and the interplay of agency and structure in a specific context (Capper, 2019; Ribbins and Gunter, 2002). However, Capper (2019), and Ribbins and Gunter (2002), highlight that critical epistemology is concerned to reveal and emancipate leaders and followers from various forms of social injustice and the oppression of established power structures.

Driven by the aims to gain an understanding of the practice of community education leadership, and uncover and emancipate CLC leaders and community members from social injustice and oppression, as indicated by the reviewed literature earlier, this study draws on critical epistemology. Ribbins and Gunter's (2002) work serves to explain and justify why this study is epistemologically critical. Ribbins and Gunter (2002) explain that there are seven major factors that

can be used to identify the epistemological approaches of research in educational leadership, namely: purpose, focus, context, methodology and methods, audience, communication, and impact. Based on these factors, it is safe to argue that this study falls under the umbrella of critical epistemology. By drawing on Ribbins and Gunter's (2002) work, Table 3.1 explains the epistemological orientation of this study.

Factors	Explanation
Purpose	To analyse and through this to enable, improve and explain. Draws on social sciences to use theories and theorise.
Focus	Major focus on educational leaders, leading and leadership. The interplay of agency and structure.
Context	Distinction and inter-relationship of macro (systemic), meso (organisations), and micro (individuals).
Method	Case study work. Qualitative, often using biographical and interview methods.
Audience	Targeted at all as professional researchers and researching professionals.
Communication	Reporting to the research community, policy-makers and practitioners.
Impact	Intervention in practice based on overt intellectual and political engagement with ideas and emotions both individually and collectively. Ongoing commitment to emancipatory change.

Table 3.1: Critical epistemology in educational leadership research
Source: Adapted from Ribbins and Gunter (2002)

Methodology – critical theory

The constructivist and critical paradigms applied in this study have direct implications for the methodological processes employed to understand the problem in question. Methodology refers to the appropriate entire approach adopted by the researcher or the philosophy that underpins the inquiry (McGrath and Coles, 2013; Mertens, 2010). It is also concerned with the choices that go beyond quantitative, qualitative or mixed methods to include research approach, data collection and analysis, sampling techniques and instrument development (Mertens, 2010).

Methodologically, the constructivist ontological assumption has generally (although not exclusively) been associated with qualitative research, because it tends to put emphasis and value on the human, multiple interpretative aspects of knowledge and the significance of the researcher's interpretations and understanding of the case being studied (Creswell, 2013; Crotty, 1998; Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Schwandt, 2000; Snape and Spencer, 2003). Similarly, the critical

epistemology has been closely linked with qualitative research as theories of critical qualitative research methods emanate from critical theory (Capper, 2019). By definition, qualitative research is interpretive, attempting to gain meaning and understanding in a particular context (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000). The process is carried out by making the researcher an "insider" (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 265). The data for meaning-making are gathered through multiple methods by identifying and reflecting on the goal of the inquiry and acknowledging personal biases, values, and interests (Creswell, 2013). The methods include, but are not limited to, interviews, observations and document reviews (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2009, 2013). As such, qualitative research is in line with the constructivist and critical paradigms. It also invites the readers to make their own interpretations by providing details (Stake, 1995).

All the characteristics of qualitative research discussed above explain what makes this study methodologically qualitative. This study adopted a qualitative strategy for its aims and philosophical assumptions, as explained earlier. In addition, the basic premise of critical theory drawn in the study, focusing on social justice, reiterates why qualitative strategy became most compatible for this study. The research approach and methods employed in this study, that will be discussed and explained after the following section, provide further evidence of how this study is methodologically qualitative.

Axiology

Axiology relates to the basic values that researchers bring to their research (Ignacio, 2018). For constructivists, research is value-laden in that researchers' preconceptions and biases may intrude on the research conduct and findings (Brown, 2006). As this study attempts to construct knowledge about the leadership of community education through subjective interpretations, interactions, and sense-making with CLC leaders, teachers, non-teaching staff and community members in Indonesia, it is in contrast with the positivist view that research is value free, closeness to participants is non-essential, and facts are distinct from human consciousness (Crotty, 1998; Creswell, 2013; Fox, 2012; Paley, 2012).

I am fully aware that I cannot be entirely objective and impartial in my judgements. However, I safeguarded this issue by doing all I could to be as unbiased as possible. I am also mindful of my accountabilities and responsibilities in light of my impact on social life. Most importantly, I undertook this research by fully adhering to "4 Rs" – responsibility, respectful representation, reciprocal appropriation and rights – as the basic principles of accountable Indigenous research (Chilisa, 2012: 22). By adhering to these values, there would be an opportunity for the research to generate an Indigenous knowledge, which often speaks back to the dominant discourses of knowledge production (Chilisa, 2012; Chilisa and Ntseane, 2010).

The other "R" – reflexivity – also helped me to minimise the impact of my experience, pre-conceived thoughts and biases by constantly doing a self-evaluation throughout the research process (Hatch, 2002; McGhee et al., 2007). It further acknowledges the researcher's role and perspective in research (Ritchie et al., 2013) as either an outsider, hybrid or insider (McGhee et al., 2007). Being an outsider refers to a researcher having no experience at all with the participants and research sites. A hybrid role is embraced when a researcher is familiar with the research area and context, but not with participants and sites. An insider role is assumed by a researcher sharing identity and experience with the participants to obtain group acceptance and make participants become more open (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009).

In this study, I took a hybrid position, because I was studying two familiar research areas (Bandung and Jakarta). I also embraced the role, because I had some understanding of the topic through lived experiences and literature. However, I was not familiar with the selected cases, and had never resided there, so I felt like an outsider at the research sites. By playing this role, I was able to build a rapport for the participants to feel equal partners with the researcher throughout the research process. By showing that I was determined to accurately represent their perspectives (Dwyer and Buckle, 2009), all participants were assured that I was seriously engaged in research designed to represent their lived realities with integrity.

Research Approach: Case Study

A research approach is a plan and procedure for conducting research that covers the broad assumptions underpinning detailed methods of data collection, analysis, and interpretation (Creswell, 2014). The literature shows that there are five qualitative approaches: narrative research, phenomenology, grounded theory, ethnography, and case study (Bassey, 1999; Creswell, 2014; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009, 2013). The most suitable research approach to address the study's aims and research questions is through a qualitative case study design. Creswell (2013), Stake (2005), and Yin (2009, 2013) explain that case study is often strongly associated with qualitative research.

The "case" in case study may include an individual, a group, an organisation, a programme, a concept, a policy, or a project (Merriam, 1998; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009, 2013). The "case" can be either singular or plural. In a single case study, the researcher focuses on an issue, then selects a bounded case to illustrate the issue, while in a multiple case study, the inquirer selects multiple cases to explore different perspectives on an issue (Creswell, 2013; Stake, 2005; Yin, 2009, 2013). In this study, the cases comprise four CLCs and their communities that, together, form the bounded systems. The boundaries between the phenomenon (leadership of CLCs) and the context (communities) are not easy to see, requiring a holistic approach to understand. In order to explore and generate rich evidence from the varied case-study contexts: western, central, eastern, urban and rural communities (Creswell, 2013, 2014; Yin, 2009, 2013), this study employed a multiple case study design.

A multiple case study was chosen because each case could provide deep and holistic understanding of the phenomenon being researched due to its distinctive characteristics in its specific local contexts (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2009, 2013). Although it was time consuming in data collection and analysis, a multiple case study approach led to robustness in evidence, confidence and credibility in findings and trustworthiness in conclusions (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Miles et al., 2014). Its findings provide a strong foundation for generalisation and transferability, although it has never been an aim for a (multiple) case study (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2009, 2013). When several similar case studies were undertaken in different contexts, they also

provided generalisation that is less "fuzzy", caused by studies of singularities (Bassey, 1999: 12), or what Yin (2009: 32, 2016: 104) refers to as "analytic generalisation", a broader trend that is significant on a wider scale. In this research, a multiple case-study approach enabled the examination of CLCs in different contexts, and of different types.

Research Methods

Research methods in educational research refer to various approaches used to gather data in order to make inferences, interpretation, explanation and prediction towards the issue being studied (Cohen et al., 2007). Constructivist qualitative research typically includes participant observation and interviewing for data collection in order to understand the cases from the participants' perspectives (Constantino, 2012). The methods in a qualitative case study generally include interviews, observations and document reviews (Creswell, 2013; Yin, 2009, 2013). This study employed all of these methods in order to enhance validity through methodological triangulation (Bush, 2012; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Denscombe, 2014; Robson and McCartan, 2016; Scott and Morrison, 2006). The following section provides an explanation and justification for each method.

<u>Interviews</u>

Unlike closed or structured interviews that are typically characterised by pre-determined questions, with fixed wording in a preset order, this study used semi-structured interviews (see Appendix 2). They were semi-structured in the ways that I prepared an interview guide consisting predetermined, but open-ended, questions in which the wording and order could be modified depending on the flow of the interview, and additional unplanned questions could be raised to follow up on what the participants say (Ayres, 2012; Creswell, 2014; Robson and McCartan, 2016). The interviews were structured by topics, but deviations from the interview guide were allowed to raise additional questions (Newby, 2013). The additional questions consisted of prompts and probes that enabled me to keep the interview on the right track (Creswell, 2014; Newby, 2014).

Given that many Indonesian CLC leaders, as well as teachers and students, are not accustomed to internet communication (i.e. email), and all of them are from a country that is characterised by a hierarchical society, and a high power distance culture (Hofstede, 2001), the interviews were carried out face-to-face in the participants' own settings. Despite the challenges of time and cost, face-to-face interviews allowed me to observe participants' non-verbal behaviours that might indicate how they felt about an issue (Robson and McCartan, 2016; Slavin, 2007). For example, when conducting interviews in Ambon, a city that has a dark memory of inter-communal and religious riots, I had to carefully notice the participants' discomfort whenever the talk strayed into talking about the riots.

Observations

Observation refers to a data collection strategy of watching, recording, and taking notes of, the occurrence of specific behaviours, activities, conversations and interactions during an episode of interest (Mathison, 2005; Rosen and Underwood, 2012). This strategy forms a significant tool for studies of leadership and management issues, like this one (Bush, 2012). The strategy fits this study, because it enhanced the collection of primary data gained through the interviews (Creswell, 2013), and produced potential links between outcomes (CLC conditions) and probable causes (leadership practices) (Newby, 2014).

As they focused on the physical condition of the CLCs, and the community and geographical circumstances where each CLC is located, the observations carried out in this study were unstructured. All observations were documented as field notes (see Appendix 3). As far as possible, non-participatory observation was employed (Creswell, 2013; Newby, 2014).

Document reviews

A document review (see Appendix 4) is a systematic collection, interpretation and organisation of documents as a data collection method (Bretschneider et al., 2016; Creswell, 2014). The documents reviewed in this study encompass national and centre-specific documents, such as organisational profiles, reports, and learning curricula and timetables. The main objective of document reviews was to obtain

and analyse data to compare with the primary data obtained from interviews and observations (Denscombe, 2014; Robson and McCartan, 2016). This strategy was employed in this study because it could increase the rigour of the research, provide valuable data triangulation and counter possible threats to research validity (Cohen et al., 2007; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Newby, 2014; Robson and McCartan, 2016). The strategy was also helpful in enabling a comparison between policy intentions and CLC practice.

Sampling

Sampling refers to the selection of a subset of a population for inclusion in a study (Daniel, 2012). To address the issue of which cases to include, purposive and stratified sampling were adopted (Miles et al., 2014). The stratification criteria include time zone, region, type of CLC, and accreditation grade. These criteria were taken into account, because they could potentially capture major variations in the manifestation of a phenomenon influenced by various factors (Patton, 2002). In this study, the potentially-influencing factors were geography (zone and region), CLC type and accreditation grade.

Zone criteria include Jakarta, as the only province that has state CLCs, and Indonesia's three time zones. There is a significant economic gap between the more developed western Indonesia and the less-developed eastern regions (Kurniawan et al., 2019; Yah, 2004). This reality became the reason why the types of regional development considered to represent the four areas followed an urban-rural sequence of Jakarta, western, central and eastern Indonesia.

Given that Indonesia is a culturally and geographically diverse country as described in Chapter One, a place-based approach plays an important role in this study. By focusing on a specific region in the western part of the country, prior studies and reports in educational leadership in Indonesia generally missed the opportunity to capture the country's contextual complexity (Jawas, 2017; Parker and Raihani, 2011; Raihani, 2008; Raihani and Gurr, 2006; Sumintono et al., 2015; Uhbiyati, 2015). The selection of different CLCs in different parts of Indonesia enabled me to learn that a researcher should approach research participants in certain ways by being conscientious in respecting their historical

and cultural traditions as well as knowledge systems (Chilisa, 2012). For example, in the specific case of Manado CLC where many of its learners are the sea-based communities, it was revealed that the majority of their activities, including the interviews, should be carried out on the sea.

Since State CLCs are only available in Jakarta, the remaining centres selected in this study were all private. Accreditation also became a criterion for case selection, because it is the only instrument available for measuring CLC performance in Indonesia, regardless of its potentially problematic results, as noted in chapter 1. In order to ensure that the CLCs share similar characteristics in terms of managerial performance and, at the same time, anticipate the necessary number of participants to interview, all centres selected in this study were those accredited with Grade A. The number of Grade A CLCs in Jakarta is 51, and 22 in Bandung, 5 in Manado, and 4 in Ambon (NAC, 2021). This multiple number is useful to protect the possibility of each CLC from being identified. Figure 3.1 presents the sampling frame for selection of the CLCs.
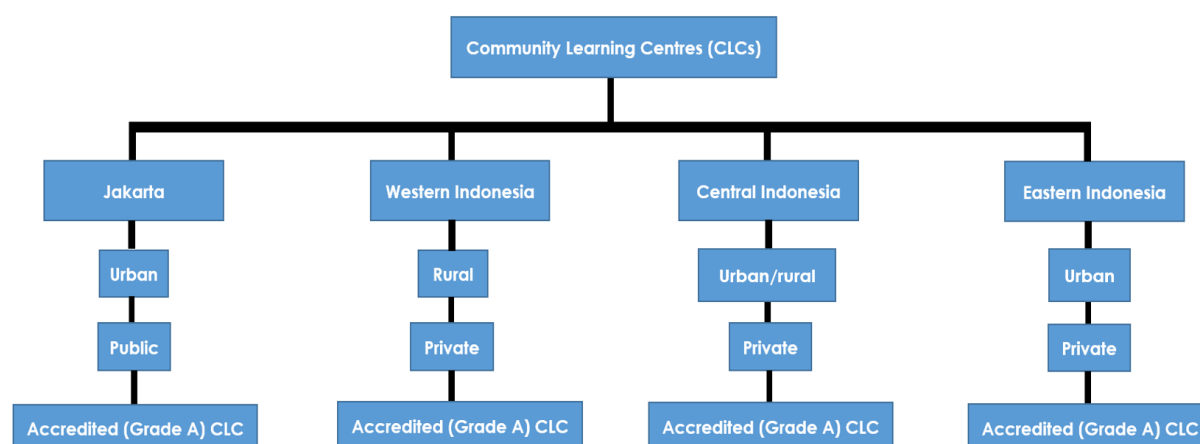
Figure 3. 1: Stratified purposive sampling for community learning centres

Participant sampling

In total, this study involved 36 participants, nine from each of four different CLCs in four regions in Indonesia. The sampling technique is consistent, following the same sampling protocol in the four cases. All the participants involved in the study are adults who were working or engaging in some learning activities at the CLCs. This decision, which also applied to community members, was taken because the literature shows that a large number of community education beneficiaries are

adults, and leadership has to be seen in the context of leading adults (Day, 2012). Another fundamental reason is that, if the participants did not have any form of relationship with the CLCs, they would not be able to describe the leadership of community education that this study explores. Finally, community members were involved because the main function of CLCs is to realise community improvement in the light of lifelong learning (Sihombing, 1999; UNESCO, 2008, 2012). Table 3.2 shows the total number of cases and participants involved in this study.

Participants	Cases				
	CLC 1	CLC 2	CLC 3	CLC 4	Total
Leaders	1	1	1	1	4
Teachers	2	2	2	2	8
Non-Teaching Staff	2	2	2	2	8
Students	2	2	2	2	8
Community members	2	2	2	2	8
Total	**9**	**9**	**9**	**9**	**36**

Table 3.2: Case study participants

Research Instruments

There is a debate about to what extent prior instrumentation is important for qualitative research. Those advocating little prior instrumentation believe that predesigned and structured instruments might blind the researcher in the fieldwork, while those promoting a lot of prior instrumentation think that, if the research has clear aims and questions, having clear planning on how to collect the information is inevitable (Coates, 2018; Hsu and Sandford, 2012; Miles and Huberman, 1994). As for this study, prior instrumentation is important in order to enable cross-case comparison and to facilitate cross-case analysis.

The research instruments in this study were interview and document review guides (see appendices 2 and 4 respectively). The interview guides, including the interview questions and probes, addressed similar issues but were slightly different for each group of participants. The document review guide highlighted issues related to the leadership of community education from the selected documents, used to back up other data from observations and interviews.

Pett et al. (2003) explain that developing valid and reliable instruments takes time, patience, and knowledge. In order to safeguard instrument validity, this study draws on Wild et al.'s (2005) Principles of Good Practice for Translation and Cultural Adaptation. The translation stages by Wild et al. (2005) are laborious, but they also increase expectations that the translated instruments perform in the same way as the original (Hall et al., 2017). It is important to note here that these translation stages only function to increase the probability of having good translation and adaptation. When qualitative meaning is transferred from one language to another, it might get lost (van Nes et al., 2010). Figure 3.2 presents the overall translation stages.

Preparation	• Initial work: developing research instruments in English
Forward translation	• Translation of the English version into bahasa Indonesia
Back translation	• Translation of the Indonesian version back into the English language
Back translation review	• Comparison of the back-translated versions of the instrument with the original to highlight and investigate discrepancies
Field testing	• Pilot testing conducted with the target participants to ensure they understand the questions
Review	• Final amendments to the instruments based on the pilot testing
Finalisation	• Confirmation of finalised translation

Figure 3.2: The translation stages of interview guides
Source: Adapted from Wild et al. (2005)

In addition to being valid, research instruments are also expected to be reliable. Reliability describes the degree to which an instrument consistently describes whatever it is designed to describe (Bush, 2012; Hsu and Sandford, 2012). In order to provide reliable interview guides, "a critical friend" who has professional experience in the education field, and understands the ethical requirements of anonymity and confidentiality, was involved in the translation process. This friend had an important role in improving the translation reliability.

Data Collection and Gaining Access

Before carrying out data collection, the procedures to gain permission to conduct research in selected sites were completed.

Gaining access

To gain permission to conduct research in Indonesia, firstly I applied for, and gained, ethical clearance from the University of Nottingham (see Appendix 5). The letter was submitted to the Ministry of Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia, which approved the conduct of research in Indonesia by providing a recommendation letter (see Appendix 6). Both letters were shown to local education offices and CLCs, to gain access to four case-study CLCs.

Data collection procedures

The procedures for data collection in both pilot and main study CLCs were similar. They began by giving the CLC heads the permit letters from the university and Ministry. After gaining their agreement to participate in the study, I started talking with the heads to explain my study, request their written consent, and allow me to access CLC documents and environment. This step was important because many documents were located in the heads' offices or teachers' rooms. I was also given permission to observe the CLC environment and its surroundings, including taking videos and pictures (Yin, 2013). The pictures and videos were used as aide memoires, not as data, for the purpose of remembering the facilities available in the CLC. To obtain a general overview of the community and context where the CLC is located, the observation was conducted immediately after reaching the research sites.

I sought other research participants' contacts through "gatekeepers" – the CLC heads (Busher and James, 2012: 93; Coleman, 2012: 260). The local education officers also gave suggestions on which CLCs to visit and which leaders to interview, including offering to cover my local expenses during my stay in their area. To avoid conflict and to prevent a loss of "face" by rejecting their suggestions and offer (Panggabean, 2004), I explained that I was fully funded by the Ministry

of Finance, and would carefully consider their suggestions. In practice, I used my own judgement to select a prominent CLC in the area, and then approached its leader to seek his/her voluntary participation. In this way, the local education officials were not gatekeepers. Once accepted, I arranged an interview schedule through the CLC head by agreeing the dates, times, and venue. The CLC head then introduced me to some students, parents and community members who are actively involved in the CLC. However, I had full autonomy to decide who to approach and to interview.

The non-formal nature of CLCs also enabled me to gain easier access and voluntary participation from other participants. In the cases of Bandung, Manado and Ambon, for example, informal meetings and discussions through coffee and tea during my stay in the research sites allowed me to get to know the participants who are actively involved in the CLCs, and obtain their voluntary participation in my research. In Jakarta, however, the strategies to approach the participants, especially students, parents and community members, were different. I was given short-time access to an e-book containing information about existing Package C students, and a sheet of graduates that maintain contact with the CLC. By adhering to the reminder raised by the Jakarta CLC head to protect the participants' information, I carefully selected and approached the students, parents, and graduates based on the book and sheet provided. Overall, the gatekeepers in this study did not influence my participant sampling strategies, and I have sufficient control over participant sampling across the cases to ensure confidence in my findings.

Before conducting each interview, I explained about the research, and requested the participants read the information sheet (Coleman, 2012) (Appendix 7). Once they had agreed to participate in the research, I asked them to give informed consent and sign the consent form (Appendix 8). I also sought permission to audio-record the interview. All participants gave their consent for the interview to be recorded.

Besides conducting interviews, I also recorded the observations, based on the observation guide mentioned earlier. I also carried out document reviews at both pilot and main case-study CLCs. They included Ministry-published and CLC-related documents (Fitzgerald, 2012), shown in Table 3.3.

No	Ministerial documents	No	CLC-related documents
1	Law Number 20/2003 on the National Education System	9	CLC profiles (also CLC annual report for Jakarta case)
2	Law Number 16/2001 on Foundation	10	CLC accreditation reports
3	*Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 3/2008 on Process Standards of Equivalency Education (Package A, B and C)*	11	Textbooks for equivalency education programmes (Package A, B and C)
4	*Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 3/2017 on Learning Assessment by the Government and Educational Institutions*	12	Village/city/island profiles
5	Standards and Procedures of Establishing Community Learning Centres (CLCs)	13	News articles
6	Community Learning Centre Accreditation Instruments	14	University students' reports
7	Competence-based curriculum for early childhood education and equivalency education		
8	2013 curriculum for early childhood education and equivalency education		

Table 3.3: Documents reviewed in the study

Pilot study

The pilot study in Bandung CLC enabled me to test all research instruments for data collection. It was a useful stage of the study as it allowed me to consider and refine some aspects for the main study, such as CLC-visit procedures, the flow and duration of interviews, methods for taking notes, and the analysis plan (Thabane et al., 2010; Yin, 2013). The reflections enabled me to make some minor changes, especially to save time for each interview by removing repetition, and being flexible in the flow of interviews. The pilot interviews lasted between 50-60 minutes, while the main study interviews took about 45-50 minutes. There were no major changes to the interview questions, and none to the observation guide.

Main study

The procedures of data collection in the main study sites (Jakarta, Manado and Ambon CLCs) are similar to those used in the pilot study. Three methods, namely interviews, observations and document reviews, were all employed.

Interviews

I conducted interviews with research participants on the agreed timetables. I recorded the interviews, and took some notes. Interview guides (Appendix 2) included prompts and probes to raise additional questions as the interview progressed. Although addressing similar issues, the questions for each group of participants were different, to reflect their different roles. They were helpful to explore multiple and subjective perspectives from each participant.

The interviews are the primary source of data collection. Observations and document reviews perform a subsidiary role, as reflected in the presentation of the findings in chapters 4-7. Although all data sources contribute to generating thick data for this study, the interviews are the major source of insights, with observations and documentary reviews serving to provide methodological triangulation. The interviews are particularly valuable in providing first-hand evidence about the phenomenon under investigation and that is why they are the primary data source.

Observations

Observations were carried out during my visits to the CLCs, including those days when I had no appointments for interviews. I took notes on the physical condition of CLCs. The focus was on availability, adequacy and status of CLC infrastructure and facilities. I observed CLC buildings, such as classrooms, reading corners, toilets, and furniture, because their availability and maintenance relate to issues of community education leadership. When observing the CLC buildings and facilities in the four sites, I was generally guided by the CLC head. However, I was entirely left unaccompanied when observing the surrounding environment.

I took notes on the community and geographical circumstances around the CLCs, such as the community's socio-economic status and cultural background, site topography, vegetation coverage, and residential facilities. Observing these aspects was useful as it could show the community's ability to support CLC leadership and development. These observations also enabled me to see the connection between the participants' views and their contexts.

I took notes on issues related to the leadership of community education from the selected documents. All CLC heads gave me their permission to keep their CLC organisational profiles that contain the CLC organisational structures, vision and mission statement, learning curriculum and timetable, human resources, number of students, list of partners, and funding assistance received. I also collected data from CLC accreditation reports, village/city/island profile, news articles, and reports made by university students who did field work and pre-service teaching in the CLCs. The reviews enabled me to compare data from documents with the primary data obtained from interviews and observations.

Data Analysis

Data analysis began simultaneously with data collection, marked by transcribing interviews and typing field notes gained from observations and document reviews (Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2014). The analysis involved a comprehensive analysis of data, which ranged from identifying emerging themes from the data to explaining and making sense of research data, to obtain a better understanding of research participants' views and perceptions of CLC leadership (Ary et al., 2010; Denscombe, 2014).

Thematic analysis

This study employed a thematic analysis approach to generate themes from the qualitative data of various sources. It encompassed the analysis of data gained from interviews, observations and document reviews. Drawing on Creswell's (2014) qualitative data analysis strategies, the analysis was carried out in five stages.

The first stage involved typing field notes and transcribing interviews. It also involved translating, sorting and arranging data into different types depending on the sources of information, aimed at preparing, and familiarising myself with, the data for analysis (Ary et al., 2010; Braun and Clarke, 2006; Creswell, 2014).

The second stage involved making sense of the whole database, and reflecting on their overall meaning. The process involved sense-making of data by linking them with the research questions, prior literature, and relevant theories to identify initial ideas (Bryman, 2012; Creswell, 2014). I took notes of the ideas that came into mind when reading the transcribed interviews and observations. The notes were made in Microsoft word to make it easier for me to develop themes and their explanations.

The third stage involved organising the data by labelling them. This involved reviewing the participants' responses gained from the interviews and field notes collected from observations and documentary reviews to generate sub-themes (Creswell, 2014). The data were highlighted by using different font and highlighting colours. The font colours were used to differentiate one participant's responses from another, and mark field notes from a particular case. The sub-themes were compared and merged to generate the main data themes. The process of comparing and merging the sub-themes was based on similarities and differences, and in relation to research questions. Different from what is suggested in parts of the literature (e.g. Braun and Clarke, 2006; Creswell, 2014), the themes in the study are not all emergent. There are six a priori themes, developed from the six research questions, and two emergent themes, arising during data collection. The a priori themes are: the nature of leadership, organisational structure, relationships between CLC and the community, networks and partnerships, curriculum development and enactment, and engagement with learners. The interview transcript below illustrates the coding processes of an a priori theme, organisational structure.

Theme (Priori)	Sub-Theme	Interview Responses
Organisational Structure	Organisational structure and its development	This is an interesting question. I'm glad you asked it. Before I came here in 2017, the structure here was exactly like in any other CLCs in general. There were a Secretary, Treasurer, education sector, information sector, and so on. After the CLC collapsed, and based on the staff who worked here, I wasn't surprised that I was struggling alone at that time. **I dismissed almost 50 percent of the employees.** I only kept two or three people who still had the willingness to develop, to work hard and not corrupt. I asked six civil servants who were here at that time to move, because they were lazy and they didn't even have the energy to change. **Now the structure as you could see is very different**. Here, we only have a Head, then down to the education coordinator, and then ECE [Early Childhood Education], Package A, B and C coordinators (Jakarta CLC Head). The structure consists of CLC Head, treasurer, administration and operator, education coordinator, and the goes down to programme coordinators, namely Packages A, B, C and ECE [Early Childhood Education]. **The structure was fully developed by the CLC Head. But it also involved senior tutors.** The structure was then approved by the Education Office (Jakarta Teacher 1). **The organisational structure was developed by the CLC Head and the senior tutors here.** The Education Office as our direct supervisor then legalised it. We have no Vice Head. We only have Mrs. XXX [the CLC Head] and then goes down to the Education Coordinator. She believes that the structure would cut the bureaucracy (Jakarta Teacher 2). As you might have probably heard from the CLC Head, here, **the structure is very different from that of other CLCs in general**. Here, there is only CLC Head and directly goes to Education Division that consists of ECE [Early Childhood Education], Package A, B and C. We do have a treasurer and an operator, but the treasurer is me and the operator is Mrs. XXX, both are tutors of Package A and B. So, the structure is very real, reflecting the real situation here (Jakarta NT1). **The structure here is simple**, sir. There is only CLC Head and then tutors. There are senior and junior tutors. I'm the only cleaning service in this huge building. But the tutors and students are not too many, sir (Jakarta NT2).

Cecep Somantri
To crosscheck with document

The emergent themes are context and community. They were generated by the interview data, confirmed by observational and documentary review data. The transcript below provides an illustration of the coding processes of an emergent theme – context, arising during data collection in Manado.

Theme (Emergent)	Interview responses	Field notes (observations and document reviews)
Context	And, in this CLC, it's only ECE [Early Childhood Education] in which the learning takes place every day from Monday to Friday. For the equivalency education, it's only two days a week. We're just being realistic. I think it's rare and even seems to be a lie when the learning processes of equivalency education is five days a week. We choose **Friday because Muslims are off on Friday and Saturday because Christians and Catholics are off on that day**. So, they all can participate. But normally not many people come (Manado CLC Head). [the CLC Head] is indeed a smart man. He knows that the inhabitants of the island are the "sea people", mostly from **Bajo Tribe**. There is an understanding in the Bajo tribe **that studying on land isn't good. They like to do their activities in water**. So, he established his CLC on water, so the children and community members like it. The learning process is only twice a week, Friday and Saturday. Friday is holiday for Muslims, and Saturday is holiday for Christians. They can study during holidays. They can use the rest of the days in the week to go to the sea to meet their daily needs (Manado CM1). **For old people like me, the most important thing is to know the tricks for passing the examination**. We have enough problems in our life. There's no need to add to more problems from the subjects. The CLC Head and her volunteers really understand this. I registered, they gave me some books, and they said: Sir, please read and study these books. If you want to study here, you can. **Please come every Friday and Saturday afternoon**, let's study together. If not, please read at home and prepare yourself for the national examination. This is good for me. It's very reasonable and realistic (Manado CM2).	<u>Geographical condition</u> • Located in Manado, the capital of South Sulawesi Province, Central Indonesia • The CLC has two branches on two different islands in the province. • The main CLC is based is an urban area, inhabited by more than 420 thousand people: Javanese, Chinese, Batak, Makassar and Moluccans. • The islands where the other two branches of the CLC are home to *Bajo* people who live in a nomadic way. • The city has easy access to social and other service facilities, such as schools, banks, convenience stores, medical clinics, public transportation, electricity, internet, and water. • The islands only have access to primary schools. Electricity on both islands is only available for six hours per day from 19.00 in the evening to 01.00 in the morning. • The city includes community members from heterogeneous socio-economic backgrounds, while the people on the islands are mainly *Bajo* people who work as fishermen or do other odd jobs, with minimal daily income. <u>Availability, adequacy and status of CLC infrastructure and facilities</u> **MAIN CLC** • The main CLC is on a 500 square-metre plot, and consists of two floors. The first floor is used for learning and training activities, while the second floor provides accommodation for six university student volunteers. • The first floor has eight rooms: a staff room, a computer lab, a library, a common room (for equivalency education and literacy classes), a classroom (for early years' children), a training room (for sewing courses), a kitchen and a toilet. • The main CLC has four short round tables and 24 chairs for early years' children. It also has fifty campus chairs, a projector, three computers, a television, a DVD player, an audio speaker sound system, and a set of sofas. **NOTE:** The chairs are rarely used for equivalency education and literacy classes, which are mostly held by sitting on the carpet in the common room. **BRANCH CLCs** • The branch CLCs have similar facilities. Both CLCs are **floating on water**. The size of each CLC on island A is approximately 17 x 8 metres, while the one on island B is 15 x 6 metres. Each CLC has two classrooms, a staff room, and a reading corner. • The branch CLCs have limited facilities, only a blackboard, chairs and tables. They have no outdoor facilities, other than the sea.

In the fourth stage, the themes found in the third stage were presented and explained, in relation to the literature (Creswell, 2003, 2014; Denscombe, 2014). This involved going beyond data description to extract meanings from the data. It also involved stating what important things were found, why they were important, and what I learned from it in relation to CLC leadership. This included presenting direct quotes of participants' voices, and extracts from field notes, and explaining important meanings from them (see chapters four to seven) (Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2014; Denscombe, 2014). This stage also required re-assembling data from the four case-study CLCs, thus creating a new narrative across the cases (see chapter eight).

In the final stage, meanings and lessons learned from the data were constructed. This stage involved generating a deeper understanding of the entire study (see chapter nine) (Yin, 2013; Creswell, 2014).

<u>Observations</u>

The data gained from observations included field notes taken throughout the field work period. The process of analysing the observational data started by typing the notes. The analysis focused on the physical condition of CLCs, and the community circumstances around the CLCs. The former included the availability, adequacy and status of CLC infrastructure and facilities, while the latter encompassed the surrounding community's socio-economic status and cultural background, site topography, vegetation coverage, and residential facilities.

After familiarising myself with the observed settings through re-reading the notes, I started developing sub-themes by using different font sizes, highlighting colours, and font colours. The sub-themes from observations were compared, combined and described to generate a theme (Ary et al., 2017). For example, after observing and taking notes of CLC facilities and its community, I sorted the observational data, and began making sub-themes. I used the sub-themes to generate an emergent theme; context (see Appendix 9).

The analysis of the observations of CLCs' physical condition, as well as the community circumstances around the CLCs, was helpful to understand the context and community in relation to the ways CLC leadership is practiced. I used it to explain the context and community for each case. This was supported by document reviews as explained in the next sub-section.

<u>Document reviews</u>

Similar to the process of analysing observational data explained earlier, the analysis of document review data was preceded by typing the notes gained from documents at the four CLCs. The types of documents reviewed are shown in table 3.3. above.

The data were organised in tabular form to familiarise myself with the data, make sense of it, and develop explanations (Ary et al., 2017). Each table indicated the documents reviewed, the information discovered related to the leadership of community education, and reflective notes I made as a strategy to link the notes with other data from observations and interviews (see Appendix 10). I started

making sub-themes by labelling them with different font sizes, highlighting colours and font colours. After sorting and merging them, I used the sub-themes to generate a theme. The theme was then explained simultaneously with those gained from interview and observation data.

The document analysis was helpful to explain the context, community, and organisational structure sections of each case (see, for example, pages 97, 105, 129, 139, etc.). For instance, data collected from document reviews on the size of CLC buildings and plot, the number of teachers, teaching staff and students, the CLCs' organisational structure, the number of learning and training programmes offered, and the available facilities such as desks and chairs, were combined to assess the availability of facilities.

Interviews

The process of transcribing interviews began by typing the participants' voice records into my personal computer, protected by password. The time needed to transcribe an interview took between five to six hours. To ensure that the transcriptions were accurate, the audio recordings were replayed repeatedly. After all interviews were transcribed, they were then translated into English. For financial reasons, as well as to ensure that I could accommodate all expressions, I did the translation myself. Adhering to the ethical requirements of anonymity and confidentiality, some translation results were shared with a "critical friend" to improve their quality. I arranged the data by creating tables with each participant's answers to each question, then developing sub-themes (see Appendix 11).

After all transcripts were developed, I searched for similarities between the sub-themes. Using a cut-and-paste technique, I then sorted and compiled the sub-themes expressing similar information to generate the main themes in a single document (see Appendix 12) (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Yin, 2013). From the excerpt in Appendix 12, for example, the term that I used to label a sub-theme category was then collapsed under a theme, because it portrayed the nature of CLC leadership.

Furthermore, I repeatedly checked the developed themes to see if it was acceptable to split, merge, rename or change similar concepts from interviews, documentary reviews, and observational data (Braun and Clarke, 2006; Ary et al., 2010; Creswell, 2003, 2014). Finally, I went through the entire transcript and field notes again to see whether there were any sections that had not been coded with sub-themes, and whether I needed to create a new one (Ary et al., 2010). I created explanations about context and community at the same time as I developed themes from the data.

Ethical Considerations

This study adhered to the ethical standards expected of social researchers (Denscombe, 2014). I conducted it with the understanding that, no matter how important I hoped the findings would be, I had no right to follow my research interests at the expense of the participants (Denscombe, 2014). Throughout the research process, I followed the key principles of research ethics (Creswell, 2014). This included complying with Indonesian research laws and procedures, securing informed consent, avoiding harm, protecting participants' right to confidentiality and anonymity, and conducting research with scientific integrity and responsibility (Denscombe, 2014). I also adhered to the requirements of the *Code of Research Conduct and Research Ethics* of The University of Nottingham (2016) by securing ethical approval. The research was also informed by the guidance provided by the British Educational Research Association (BERA) (2018).

In addition to these key principles, there were some ethical considerations that relate to my positionality. I initially thought that my professional role as an MoEC official could present me with an ethical issue, because it could generate power differentials between myself and participants. However, as no participants were fond of formality, no one saw me as somebody attached to a formal position in the Ministry, visiting their institution to do some monitoring or supervision activities. Instead, they perceived me as a young bureaucrat pursuing a Doctoral degree abroad, and trying to deliver their voice. This was evident in how straightforward their responses were during the interviews, and in showing and acknowledging differences between their answers to interview questions and what the documentary data show.

After following all research procedures and receiving ethical approval, I ensured that all participants were able to give their voluntary informed consent. To ensure it, I began by explaining the purpose, procedures, and benefits of the study (Cohen et al., 2007). Then, I explained to all participants that they had the right to withdraw from the study at any time without telling me why. Finally, after they had read the participant information sheet, I requested them to read and sign a consent form (see Appendices 7 and 8 respectively).

To protect the participants' anonymity, all case-study CLCs were given pseudonyms after their metropolitan district (Cohen et al., 2007): Bandung, Jakarta, Manado and Ambon. The participants were also anonymised using numbers 1 and 2 to describe two teachers (teacher 1 and teacher 2), two non-teaching staff (NT1 and NT2), two students (student 1 and student 2), and two community members (CM1 and CM2). To distinguish the participants in a CLC from those in other case CLCs, the given names were preceded by the CLC pseudonym, such as Bandung Teacher 1; Bandung Teacher 2, etc.

To ensure confidentiality, the data were stored in a password-protected computer, and the University secure system *OneDrive*, that only the researcher could access (Cohen et al., 2007). Furthermore, it was repeatedly explained that anonymity would be maintained in all research publications, including journal articles.

Safeguarding Research Rigour and Trustworthiness

Rigour in qualitative research is often associated with research validity and reliability. In qualitative research, ensuring validity and reliability is often regarded as less important. It is due to the constructivist viewpoint that reality is subjective, relative and cannot be generalised (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). However, in this study, validity and reliability are important, because they could realise research authenticity (Bush, 2012). Although it may seem an elusive target, authenticity is achievable by maintaining trustworthiness throughout the research process (Guba and Lincoln, 1994; Scott, 2012; Smith, 1999).

In addition to ensuring trustworthiness, Ary et al. (2010) explain that validity and reliability in qualitative research can be ensured by adhering to the standards of rigour for research, namely credibility, transferability and confirmability.

Credibility and transferability are to address the issues of truth and generalisability respectively, while trustworthiness and confirmability are to address research consistency and neutrality. To facilitate the authenticity of this research, I adhered to all of these four standards.

Credibility

Credibility is equivalent to internal validity in quantitative research, and relates to the accuracy and appropriateness of research from the views of people who experience and live it (Ary et al., 2010; Denscombe, 2014). The credibility of research generally involves accuracy in determining the research design, participants, and context, to establish confidence in the findings (Ary et al., 2010).

One of the strategies used in this study to ensure credibility, as indicated earlier, was by employing purposive and stratified sampling in case and participant selection. This was partly supported by the appropriate decision to use a multiple case study design that facilitated triangulation in collecting data from various methods and participants, thus generating reliable data (Bush, 2012; Denscombe, 2014; Newby, 2014).

Furthermore, I also ensured credibility by completing the transcriptions myself to accurately represent the participants' viewpoints (Denscombe, 2014). During data presentation, interpretation, and analysis, I used direct quotes from the participants to support the arguments and interpretations (Yin, 2013).

Finally, the two-to-three week stay in each location also helped to reduce the impact of the researcher's presence on the participants' responses, and to create more opportunities to explore the sites and engage with the participants (Creswell, 2014).

Transferability

Transferability refers to the degree to which the results of qualitative research can be generalised to other contexts and groups (Ary et al., 2010). Since creating generalisations in qualitative research has never been an aim (Baxter and Jack, 2008; Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2009, 2013), the purpose of facilitating transferability

is to allow other researchers and readers to make comparisons and judgments, as well as to apply research findings to other settings, if possible (Ary et al., 2010; Bryman, 2012). As noted earlier, the findings from the four cases of this study are not generalisable, nor was that the intention in this research. However, in this study, transferability was facilitated by presenting thick descriptions of the study context (Ary et al., 2010; Bryman, 2012).

I was also transparent about all protocols, allowing researchers and readers to critique the research, and to see evidence that supports research findings and conclusions (Ary et al., 2010; Bryman, 2012; Yin, 2013).

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness, also called "dependability" (Ary et al., 2010: 502), is the equivalent of reliability in quantitative research, and relates to the degree to which data and findings would be similar if the research were replicated in other settings, and with other participants (Ary et al., 2010). Trustworthiness also involves ensuring consistent decisions and procedures that can be tracked and explained (Denscombe, 2014).

To facilitate the trustworthiness of this study, I provided an explanation of the conducted observations, the reviewed documents and interviewed participants, along with justifications for my decisions (Ary et al., 2010). I continued to share my research progress with my supervisors, and self-reviewed all procedures, to ensure that they were consistent. This study involved multiple cases and participants, but its findings show considerable similarities, although with some variations, thus generating consistency of findings (Ary et al., 2010).

Confirmability

Confirmability relates to the degree to which the research findings could be confirmed by other researchers (Ary et al., 2010). Confirmability is concerned with establishing research findings which are derived from the data, not the researcher's own imagination (Bryman, 2012). In other words, it deals with neutrality in reaching conclusions so that other researchers studying the same

phenomenon could provide further evidence and confirm it (Ary et al., 2010; Bryman, 2012).

In critical epistemology, the notion of neutrality is contested. In this study, there is indeed tension between my understanding of the data, due to my "insider" and "hybrid" status as an Indonesian education professional, and the probable interpretation made by an "outsider" (e.g. a British scholar). However, I tried to address the issue by developing and using guides to direct the document reviews and interviews. I also provided thick descriptions of research procedures, indicated earlier, so that other researchers could confirm this study. In addition, I stayed open-minded and critical throughout the research process in order to avoid allowing my prior knowledge and pre-conceived ideas to distort data collection, analysis and discussion. I also ensured that the analysis and interpretation were solely grounded in the data and participants' responses.

Overview

This chapter explains and justifies the methodology and methods of this study. It covers the researcher's ontological and epistemological views, as well as the philosophical orientations of the research methodology. The chapter explains how these philosophical orientations have helped to determine the research paradigm, approach and methods adopted in this study. It further clarifies and justifies how the cases and participants were selected. It also elaborates the research procedures, such as obtaining permits and gaining access, pilot study, data collection, and data analysis. The chapter ends with discussion of ethical considerations and standards adopted to safeguard research rigour and credibility.

The chapter also discusses the researcher-participant relationship, which enabled the researcher to better understand the participants' worlds by respecting their agency. As a result, they became active participants in knowledge creation. The methodology has provided opportunities for an in-depth investigation of the research sites in relation to various dimensions of context shaping leadership. It has also facilitated the adoption of accurate methods to approach research questions, leading to consistency of findings. It has appropriately helped data generation on the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs, the organisational

structure of both state and private CLCs, the relationship of CLCs with the community, and the strategies that the CLCs use to build and expand networks and partnerships within and beyond the centres. The findings of this methodological approach are presented in the next four chapters.

To summarise, in the findings chapters (four to seven respectively), it is important to note that data were collected through interviews with nine participants, namely: two teachers (Teacher 1 and Teacher 2), two non-teaching staff (NT1 and NT2), two learners (Learner 1 and Learner 2), and two community members (CM1 and CM2). Observations and document reviews were carried out to enrich the data gained from the interviews. The observations were conducted during the visits to each CLC, and documented as field notes. Documentary analysis was undertaken by reviewing a number of Ministry-published and CLC-related documents (see table 3.3).

Chapter Four: Bandung Community Learning Centre

Introduction

This chapter presents and analyses data on the leadership of community education from the first case, Bandung Community Learning Centre (CLC) in Western Indonesia. It explains the CLC context, presents the findings, and provides an overview.

Context

This CLC is located in a remote village, in the northern part of Greater Bandung. The village stands at the foot of a mountain and is home to approximately 8,166 Sundanese people, the Indigenous people of West Java Province (Field Notes taken on 27 August 2018). With its conducive climate and seasonal rainfall, the village produces various crops and vegetables.

The area has social services facilities, such as banks, convenience stores, medical clinics, electricity, and water. However, the nearest hospital is located around 20 kilometres away from the village, and junior and senior secondary schools are seven and eight kilometres away respectively. The roads leading to the hospital and schools have been damaged for a long time. Public transport linking the area to other villages is available once in an hour. The village includes community members with relatively homogeneous socio-economic backgrounds. The villagers are generally self-employed from one generation to another, as farmers, cattlemen or merchants.

CLC Context

The centre was established in 2005 by a married couple who wanted to bring about change to their village that had high school dropout rates. It provides a wide range of learning activities and income-generating programmes. The CLC enrolls learners of various age groups, slightly increasing from year to year. Table 4.1 shows the total number of people engaged in various activities in the centre.

No.	Programme	Number of students
1.	Early childhood education	74
2.	Entrepreneurship literacy education	42
3.	Equivalency education:	
	a. Package B	87
	b. Package C	109
4.	Courses and training:	
	a. Agriculture	30
	b. Arts and Culture	40
	c. Barista (coffee mixing)	25
5.	Al-Qur'an recitation	20
	Total	**427**

Table 4. 1: Number of students at Bandung CLC, 2018
Source: CLC Profile, 2018

The centre stands on 1,000 square-metre land with a total building area of 840 square metres, which all belong to the CLC head. It has sixteen rooms, consisting of one head's office, one staff office, eight classrooms (two for Early Childhood Education (ECE) and six for equivalency education), two function rooms for gatherings or training programmes such as barista training or sewing, one kitchen, one reading room and four toilets: one for the CLC head and staff, one for early years children, and two for equivalency education students. It also has a three to four metre stage for traditional music and dance rehearsals. The CLC also has a greenhouse for rose cultivation on a separate 2,800 square-metre land that a number of community members entrust the centre to manage.

The ECE Centre in the CLC has 12 tables and sufficient chairs for 74 students. It also has outdoor facilities, such as a swing and a slide. The CLC provides 98 tables and 196 chairs, sufficient for all 196 equivalency education students. The Sundanese arts and culture training programme is facilitated with two packages of musical instruments, which each comprise a guitar, a bass, a keyboard, a traditional drum, and a set of audio speakers as a sound system. Finally, for the agriculture training programme, the CLC provides a mini truck to distribute the roses to buyers. Table 4.2 summarises the infrastructure and facilities at the CLC:

Infrastructure				Facilities			
Item	Required	Available	Delta	Item	Required	Available	Del
ECE classrooms	2	2	0	ECE students' tables	13	12	-1
Equivalency education classrooms	6	6	0	ECE students' chairs	74	74	0
Reading corner	1	1	0	Equivalency education students' tables	98	98	0
Toilets for ECE students	2	1	-1	Equivalency education students' chairs	196	196	0
Toilets for equivalency educations students	2	2	0	Tutors and non-teaching staff's tables	8	8	0
Toilets for tutors and non-teaching staff	1	1	0	Tutors and non-teaching staff's chairs	8	8	0
Art stage	1	1	0	Musical instruments	4	2	-2
Kitchen	1	1	0	Mini truck	1	1	1

Table 4. 2: Availability of infrastructure and facilities at Bandung CLC
Source: CLC Profile (2018) and observations

The Nature of Leadership

Introduction

This section presents the findings on the nature of leadership in Bandung CLC. It starts by discussing whether the leadership is singular or multiple, then considers whether the CLC has a leadership team, how the CLC head distributes tasks, how the CLC head manages her time, how the learning activities are initiated, and finally the need for professional development programmes.

CLC head as the primary leader

The CLC head took charge of the leadership role in the centre after her husband passed away in 2007. All participants mentioned that she was the primary leader in the centre, and believed that there was no need for another leader, for several reasons.

First, the size of the centre makes the leadership of the current head sufficient. Teacher 1 explained that:

> She is enough. This centre is a small institution (Bandung Teacher 1).

The CLC head, however, explained that it would be wrong to think that the leadership in the centre is singular:

> […] the head of CLC is indeed me, but for me everyone has his/her respective field of expertise here (Bandung CLC head).

This claim was confirmed by Learner 1 who identified the secretary as another leader in addition to the CLC head. She added that the leadership combination between the two is a perfect match:

> They have become a perfect duo. If the CLC head isn't around, I can go to him (Bandung Learner 1).

Despite supporting Learner 1's statement, Learner 2 explained that the CLC head remained the primary leader in the centre. He believed that the secretary was a secondary leader who deputised for the CLC head in her absence:

> Sometimes Mr. XXX [is in charge], when the CLC head is busy or has activities to attend (Bandung Learner 2).

For the community members, the leadership qualities are another reason why the CLC head is perceived to be the primary leader in the centre:

> She's patient, kind and friendly with people. She never gets angry or isn't arrogant with other people. These qualities are important, sir, for people around here (Bandung CM1).

This comment was supported by CM2 who commented that:

> Mrs. XXX always pays attention to people around here, always asks us what we want to learn (Bandung CM2).

Leadership team

The interviews with all participants indicated that the CLC did not have a leadership team. In addition to the small size of the centre, a leadership team was seen to be more associated with formal schooling. Teacher 1 explained that:

> I think Mrs. XXX as the head of CLC is enough. This centre is not a big institution or an office that requires a formal structure. (Bandung Teacher 1).

Although the centre did not have a leadership team, Teacher 2 commented that all staff were entrusted with a leadership role. He even mentioned that all staff had full authority over their field:

> I'm fully responsible for computer and electronic-related affairs. All people – students and teachers – who have a problem or want to ask something about computer, they will definitely go to me. (Bandung Teacher 2).

The CLC head supported this comment by explaining that she gave all of her staff roles and responsibilities based on informal conversations:

> [This CLC] has people with their respective roles and responsibilities that are formed based on an informal conversation to discuss who is ready to help and be responsible for a task (Bandung CLC head).

This comment implies that both the teachers and CLC head perceived staff responsibilities as part of leadership.

<u>Job distribution</u>

Job distribution in Bandung CLC has been through several stages. In the early development of the CLC, the head and her late husband had a significant role in directing and managing different affairs in the centre. They initiated ideas and showed the community members how to do it. After her husband passed away, she should not only do the initiation, but also gain people's trust that she could lead the centre:

> I had to get everyone's trust that I was able to realise the vision and mission of this centre. Everything felt hard and uneasy. Now everything here runs naturally and without direction. Everyone knows what to do. Only when there are problems, I help to solve them (Bandung CLC head).

This comment implies that, besides being able to come up with ideas and initiatives, trust is an important element for the CLC head in leading the centre.

Trust-based job distribution was indeed one of the methods that the CLC head used in distributing tasks in the centre. NT2 mentioned that he became more careful in what he was doing because of the trust that the CLC head gave him. The head never questioned his academic background, and gave him trust instead:

> She knew that I was only a high school graduate, but it was never a problem. It makes me become careful and think that I have to be able to do it. I don't want to let her down (Bandung NT2).

Besides giving trust, the job distribution in Bandung CLC was also carried out through communication with the staff. Teacher 1 explained that:

> Before giving me a task, [she] always asks me if I want [the task] and can carry it out (Bandung Teacher 1).

Time management

The CLC head spent most of her time in the centre for the CLC was located next to her house. She also explained that the CLC is her life:

> This CLC is my life. This is my office and home. As you can see, all of the front and back yards of my house have been filled with classes, training spaces and other facilities. I'm here every day (Bandung CLC head).

This comment was confirmed by Teacher 1 who claimed that she was the living witness for the CLC head who spent most of her time in the centre. She even mentioned that the unit of hours could no longer measure her work in the CLC:

> [The CLC head] lives and works here. She arrives [in the CLC] the earliest and goes home late at night. At nights, there are often arts exercises. […] her work can no longer be measured by hours (Bandung Teacher 1).

<u>Learning activities initiation</u>

The learning activities in Bandung CLC could be divided into two categories, namely: those initiated by the government and the ones initiated by the community members. Initially, the CLC only functioned as a place for people to get together and do some informal learning activities, such as reading books and reciting the Holy Al-Qur'an. The CLC head explained that:

> Initially, this CLC was only a place to get together. While people gathered here, we invited them to learn to read. So, the programmes that we had were originally reading and [Al-Qur'an] recitation (Bandung CLC head).

This comment was confirmed by NT1 who explained that the equivalency and literacy education that the centre provided were not initiated by the community members. In fact, they were the government programmes that were introduced by an officer from the District Education Office:

> […] an officer from the education office came and informed us that we could carry out [equivalency and literacy education] programmes. So we just followed it. Since we were given the funding and, at the same time, we could help the community, so why not? Other programmes like arts and culture, and agriculture, those are the results of people gathering here, and then they came out with an idea. (Bandung NT1).

This suggests that the centre organised equivalency and literacy education because they were funded by the government, while still fitting the CLC's vision and mission.

Meanwhile, for CM1 who always came to the CLC to accompany, and then wait for, her daughter to play in the Early Childhood Education (ECE) Centre, she believed that the programmes in the CLC were not always related to academic activities. She commented that:

> Now, there's a savings programme in this CLC. The idea is purely from my friends and I. [The CLC head] agreed when we wanted to do the programme. [She] was even happy we raised the idea (Bandung CM1).

This comment provides further evidence of the diversity of learning activities in the CLC, and of the community members' influence in deciding what to teach.

The need for professional development programmes

After exploring their career trajectory and educational background, it was evident that the participants were in need of professional development programmes for various reasons. There were no staff in Bandung CLC who had formal working experience outside the centre, especially in education. Teacher 1, who had a bachelor's degree, mentioned that she did not have any work experience at all before joining the centre:

> Few days after graduating, I immediately worked in this centre as an Equivalency Education tutor for school-age learners, and a tutor of literacy education programme for youth and adult learners (Bandung Teacher 1).

NT1 – the second person in the CLC with a bachelor's degree – mentioned he did not have any experience working in the education field:

> My academic background is bachelor's degree in Islamic religion. I hope you aren't surprised (Bandung NT1).

The CLC head was a junior secondary school drop-out, and received her Package C Equivalency Education certificate – equivalent to senior secondary school – after she got married. Like all of her staff, she never formally worked in the education field outside the centre:

> After my husband passed away in 2007, I continued his dream and hard work to lead this centre, besides fulfilling my daily responsibilities as a housewife (Bandung CLC head).

This comment suggests that the CLC head learned how to lead the centre and do her job when she took the leadership position in the centre. Beyond this, it implies that the CLC head and staff needed some resources and skills-set development programmes to improve their capacity in leading, managing and teaching.

Organisational Structure

<u>Introduction</u>

This section focuses on the organisational structure of Bandung CLC. The findings are organised into three themes: (i) Bandung CLC organisational structure and its development; (ii) programme coordinators and their roles; and, (iii) the role of the community and District Education Office in developing the organisational structure.

<u>Bandung CLC organisational structure and its development</u>

The organisational structure of Bandung CLC consists of seven job roles and sections, namely: head, secretary, treasurer, administrator, and coordinators of Early Childhood Education (ECE), Equivalency Education, and courses and training. The head has the decision-making authority over all sections. The head is assisted by the Secretary and supported by a treasurer and an administrator. The second tier comprises the ECE section, Equivalency Education: Package B and Package C (one coordinator for each), entrepreneurship literacy education, whose coordinator is also the coordinator of Package C, and courses and training that encompass agriculture, with one coordinator, arts and training with two coordinators, and barista or coffee mixing with one coordinator, who is also the coordinator for Package B. The District Education Office is superordinate to the CLC head, but this responsibility was solely to provide support and guidance for CLC improvement. Meanwhile, community members are not included in the structure, but have authority to suggest an activity. The Al-Qur'an recitation programme was also not included as a separate section in the structure, because it was seen as a religious and extra-curricular activity (Field notes taken on 28 August 2019). The structure is illustrated as a traditional organisational chart, in Figure 4.1.

Supervisor
District Education Office

Head

Secretary

Treasurer

Administrator

ECE

Entrepreneurship Literacy

Equivalency Education:
- Package B
- Package C

Courses and Training:
- Agriculture
- Arts and Culture
- Barista (coffee mixing)
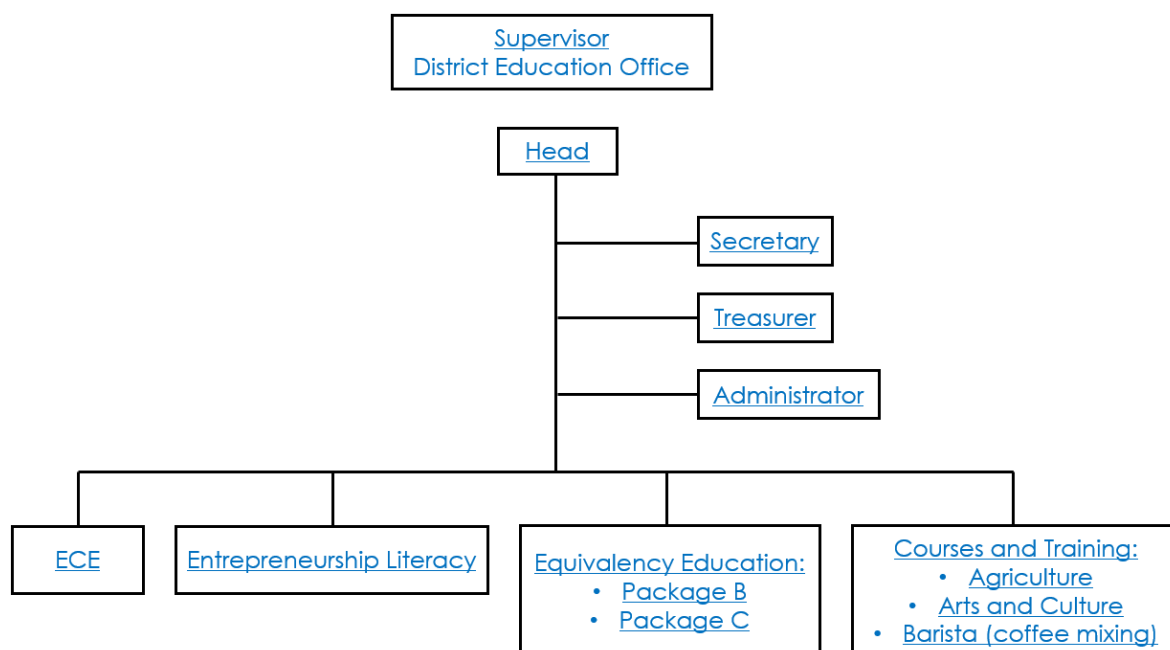
Figure 4. 1: The organisational structure of Bandung CLC
Source: CLC Profile (2018) and observations

The people involved in developing the organisational structure were the CLC head (and her late husband), secretary, learners and community members. In its early development, the initial structure comprised only the CLC head, secretary and treasurer:

> To be honest, the initial management was just me and my husband. Perhaps there was also the secretary who helped us a lot in establishing this centre. But over time, the structure of the centre has evolved to respond to various needs (Bandung CLC head).

This comment implies that the organisational structure of Bandung CLC was dynamic as it might change from time to time.

NT2 added that the structure was developed by the CLC head, her late husband and himself:

> We looked at what we had, and then put it into an organisational structure (Bandung NT1).

This comment suggests that neither the District Education Officer nor the community were involved in developing the organisational structure. However, CM2 explained that the community members contributed to the organisational structure development by suggesting and nominating who could be designated as programme coordinators:

> There was a time when a programme coordinator who was in charge of arts training, was really bad tempered. He was always angry when the learners couldn't follow what he said. Finally, we told [the CLC head] to replace him by someone else. Soon after two weeks, there were Mr. XXX and Mr. XXX who replaced him (Bandung CM2).

This suggests that the community members were not directly involved in developing the organisational structure of Bandung CLC. However, their suggestions were heard and accommodated by the CLC head.

The roles of programme coordinators

Bandung CLC had eight coordinators for seven learning and training programmes. There were two teachers and one non-teaching staff who had dual positions in the centre: Package B tutor was also responsible for barista (coffee mixing) training, the Package C tutor for the entrepreneurship literacy programme, and the CLC administrator for agriculture training. The programmes in Bandung CLC were different from the ones suggested by the Ministry of Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia: a CLC is recommended to have at least three programme coordinators – education, entrepreneurship and industry, and information and partnership (MoEC, 2012). However, the programmes were in line with the centre's vision to "build a religious, productive and fond of learning community" (CLC Profile, 2018), as well as available local resources and potential where the CLC was located. Each programme in Bandung CLC has one or two coordinators with their specific roles.

Despite the diversity of the programmes, a common role for each coordinator was to maintain learning and training participation through good communication and relationships with the learners. The CLC head mentioned that she gave authority to all of the programme coordinators to carry out their roles:

Their main duty is to maintain good communication and togetherness with each other. I give them all the rooms they need to make sure that all participants are happy with our programmes. So, for example, I expect the equivalency education coordinators to keep motivating the learners, even though they skip the classes for too long (Bandung CLC head).

This comment was supported by the teachers who explained that fostering the learners' motivation to continue studying became their role, due to the learners' hesitation about learning. Teacher 1, for example, stated that:

My main role is to continue motivating the learners. As you know, many equivalency education learners have low motivation to study. I mean formally study. But I just can't give up on them (Bandung Teacher 1).

Teacher 2, on the other hand, understood that his basic role was to ensure 100 percent pass rate in the national examination. However, he added that he was sure that all of his learners would achieve it:

Well, formally, I have to make sure everybody finishes the study and passes the exam. But, for me, that's something obvious, and they will do that anyway, I'm sure. I just want them to know that I was just like them when I was young (Bandung Teacher 2).

Learner 2 provided evidence that the main role of programme coordinators in Bandung CLC was to foster the learners' motivation in learning. He also acknowledged his low willingness to study when he did his Package B and C in the centre:

[…] when I first joined this centre, I communicated most with the head. I used to be lazy to learn, and I took everything for granted. But she was very calm in persuading me to come here (Bandung Learner 2).

The role of the community and District Education Office

Neither the community nor local education officers were directly involved in developing the organisational structure of Bandung CLC; they tended to have an indirect role. The former could give suggestions on who could be a programme coordinator. The latter contributed to two sections in the structure (equivalency education and entrepreneurship literacy education) that orginated from their programmes.

The CLC head admitted that neither party was involved in developing the structure. She also acknowledged that the structure embodied what was organised in the centre: the state programmes and community activities. She commented that:

> The community and the education office are not involved in developing the centre's formal structure. But the community has a stake in determining the coordinators of the agriculture and arts and culture programmes. But, for equivalency education and ECE programmes, we're the ones who determined [the coordinators] (Bandung CLC head).

This comment was supported by NT2 who also explained the reasons why the community and local education office were not involved in the structure development. He explained that:

> […] the people around here are like me. It's better for us to receive something ready, and then we'll just participate and contribute in labour help, if needed. The local education office wasn't also involved in developing the structure. They're only responsible to give us some guidance and supervision. Sometimes, they only come here to check whether or not this CLC is still active (Bandung NT2).

This comment implies that the CLC head, along with her staff and the community members, have the agency to develop the centre's organisational structure.

Relationships with the Community

<u>Introduction</u>

This section presents the findings on the relationship of Bandung CLC with the community. It starts by discussing how the CLC head and staff viewed the community, and vice versa, followed by the extent and nature of community contributions to the centre.

<u>Perceptions toward the community</u>

The community was seen to have a significant role for the existence and development of Bandung CLC. It was even claimed to be the most important part of the centre as it was the inspiration behind its establishment.

As the founder of the centre, the CLC head acknowledged the importance of the community for the institution. She explained that the centre would not look like what it was at the time of research without the community. However, she also stressed that the relationship between the CLC and the community had been mutual, because both groups benefited each other:

> The community is the most important part of this centre. Without their support, we wouldn't be like [what we are] now. Neither with some people here. They have a more colourful and happier life with the existence of this centre (Bandung CLC head).

NT2 further explained the significance of the community for the centre by giving an analogy of the community as the inspiration for the CLC:

> The community is the inspiration of this CLC. The real proof that they are an important part of this CLC is how [the CLC head] has voluntarily given her land and built classrooms and facilities for community learning here (Bandung NT2).

The learners and community members, on the other hand, explained that it was the CLC head's persuasive engagement that made them think that they were important for the centre. Learner 2, for example, recalled his story when he used to visit the centre and then got invited to join equivalency education programmes:

> I was invited to participate [in the equivalency education). I didn't want to do it. What I had in mind was school again, sitting in class again, doing flag ceremony again, no way! It turned out that equivalency education was different; the learning process was relaxed. Then I said: but I don't have money. What I remember most is: did I ask for money? That was deep. I was so embarrassed (Bandung Learner 2).

Community members' contributions

The contributions to Bandung CLC were made by four groups: the CLC head, parents, youth and adult learning and training participants, and community members. The CLC head, as indicated, provided the infrastructure and facilities of the CLC. She financed the costs for building maintenance and paying the staff employed in the CLC.

Other groups contributed to the centre in various ways. Some volunteered their labour, some provided cash, some gave suggestions for learning activities, some showed acceptance towards the establishment of the CLC, some gave their land to be managed by the CLC, while some others offered prayers, as discussed in the following sub-sections.

Labour power

The community contribution to the CLC was mainly through labour power. This was mostly preferred, because it was what they could do best. Learner 2, for instance, mentioned that he volunteered his labour since he participated in the equivalency education programmes in the centre. He claimed that he was always ready to provide labour power:

> If this CLC needs people to repair some buildings here, I'm ready. Since the first time I joined this centre, I always provided labour help. […] whenever I'm needed, I'm ready (Bandung Learner 2).

This comment suggests that the community participated in centre maintenance activities by contributing their labour power, whether requested or not.

The CLC head acknowledged that labour power was indeed the main contribution given by the community to the CLC:

> I will never forget how the community helped my husband and I set up spaces here for free. Not long ago, we repaired the entrance path, and it's also the community members who helped (Bandung CLC head).

Cash

The community members also contributed to the CLC through cash contributions. Youth and adult learners, and ECE students' parents, gave cash, as "charity". For example, CM1, whose daughter enrolled in the ECE Centre, mentioned that she gave a monthly *infaq* – literally translates as charity – to the centre:

> We give *infaq* [charity] every month. The amount depends on how much I have and want to give. No pressures at all (Bandung CM1).

Learner 2 added that he also contributed to CLC funding through cash:

> When I was a Package B and C student, sometimes I gave *infaq* [charity]. But it wasn't routinely every month, only when I had money (Bandung Learner 2).

This comment implies that the cash contribution had no specific amount or date, hence it was called *infaq* (charity).

Suggestions

Some community members contributed to the CLC by giving suggestions on what learning or training programmes to organise. Teacher 1 explained that a recently organised activity – barista (coffee mixing) training – originated from the ideas suggested by some community members:

> As coffee is something trending now, there were community members who came and suggested [the CLC head] to provide barista training. The CLC head said okay (Bandung Teacher 1).

Acceptance

A rather philosophical way of contribution to the CLC – acceptance towards the establishment and existence of the centre – was also raised. Learner 1 explained that, in addition to labour power, accepting the CLC to be part of the village was the biggest community contribution to the centre. Given that many community members had negative perceptions toward what schooling could contribute to whom, and who their children would become, it was uneasy for the CLC to be established in the village:

But the most important thing for me, the community's contribution is their acceptance towards the existence of this CLC. Accepting changes, especially those related to education, is very difficult (Bandung Learner 1).

Land

Some community members who participated in agriculture training gave their land to the CLC to be managed. The land was used for rose planting, and the profit gained after harvesting and selling the flowers was divided between the participants and the CLC:

> There were also some community members who joined our agriculture training group and entrusted their land to be part of our roses business. So, we managed the marketing, and then we received a little commission from the profit (Bandung NT2).

This comment indicates that there were also cases when community members allowed the centre to use and manage their land for the agriculture training programme.

Prayers

Since the majority of the community members followed Islam as their religion, there were cases when community members claimed that they also contributed to the CLC through prayers. As abstract as "acceptance", discussed earlier, CM2 mentioned that giving prayers was also a contribution that he made to the CLC:

> The point is we are always ready at any time to provide labour help and give our prayers for this CLC (Bandung CM2).

This comment was supported by Learner 1 who claimed that, besides labour power, it was the community members' prayers that contributed to the development of the CLC:

> But the community has opened their heart by accepting the existence of this CLC and contribute to its development through labour help and prayers (Bandung Learner 1).

Networks and Partnerships

Introduction

This section presents the findings on networks and partnerships within and beyond Bandung CLC. It starts by discussing how relationships within the centre are nurtured, then followed by the networks and partnerships beyond the CLC, and finally the role of networks and partnerships in providing funding security and sustainability for the centre.

Ways of nurturing relationships within Bandung CLC

The relationships between three groups within the centre: CLC head, staff, and learners or community members, were nurtured by perceiving everybody as family, helping each other, being grateful, and working not for money. Teacher 2 explained that he considered everybody in the centre as his family. This familial relationship within the centre was portrayed through the absence of any serious problems among people working the centre:

> The condition here is indeed like family. There have never been any serious problems. The most common problem that we face here is learners skipping classes, but no problems related to tutors or staff here (Bandung Teacher 2).

This comment was supported by NT2 who mentioned that it was not only the CLC head and staff that he considered as family, but also all learners in the centre. As a person who dropped out of school at a young age, and then pursued his secondary certificates in the CLC, he positioned himself to be the learners' elder brother:

> Everyone here is like my brothers or sisters. I always consider the CLC head as my mother. The children who study here are also like my own brothers or sisters (Bandung NT2).

Besides considering all people involved in the centre as family, the relationships within the centre were also nurtured by helping each other when there were problems. The CLC head commented that:

If there is anything wrong, we communicate. The point is we are never ashamed to share problems that we have. We will help to solve each other's problems (Bandung CLC head).

Being grateful with the facilities available in the centre was claimed by the CLC staff to be a reason why the relationships among people within the centre were harmonious. NT1 mentioned that he simply enjoyed the working conditions and facilities at the CLC, although they were not sophisticated:

As you could see by yourself, the working condition here is also very natural. All facilities are basic, but we just enjoy what we have (Bandung NT1).

Another way used by the tutors to nurture solid relationships with each other in the centre was by de-emphasising money. Teacher 1, for example, was fully aware that she had to work with her heart, and sidelined discussion of finance in order to create a harmonious relationship in the CLC:

We all work here with our hearts. Money is clearly not the main thing for us. This makes us work here in a relaxed way. Although financially we are and have always been lacking, we are solid and happy (Bandung Teacher 1).

All of these methods of nurturing relationships within the centre were supported, because the community members know all the people working in the CLC. CM2 commented that he knew all of them and could see that they were like a family:

Everybody here is kind, like a family (Bandung CM2).

Networks and partnerships beyond Bandung CLC

Bandung CLC established partnerships with two different parties: private companies and government offices. The former functioned to provide financial support, buy the centre's products or employ its graduates, while the latter served as donor agencies.

The CLC head mentioned that the centre had established partnerships with two local companies:

> We have established partnerships with two institutions in this area. [The first one is with] an institution that markets our roses to hotels and wedding organisers. [The other one is with] a tourist resort where we channel our Package C students who need employment (Bandung CLC head).

This comment suggests that the partnerships had enabled the head to gain financial support for the centre or to provide employment for her learners and graduates.

In addition to private companies, the tutors and non-teaching staff mentioned that the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC), Republic of Indonesia, and the District Education Office, were their partners. NT2, for example, explained that:

> [The CLC head], sometimes accompanied by [the secretary], used to go to the village office and the District Education Office a lot. [...] They went there many times to search for possible partners who can help finance the CLC or channel the graduates to work (Bandung NT2).

These partnerships, however, were not documented in a written agreement. Learner 1 commented that:

> For arts and culture, there is no written partner. I'm sure there are no written partners for other activities as well (Bandung Learner 1).

This comment implies that all partnerships that the CLC had were in the form of a spoken agreement. No written documents on partnerships were found in the centre (Field notes taken on 2 September 2019).

Funding security and sustainability

It was evident that one of the aims of networks and partnerships for the centre was to gain funding security and sustainability that could support the daily operation of the centre. The state, in this context, was seen as one of the centre's primary partners as it sometimes provided funding support. NT1 explained that the centre sometimes received some funding from the government, but it was never sustainable:

> We receive assistance from the local education office and directorate [Ministry of Education and Culture], but it's never certain. Sometimes we receive it, sometimes we don't (Bandung NT2).

Funding from the state tended to be uncertain because it required complicated procedures. The CLC head and staff needed to develop a proposal that fulfilled various criteria set by the government:

> Funding from the Regional and Central Governments is uncertain, and requires quite complex proposals. But, whatever the method, we just follow it to get the funding (Bandung CLC head).

The CLC partners from private companies, on the other hand, also became funding sources for the CLC, for example by buying the centre's products or services. NT2 identified a number of funding sources for the CLC, one of which was through selling roses to the centre's partner:

> We have funding from District Education Office, the ministry, roses selling, arts and culture performances, and *infaq* [charity] from parents (Bandung NT2).

This comment confirms that the CLC received some funding from the performances that arts and culture training groups provide for wedding ceremonies. NT2 mentioned that he was happy if there were many people getting married in the village, because the CLC could receive some funding from them:

> And there is also income from agriculture and arts and culture groups. It's not bad. If there are many people who get married, we're happy (Bandung NT2).

Curriculum Development and Enactment

<u>Introduction</u>

This section explores the findings on the enactment of the learning curriculum in Bandung CLC. It begins with the discussion of curriculum implemented and enacted in the centre, and then followed by various parties involved in developing the curriculum.

Curriculum implemented and enacted in Bandung CLC

There were two types of learning curriculum implemented in Bandung CLC: the government-made curriculum and the centre-developed curriculum. The former consisted of School-Based Curriculum (KTSP)[4] and the 2013 curriculum[5], both of which were used for equivalency education programmes. The 2013 curriculum was also used for early childhood education programmes. The basic difference between the two is that teachers using the 2013 curriculum do not need to create their own syllabi as they are already prepared by the government (Field notes taken on 3 September 2019). Meanwhile, the curricula developed by the teachers and learners were used for agriculture, arts and culture, barista (coffee mixing) and other training programmes organised in the CLC.

The CLC head and staff consistently mentioned that there were two formal curricula implemented in the centre: *KTSP* and the 2013 curriculum. Teacher 2 explained the reasons why the CLC implemented two curricula at the same time:

> We are using the 2013 curriculum and KTSP [School-Based Curriculum]. For the 7th and 10th grades, we are using the 2013 curriculum, because they still have a long time before graduation. For the 8th, 9th, 11th and 12th grades, we are using KTSP [School-Based Curriculum], because they have been familiar with it (Bandung Teacher 2).

This comment suggests that the 2013 curriculum was relatively new, and thus it was only given to grades 7 and 10.

Despite claiming to implement KTSP and the 2013 curriculum, the CLC head, teachers and learners all added that they did not pay too much attention to them. Teacher 1, for example, explained that she did not follow what the two curricula prescribed:

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[4] School-Based Curriculum is a national curriculum that provides room to teachers and community members to be involved in making teaching and learning more effective in schools by choosing a subject to teach based on local potentials (BSNP, 2006). The curriculum was developed and regulated in 2006 with Bambang Sudibyo as the Minister of Education and Culture.

[5] The 2013 curriculum is a national curriculum issued in June 2013 that aims to "prepare Indonesian young generation to have life skills as individuals and citizens who are productive, creative, innovative, affective (religious and social attitudes) and competent to contribute for the betterment of social, national, and political lives, and humanity" (Minister of Education and Culture Regulation Number 67-69/2013). The curriculum is believed to be strongly influenced by the country's poor achievements in Programme for International Student Assessment (PISA) 2009 and 2012 (Suprapto, 2016).

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> In practice, the most important thing in equivalency education is how to face the national exam, and use the remaining time to deliver life skills, such as *jaipongan* dance, apprenticeships at companies, farming to help parents, or computer design (Bandung Teacher 1).

The learners provided support for the teacher's comment. Learner 1 commented that he and her teacher were not worried about the curriculum used in the centre for several reasons:

> My tutor and I don't worry too much. My experience at school has given me enough evidence that there were too many things I learned at school that couldn't be applied in my daily life. So, I don't really care about the curriculum, what's important is to study and, in the end, pass the exam and get a certificate (Bandung Learner 1).

In a similar tone, community members believed that curriculum did not really matter. What was important for CM1, for example, was that her daughter was willing to go to the ECE Centre in the CLC and happy to be there:

> The most important thing is she loves coming here: she's willing to go to school and happy to be here. For reading or writing skills, let them get those by time (Bandung CM1).

The training programmes, on the other hand, did not follow any formal curriculum. The CLC head, teachers and learners had the agency to decide what and how to learn, since the training did not necessarily end with a certificate. The curriculum was developed by the teachers and learners, but was only translated into who would be leading the training, what to learn, and when the training would be delivered. In the agriculture training, for example, NT2 explained that:

> We don't have any written curriculum; we gather and see how something is done. For example, I showed my friends [other learners] how to graft roses with a good technique. We didn't use books, sir, I just showed it directly (Bandung NT2).

Learner 2 described the curriculum that he and his friends used in the arts and culture training programme as a "metal" curriculum. Metal in this context refers to a genre of rock music, implying that the curriculum was active, not academic, and the important thing was all participants kept themselves up to date with recent songs so that they could deliver them when performing:

The curriculum for the arts and culture training is a metal curriculum. The important thing is to perform well and don't lose updates with other expensive groups (Bandung Learner 2).

Parties involved in developing curriculum

The curriculum in Bandung CLC was developed by four groups: the government, the CLC head, teachers, and learners or community members. The government set the curriculum for equivalency education and ECE programmes, and the last three groups developed the curriculum for three training programmes held in the centre.

The curriculum used for equivalency education programmes was more like a policy to follow by the CLC. It was developed by the MoEC and provided a set of guidelines that teachers could follow in teaching and learning processes. However, teachers in Bandung CLC did not entirely follow what was suggested in the curriculum. Teacher 1, for instance, explained that she only covered the core competencies set in the curriculum to ensure that the learners pass the national exam:

> Of course [it's] the government [who developed the curriculum for equivalency education programmes]. We're just following it. But we are flexible. If the core competencies are covered, the learners can learn other things. They can also do a work internship if they want to (Bandung Teacher 1).

This comment was supported by Learner 1 who shared her learning experience in the Package C programme. She highlighted that, in the weekly or fortnightly meeting, she and her friends had mainly focused on exam questions and specific materials that they considered difficult:

> I don't need to study five days a week, and keep on learning things which are clearly not useful in daily life. […] my formal learning purpose here is to pass the exam, while the rest is to learn from life experience (Bandung Learner 1).

The curriculum for training programmes, on the other hand, was initially developed by the CLC head and her husband. Over time, it was handed to the teachers and learners:

> In the past, my late husband and I were thinking about how to teach reading or deliver the learning process. After the centre becomes more developed as it is today, I leave everything to the tutors and the community (Bandung CLC head).

This comment was supported by Teacher 1, who commented that:

> [The curriculum for training programmes] heavily depends on the negotiation between the learners and tutors or resource persons (Bandung Teacher 1).

NT1, however, claimed that what the teachers and training participants developed could not be regarded as curriculum. He mentioned that it was more like an agreement on who could lead a session, and what and when to learn:

> The agriculture and arts and culture training have their own curriculum. But I won't say it's a curriculum, because it feels like something luxurious. Maybe it's just an activity and discussion time (Bandung NT1).

Engagement with Learners

Introduction

This section presents the findings on how Bandung CLC leaders and teachers engaged with their learners. It starts by discussing the methods used in recruiting learners, then followed by the needs analysis carried by the CLC leaders and teachers prior to the recruitment, and finally ways of addressing the learners' learning needs.

Learner recruitment

There were three methods used by the CLC leaders and staff to recruit learners: door to door communication, village meetings, and banner display. The first two methods were carried out mainly by the CLC head and non-teaching staff, while the third one was chosen after the CLC became more popularly accepted by the villagers.

The CLC head remembered how she and her late husband often walked around the neighbourhood and went from door to door to ask the villagers to visit the centre and do some activities there:

> My late husband and I went door-to-door to invite the local people to come and study here (Bandung CLC head).

Teacher 1 who accomplished his Package B and C certificates from the CLC, confirmed this comment, mentioning that:

> In the past, I was often picked up at home. [I was] Persuaded to study here (Bandung Learner 1).

Learner 2 admitted that it was indeed the informal conversations with the CLC head that made her decide to participate in the Package C equivalency education programme:

> I originally had no intention of joining this CLC. But due to the short chats [with the CLC head] and my condition, I finally decided to join Package C (Bandung Learner 2).

As the CLC became more accepted by the villagers, and gained more popularity, the CLC head and staff did not have to do the door-to-door method any more, as confirmed by the CLC head:

> Now everything is much easier. People come here, including those from quite far away (Bandung CLC head).

NT2 supported this comment by mentioning that, after the centre became popular, learner recruitment became easy:

> If anyone doesn't want to go to the far away junior or senior secondary schools, s/he will go straight here and be accepted. No tests needed, just directly study (Bandung NT2).

Another method used by the CLC head and staff in recruiting the learners was by joining an annual village meeting. The CLC head normally became one of the speakers in the meeting and talked about the learning and training programmes organised in the centre. This method was raised by CM2:

> Every year there is a meeting with the villagers. When I was told that there were Package B and C programmes, I immediately joined (Bandung CM2).

Finally, with the CLC's increasing popularity, NT1 explained that the learner recruitment method gradually changed into displaying banners:

> Now, we only make a short announcement about the start of new academic year, and then put it at the entrance (Bandung NT1).

Needs analysis

The needs analysis that the CLC head and staff carried out prior to learner recruitment focused on securing facilities. Before the beginning of a new academic year for equivalency education and ECE, the CLC head and staff held a meeting to check the availability and readiness of learning resources and facilities in the centre.

The CLC head commented that the needs analysis that she and her staff did was in the form of a briefing. They discussed whether or not available resources and facilities could accommodate new ECE students and school-age equivalency education learners who would regularly come to the centre:

> What I always think about is how to accommodate all learners with available facilities and resources. I always consider how many equivalency education learners require classes, textbooks. I have to fulfill all of them. I also think about whether or not available early childhood education facilities are adequate for the children (Bandung CLC head).

NT2 supported this comment by explaining that the CLC head always checked the condition of facilities in the centre, at least once a year:

> [The CLC head] always checks whether or not the chairs and desks are okay. She also checks if the class has anything broken: the doors, glasses, etc. Usually, the checking is once a year. [The CLC head] also considers ECE students' mothers. She considers how they can wait for their children here comfortably (Bandung NT2).

After the meeting, the CLC head and staff cleaned the centre and repaired some damaged facilities. It was also the moment when they normally received labour assistance from the community members:

> The only thing we do is organising an annual briefing to welcome new students. And then we repair existing facilities together (Bandung Teacher 2).

The CLC head and staff, on the other hand, explained that it was difficult to do the same thing for adult learners. Since they often came at unexpected times, they could not analyse the needed facilities prior to the recruitment. However, they were not worried about this, because they thought that adult learners were more flexible. The CLC head stated that:

> For adult learners, I am not too worried, because they are quite flexible and can adapt to any situation (Bandung CLC head).

Ways of addressing the learners' learning needs

The CLC head and staff addressed the learners' learning needs through three interconnected ways: developing different approaches for different age groups, giving appreciation for willingness to study, and not necessarily prioritising academic attainment.

Since the CLC served diverse learners from different age groups and backgrounds, it was evident that it had to develop various learning approaches to meet various learning needs. NT1 explained how the CLC tried to fulfil the learning needs of young to adult learners enrolled in the CLC through different approaches:

If someone skips classes too long, we go to his or her house and talk to his or her parents. For adult learners, we make study groups, we give them a textbook and we meet once a week to chat and see their learning progress. For other programmes, the important thing is all of them can study while working to earn some income and help their family. For the ECE students, what matters is they have a place to play and teachers that accompany them while studying (Bandung NT1).

Given the villagers' low participation rates in junior and senior secondary schools, the CLC head and staff were happy that the community members showed increasing willingness to join some learning or training activities in the centre. That is the reason why NT2 commented that having willingness to learn was the most important aspect to recognise in order to maintain the learners' participation:

Here, the most important thing is willingness to learn. People are willing to come here and then learn something, well that's what's important. Most of them already have a decision where to go anyway. Some want to work, farm, get married, trade, and other [things] (Bandung NT2).

In addition to the low participation rates in formal schooling, the community members also acknowledged that they had low trust in education in general. While appreciating what the CLC head did in persuading the villagers to participate in the activities organised in the centre, CM2 admitted that he had low trust in education:

[The CLC head] is never tired of looking for people to learn here even though she knows that their level of willingness and trust in education is very low (Bandung CM2).

For these reasons, the CLC head and staff believed that it would also be wise to make academic attainment less of a priority. For teacher 2, academic attainment was never a priority because the learners rarely went on to continue their education to university. Upon finishing Package B and C, he explained that community members in general either went for work or marriage:

Academic achievement is secondary. The important thing is that I pass the national exam. The certificate can be used for anything I want. It can be used to search for work, or if I want to get married, it's also no problem (Bandung Teacher 2).

The Role of Central Government in Developing CLCs

Introduction

This section presents an additional theme that was discovered from the interviews with research participants. It centres upon what the participants wanted to see happening in the future about policy and funding for community education.

Expectations for major change

Despite their agency, the CLC head, staff and community members expressed some expectations to the researcher about the future of CLCs in Indonesia. Paying attention to the welfare of CLC's employees was the main expectation raised by the CLC head and staff. The CLC head hoped that my decision to take CLC as a research focus was a good sign for the development of community education in the country:

> I hope you will pay attention and fight for non-formal education. We are always demanded to improve our quality, but as you can see it by yourself, we only have high school graduates, their welfare is not like formal teachers, but we are asked to work and perform like formal education teachers (Bandung CLC head).

All participants hoped that there would be a positive change following my research on the leadership of community education. NT1 commented that:

> I hope you can help improve the condition of non-formal education in the future. You're young and have a long future. I'll pray you [do] (Bandung NT1).

Similarly, Teacher 1 hoped that I could make some improvements to community education policy and CLCs in the future by commenting that:

> You also work at the Ministry, so I hope that there will be improvements in the future (Bandung Teacher 1).

Overview

This chapter presents the findings on the leadership of community education from the first case: a CLC in Bandung, Western Indonesia. This case shows that the CLC head was seen as the primary leader in the centre. The CLC head was considered as the main leader because of her ownership of the centre and leadership qualities.

The findings show that neither the District Education Officer nor the community were involved in developing the structure. However, since the community was perceived to be the most important element of the centre, they had the power to influence what was taught, and suggest who could be designated as programme coordinators.

The community also made various contributions to the development of the CLC. The contributions found in this case were mainly labour power, funding in its various forms, and other non-financial contributions. To gain additional funding support, the centre established unwritten partnerships with private companies and government offices.

The case has shown that there were two types of learning curricula implemented in the CLC: the government-made curriculum and the centre-developed curriculum. However, it was clearly indicated that reseach participants showed some form of resistance towards the implementation of national curriculum in learning activities.

The chapter also identified strategies used by the CLC head and staff to recruit the learners. A door-to-door approach was indicated as key in learner recruitment, especially during the initial phase of the centre. To meet their learning needs, the CLC head and staff developed different approaches for different learners from diverse age groups and backgrounds. It was shown that, as long as the learners had a willingness to learn, they would be accepted regardless of their academic background and attainment.

Chapter Five: Jakarta Community Learning Centre

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the second case: a Community Learning Centre (CLC) in Jakarta. It begins with the CLC context, followed by the findings, and ends with an overview.

Context

This case is a state CLC in Jakarta, the Capital and the centre of economy, culture and politics of Indonesia, with a population of more than 10.5 million (Statistics Indonesia, 2018). Specifically, the CLC is located in an urban area, not far from one of the business districts in Jakarta. The number of inhabitants living in the area is 52,447 people, originating from various regions of Indonesia (Field notes taken on 1 October 2019). The Indigenous people of Jakarta city – the Batavian – rarely live in this sub-district due to its high cost of living.

The sub-district has easy access to social services facilities, such as early year centres, schools, hospitals, banks, and shopping centres. It is also popular for its restaurants, supermarkets, department stores and street vendors. Public transport (e.g. buses, taxis, and motor taxis) is available 24 hours, seven days a week. Given its strategic location and economic activities, the sub-district includes community members with diverse economic backgrounds. Some are well off, and have prestigious and respected professions, while others are poor and do odd jobs. Some are able to pay fees to the CLC as a lump sum, while others pay by instalments. Many of these community members send their children to private international schools that provide a foreign curriculum, with expat teachers. This condition is reflected in how the CLC serves learners from diverse socio-economic backgrounds.

The CLC has been operating for approximately 47 years. It was established by the eighth Governor of Jakarta, Ali Sadikin, under the name of *Panti Latihan Karya* (literally translates as Work Practice Centre). It was dedicated to provide skills training for those seeking employment or wanting to improve their earnings. In 1999, when the economic crisis hit Indonesia, it was changed to a Community Learning Centre. While still providing its initial work training service, it was given additional responsibilities to organise equivalency education programmes (Packages A, B and C) and to become the centre of information for the community. By 2000, the centre also provided early childhood education (ECE) services.

Since its establishment, the centre has been targeted as a place to attach civil servants who may have certain problems (e.g. lack of discipline, corruptive behaviour). Since it had minimal funding, and a difficult task to provide learning and training activities to an "out of school" population who were largely poor and had academic and family problems, the centre became a place of "punishment" for "unwanted" government officers (Interview with Jakarta CLC head, page 134 and 138). It also became a place to implement short-term government programmes, without actually running them (ghost courses).

In early 2017, there was significant government restructuring in Jakarta. The CLC head at the time of the research was appointed to lead the centre from that year. As she knew the condition of the CLC, she was disappointed, but she could not refuse the appointment. Several days after she was appointed, the CLC building collapsed, and became unusable. This motivated her to make momentous changes in the CLC.

Her first initiative was removing all civil servants working in the CLC by requesting the head of the Jakarta Education Office to transfer them to another work unit. She also talked to the Governor and Mayor as well as high-ranking government officials from the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC), to seek assistance. A few months later, the national and provincial governments rebuilt the CLC, with splendid infrastructure and facilities. The head succeeded in gaining policy-makers' support through getting the attention of national media to cover the news about the centre's collapse.

Standing on a 1,444 square metres site, the CLC consists of four floors and has 28 rooms, which are all under the ownership, management, and responsibility of the Jakarta Government. Table 5.1 shows the CLC's overall infrastructure.

No.	Room	Ground Floor	First Floor	Second Floor	Third Floor
1.	Head's Office	1			
2.	Staff Office	1			
3.	ECCE classroom	2			
4.	Equivalency Education classroom		2	4	
5.	Library				1
6.	Computer room				2
7.	Laboratory				1
8.	Common room		1		
9.	Prayer room		1		
10.	Health room	1			
11.	Kitchen	1			
12.	Female staff's toilet	1			
13.	Male staff's toilet	1			
14.	Female students' toilet	1	1	1	1
15.	Male students' toilet	1	1	1	1
	Total	**10**	**6**	**6**	**6**

Table 5. 1: The infrastructure of Jakarta CLC
Source: CLC Profile (2018) and observation

The CLC has good facilities, with more tables and chairs than required, either for the staff or students. Cabinets are available in all classrooms as well as in the staff room. It also has forty computers in two rooms, mainly used to organise the national examination at the end of each academic year. There are also four computers and two printers in the staff office. Outside the CLC building, there is a multi-purpose sports court used for badminton, basketball, volleyball and futsal. In addition, there is an approximately three to four metre playing space beside the CLC building for early years' children, comprising a sand box, two swings, and one slide.

The centre has fourteen teachers, all of whom have a bachelor's degree in education. Nine teachers are fresh graduates recruited by the CLC head after removing the civil servants working in the centre. The remaining five teachers already worked in the CLC before the centre head was appointed, and they have been given the role of senior teachers. All teachers are non-government permanent employees, with a letter of assignment from the head of the Jakarta Education office, and a monthly incentive from the regional budget (Field notes

taken on 3 October 2019). They teach 24 hours per week, on five working days. The teachers, especially the newly recruited ones, also deal with administrative affairs, such as writing official letters, developing reports, managing online data entry, and making budgeting proposals. The CLC employs one local person, who has two responsibilities; cleaning and security. He is the only employee paid through parents' contributions.

Besides dismissing all the civil servants, and then recruiting fresh graduates, the CLC head removed short-term training programmes and made ECE, Package A, B and C, the only services provided by the centre. At the time of the research, Jakarta CLC enrolled 156 students, comprising 40 ECE students and 116 equivalency education students. Table 5.1 shows the student numbers by programme and gender.

No.	Programme	Number of students		Total
		Boys	Girls	
1.	Early childhood education	19	21	40
2.	Package A	2	7	9
3.	Package B	21	8	29
4.	Package C (social sciences)	51	25	76
	Total	**93**	**61**	**116**

Table 5. 2: Number of students at Jakarta CLC
Source: CLC annual report

The Nature of Leadership

Introduction

This section discusses the findings on the nature of leadership in Jakarta CLC. It starts by discussing how headship is perceived as leadership, and continues with the leadership team, task distribution, time management, the initiation of learning activities, and the need for professional development programmes.

Headship as leadership

The CLC head is a senior government officer in one of the education offices in Jakarta who was given a second task to lead and manage Jakarta CLC from 2017.

As a devout Catholic and cancer survivor, she has managed to transform the CLC from a place that was known for its corruption, and functioned as a place of exile for civil servants facing problems of any kind, to an institution with a stunning building and facilities, as well as young staff and diverse learners. For these reasons, all participants mentioned that she deserved to be regarded as the (only) leader in the centre. They also claimed that it was her leadership qualities that made them believe that there was no need for another leader.

The head admitted that her position as a government officer made her become a managerial leader. However, she claimed that she tried to include some transformational elements alongside her managerial leadership:

> I'm trying to become a transformational manager. I have successfully fought for luxurious infrastructure and facilities in this CLC. I also managed to get reliable and young staff. I'm committed to myself that I'll devote the time that I have before retirement to this CLC. Hopefully what I do here will become a legacy for the struggle of non-formal education in Jakarta (Jakarta CLC head).

NT1 mentioned that the CLC head's leadership had been exemplary in the way she changed the centre's structure, vision and mission. He commented that:

> Her leadership has also been very revolutionary here. She changed the structure, vision and mission of the CLC to be more realistic and honest (Jakarta NT1).

This comment implies that prior to the time of research, the CLC had a different structure, vision and mission that the staff perceived to be unauthentic.

Teacher 2 supported the comment by mentioning that the CLC head was the only leader in the centre, because he believed that the CLC head performed the qualities of revolutionary leadership. He also commented that:

> I don't think it's necessary to have another leader, because the employees here are energetic and young. Everybody can still run. So, the most important thing for me is that we have a revolutionary leader like [her] (Jakarta Teacher 2).

NT2 provided further evidence why the staff agreed that the CLC head deserved to be regarded as the primary leader in the centre:

> She is strict and doesn't corrupt, sir. She also only recruited good employees. The civil servants were all transferred to a new unit by [the CLC head]. The tutors that we have now are young and smart, sir (Jakarta NT2).

This comment implies that the staff appreciated the CLC head's non-corrupt leadership, and thus perceived her as an effective leader.

For the community members, the CLC head's philanthropic attitude was another reason why she was perceived to be the head and leader in the CLC:

> [The CLC head] is really good, sir. She's willing to help us even though we are poor. She's the one who convinced me that [my daughter] could go to school again, for free and there would be no more bullies (Jakarta CM2).

Leadership team

Research participants consistently explained that the CLC did not have a leadership team. The small number of teachers and students was the main reason why they did not see the need for a leadership team in the centre. The CLC head, however, mentioned that she appointed some staff to function as senior teachers who are responsible for providing guidance to young teachers:

> As you can see by yourself, more than fifty percent of my staff is young. So, what I do is I have a tutor coordinator and senior tutors. These are the ones whom the young tutors can ask when they have problems (Jakarta CLC head).

Teacher 2 provided further explanation about the role of the CLC's senior teachers:

> The senior tutors play a role as mentors to young tutors who are still fresh graduates. We introduced our young friends to the context of CLC, so they could easily adapt themselves (Jakarta Teacher 2).

NT1 believed that having senior teachers was a strategy that the CLC head used to prepare the staff as future leaders. Given the context of the CLC, with senior and junior tutors, who complemented each other with their strengths, he thought that the strategy was precise:

> What's clearly visible and I'm sure it's acknowledged by all employees here is that [the CLC head] is trying to cadre [develop] young staff to become leaders. In this CLC, there are tutors who are considered senior, not because they are smarter, but because they have more experience here. Senior and junior tutors complement each other (Jakarta NT1).

This comment implies that having a team consisting of senior teachers in the CLC was perceived to be more feasible than having a leadership team.

Job distribution

Interviews with research participants indicated that the CLC head assigned her staff with multiple tasks. She did it because she knew that her staff were capable, and that the centre did not have any more "lazy" civil servants:

> All tutors must think out of the box and be able to carry out other assignments other than teaching, such as managing IT, making reports, recording learners' attendance, making videos, etc. That's why I only have two non-teaching staff: one operator who specialises in handling online data entry and one cleaning service. The important thing is that they're willing to work hard and don't have the mentality of old and lazy civil servants (Jakarta CLC head).

Informed by the reality that many of her staff are young, have a bachelor's degree, and a satisfactory academic background, the staff claimed that the CLC head distributed tasks by giving them her full trust. NT1, for example, commented that:

> She gives her full trust to all employees here. She often expresses how proud she is for all of her employees here who are young and all have a bachelor's degree. Many employees have double jobs, and they don't mind, because they are capable and the CLC head always gives trust in what all of them do (Jakarta NT1).

Besides giving her trust, NT2 explained that the CLC head gave him clear instructions when she gave him a task. This strategy was deemed to be effective in achieving the outcomes that the CLC head expected:

> [The CLC head] always gives me clear instructions when she asks me to do a task. Back then, she called me, and explained my duties, ranging from cleaning offices and toilets. So the point is that I was given clear instructions: clean this, clean that, check this, and check that (Jakarta NT2).

Time management

The CLC head comes to the office early and goes home late. Since the CLC head was a government officer, and the CLC operational hours were between 12.00 and 17.00, she goes to the education office in the morning to record her attendance and then goes to the centre. She explained that she would stay in the CLC until she finished her tasks:

> Every morning I firstly go to XXX Jakarta Education Office to record my attendance. After that, at 11 o'clock in the afternoon, I go this CLC and stay here until 17:00 or 17:30, depending on the workload. If I have more work to do, I'll stay here until it's finished. After all settles, I return to the Education Office again to record my attendance (Jakarta CLC head).

This comment was supported by NT1 who mentioned that the CLC head's time management was excellent:

> The CLC head is the person who stays here the longest. She comes early and goes home late. Although she has to go to the Education Office to record her attendance before coming here, she's still the last person who goes home from the centre. Her time management is excellent, between being a bureaucrat and a leader here (Jakarta NT1).

Learning activities initiation

Jakarta CLC only provides government-initiated learning activities, namely: Early Childhood Education (ECE), and Equivalency education (Package, A, B and C). Despite admitting it as a weakness, the CLC head explained that it was reasonable and fits the context of the community members in Jakarta:

There are many [domestic] immigrants here, and their children who dropped out of school usually join the Packages here. There are also many children from rich families: athletes or celebrities who also study here, because they have different learning needs. There are also school-age inmates who are entrusted to study here by a juvenile penitentiary (Jakarta CLC head).

NT2, who lived nearby and finished his secondary education in the centre, commented that the CLC head's policy to organise government-initiated learning activities was meticulous. He claimed that he was one of the persons who benefited from the decision:

This CLC only has ECE and Equivalency Education. It's because of people like me. Although I live here [where the CLC located], I only finished my primary education. Many people from Java who migrated here are even worse, I think (Jakarta NT2).

CM1, whose daughter was registered in a Package B programme in the centre, supported this comment by mentioning that the programmes offered by the CLC were the right services that she and her daughter wanted:

Because my daughter is an athlete, and often participates in national and international competitions, I often ask for dispensations for her not to go to the CLC. But my daughter's CLC is very flexible, and my daughter could always catch up with her subjects (Jakarta CM1).

This comment provides evidence of the diversity of students enrolled in the Jakarta CLC.

The need for professional development programmes

Based on their academic and professional background, the CLC head and staff were perceived to need professional development programmes to improve their working performance. Although most staff have a bachelor's degree and many of them, including the CLC head, graduated from the Out-of-School Education major that specifically focuses on community education and CLCs, they need professional development programmes for various reasons.

Firstly, regardless of her long career and experience as a government officer, the CLC head learned how to manage and lead the centre after she was given the leadership position in the centre:

> I'm 58 years old. I graduated from an Out of School Education Programme. I'm a civil servant […]. But since 2017, I was assigned to be the head of this CLC (Jakarta CLC head).

This comment suggests that the CLC head was not in a leadership position prior to her designation in the centre at the time of research.

Secondly, some staff in Jakarta CLC did not have any formal working experience before joining the centre. Teacher 1, for example, was a fresh graduate who was recruited by the CLC head for her excellent academic background, and then assigned to teach two subjects (social studies and sociology) at two different levels: Package B and Package C respectively:

> I graduated from the Out of School Programme in 2018. I'm working here because I was recruited directly by the CLC head. At that time, the CLC head deliberately came to my university. She met the course leader and explained that she was looking for tutors who could teach several subjects in equivalency education programmes and could also operate a computer (Jakarta Teacher 1).

This comment implies that, despite her academic background, Teacher 1 was in need of professional development programmes to improve her pedagogical skills, because she lacked teaching experience, but had to deliver two different subjects at two different levels.

NT2 provided stronger evidence that he had no formal working experience in both roles he had in the centre. He commented that:

> I'm a security guard and a cleaning service here, sir. I was actually a primary school graduate. I was also asked to work here directly by [the CLC head]. She came to my house and offered me to work at this CLC (Jakarta NT2).

Multi-tasking is another reason why the CLC staff need professional development programmes. Some staff have to do multiple tasks without a relevant academic background. NT1, for example, has a degree in Islamic Studies, but is working as a treasurer and teacher of two subjects (Islamic Religion and Physical Education) in the centre:

> I'm a treasurer and a tutor of Islamic religion and Physical Education. I graduated from the Islamic Character Education Programme. I have been working here since 2015. I was one of three people who was asked to stay and help [the CLC head] here (Jakarta NT1).

Organisational Structure

<u>Introduction</u>

This section presents and discusses the organisational structure of Jakarta CLC. It is divided into three sections: (i) Jakarta CLC organisational structure and its development; (ii) programme coordinators and their roles; and, (iii) the role of the community and the Education Office in developing the organisational structure.

<u>Jakarta CLC organisational structure and its development</u>

Soon after her appointment, the CLC head made a significant change to the centre's organisational structure. She removed two sections from the organisational structure (i.e. entrepreneurship and industry, and information and partnership) because she believed that those did not have any function other than being designated for problematic civil servants:

> After the CLC collapsed, I "dismissed" almost 50 percent of the employees. I only kept two or three people who still had the willingness to develop, to work hard and not be corrupt. I asked six civil servants who were here at that time to move, because they were lazy and they didn't even have the energy to change (Jakarta CLC head).

The CLC has eight different job roles and sections, namely: head, education coordinator, operator, treasurer, and coordinators of Early Childhood Education (ECE), Package A, Package B, and Package C. The CLC head has the decision-making authority over all sections and is supported by an operator and a treasurer. The second tier consists of the education section that breaks down into ECE, Package A, Package B and Package C. The education officers and community members are not included in the structure, but the former was acknowledged as the one who authorised the structure, while the latter was mentioned to have no role in the structure development. The organisational structure of Jakarta CLC before and after the CLC head was appointed to lead the centre is illustrated in Figure 5.1.
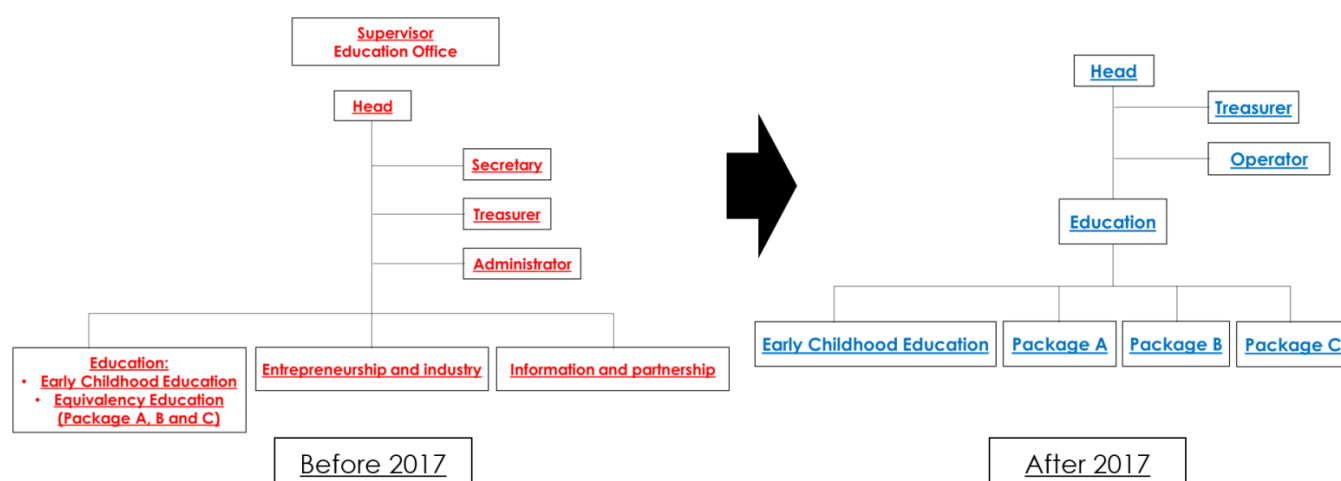
Figure 5. 1: The organisational structure of Jakarta CLC before and after 2017
Source: CLC Profile (2018) and observations

The people involved in developing the organisational structure were the CLC head and the three staff whom the CLC head retained after she moved to the centre. Teacher 1, for example, explained that:

> The structure was fully developed by the CLC head. But it also involved senior tutors. The structure was then approved by the Education Office (Jakarta Teacher 1).

Teacher 2 confirmed this comment by explaining that the structure aimed at cutting the bureaucratic lines and procedures that used to characterise the centre:

> The organisational structure was developed by the CLC head and the senior tutors here. The Education Office as our direct supervisor then authorised it. We have no vice head. We only have [the CLC head] and then goes down to the Education Coordinator (Jakarta Teacher 2).

This comment implies that the staff believed that the organisational structure of Jakarta CLC at the time of research could result in the centre becoming less bureaucratic even though it is a state institution. Furthermore, NT1 explained that the structure portrayed what the CLC has, not what it is required to have:

> The structure is very real, reflecting the real situation here (Jakarta NT1).

The roles of programme coordinators

Jakarta CLC has five coordinators for four learning activities. One coordinator is responsible for the education section in general. He is a senior English teacher who had been working there before the CLC head joined the centre. His main role is to assist the CLC head and develop an annual report based on the reports submitted by programme coordinators. The four programme coordinators, responsible to the education coordinator, represent the four learning programmes that the CLC organises, namely ECE, whose coordinator is also the treasurer and a teacher of Islamic religion and Physical Education, Package A whose coordinator is also the centre's operator, Package B whose coordinator is also responsible for making a report on students' attendance, and Package C whose coordinator also functions as the person in charge of the computer-based national exam. This shows that all the coordinators in Jakarta CLC have multiple tasks.

Except NT2, who functions as a cleaner and security guard, all other staff have both teaching and non-teaching tasks. Besides teaching and maintaining the centre's financial records, NT1 commented that all coordinators should maintain good communication between each other to ensure that the teachers carry out appropriate learning approaches for the students:

> Tutors must know that there are students who are having problems with the law, [are] athletes or models, so they can adjust their teaching approaches (Jakarta NT1).

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Teacher 2, who also functions as the education coordinator, explained that his role is to ensure that all learners demonstrate positive changes in their attitude, behaviour and point of view. He explained that:

> But apart from teaching, I'm also responsible to ensure that learners show positive changes in three aspects, namely attitude, behaviour and point of view (Jakarta Teacher 2).

This comment suggests that students' positive changes in three aspects (attitude, behaviour and point of view) are the primary outcomes that the staff expect to see from the learning process. In other words, the learning process in the centre is not solely aimed at improving students' academic attainment.

Learner 2 – an ex-youth convict – confirmed the comment by explaining that the CLC head and Package C coordinator expect him not to take the second opportunity for granted. From the conversations with the CLC head and Package C coordinator, Learner 2 understood that academic attainment is second to improvement in living his life:

> When I first joined this CLC, I was often called to [the CLC head's] office to chat. She asked me to study well, but stay relaxed. She said the most important thing is I don't waste this second chance. She often gave me a lot of advice (Jakarta Learner 2).

The role of the community and the local education office

Neither the education officers nor the community members were involved in developing the structure. The CLC head, however, commented that the education office criticised the changes that she and her staff made when she asked them to authorise the structure. Meanwhile, the community members did not have any role in the development of the structure, but they did inspire her and her staff in creating it:

> The structure is purely my work and the employees who fought together with me from the moment the CLC [building] collapsed. I was criticised by my superior at the Education Office, but he finally understood that today's structure was what we needed, not a structure that was only intended to be filled by problematic people (Jakarta CLC head).

This comment was supported by NT1 who developed Jakarta's organisational structure, together with the CLC head. He also explained that the reasons why the community members were not involved in developing the structure are because the CLC is a state institution and the community has low sense of ownership and concern toward the centre:

> Since this is a state CLC, it's understandable if the community is not too concerned with the organisational structure. But I have to make a note on this matter. The Education Office was also not involved in developing the structure. The office was only asked to authorise and accept the structure that was developed by [the CLC head] and us at that time (Jakarta NT1).

This comment implies that, although the CLC is a state institution, the head and her staff have the agency to develop its organisational structure.

Relationships with the Community

<u>Introduction</u>

This section presents the findings about the relationship of Jakarta CLC with the community. It considers how the CLC head, staff and community members viewed each other, and the community members' contributions to the centre.

<u>Perceptions toward the community</u>

Research participants all agreed that the community plays an important role in developing and supporting the centre. The community members were claimed to be the main reasons why the centre only organises government-initiated learning programmes.

NT1, however, explained that "community" in the context of Jakarta CLC extends beyond the geographical locality. Since Jakarta consists of inhabitants coming from various regions, with various socio-economic and cultural backgrounds, he believes the CLC's working area breaks through territorial boundaries:

The people living in this area come from various ethnicities and cultures. So, if you ask about the community that refers to the surrounding people who live in the area, it's clearly not contextual with this CLC. However, the community is clearly an important part of this CLC. Our Cleaning Service is a local resident who finished his Package C in this CLC (Jakarta NT1).

Regardless how the community is understood, the CLC staff viewed the community members as the targets of their programmes. Teacher 1, for instance, mentioned that the learning activities in the CLC are reliant upon community participation. He commented that:

If there were no community, our programmes would certainly not run. The community is the main target of our programmes (Jakarta Teacher 1).

In addition to being the target learners, the CLC head commented that the community is the programme beneficiary. That is why most students enrolled in the CLC do not pay fees, and the CLC head recruited staff from the surrounding area who accomplished his secondary education in the centre:

As a proof that we do think about the community, we do cross-subsidies. Only 20 percent of the learners here pay a monthly lump sum. The remaining 80 percent is completely free. Another concrete evidence is that I hired Mr. XXX, a Package C graduate as a cleaning service. Mr. XXX is a resident around here who joined Package C here (Jakarta CLC head).

CM2 supported this comment by acknowledging that her daughter benefitted from the CLC's learning programmes (i.e. Package C) and the fee-free policy. She commented that:

My own daughter, she used to go to a vocational senior secondary school, but because she was often bullied by her friends, she couldn't stand it. She finally asked me to leave school. So she ended up here. Thank God, I don't have to pay any monthly fee (Jakarta CM2).

Community members' contributions

Two groups make contributions to Jakarta CLC: parents and community members. The former mainly contributed in cash, while the latter contributed in labour power and participation in commemorating national holidays, as discussed in the following sub-sections.

Cash

The community contribution to the CLC was mainly through cash. All parents have to pay an entrance or registration fee when they enroll their children to the CLC. The amount was undisclosed, but well-off parents paid more than less fortunate ones. Parents have the option to pay the entrance fee by instalments for one-year, if they wish.

The CLC head confirmed that cash was the main contribution of the parents to the centre. However, she stressed that it was well-off parents who were required to pay the entrance fee, and they did not mind at all:

> Since those who pay are all rich people, they don't mind at all. They are never late in paying the monthly lump sum. Indeed, they are financially very capable (Jakarta CLC head).

Learner 1 – a young future celebrity – confirmed this comment by mentioning that her parent paid more entrance fee than others:

> I paid entrance fee here. [I pay] Monthly tuition fee as well. It [the entrance fee] was really cheap. So, my mom gave the CLC extra. I just consider it a charity (Jakarta Learner 1).

Learner 2, whose parents are also wealthy, supported this comment by explaining that:

> The tuition fee is not that much. My mother took care of that. She told me not to worry (Jakarta Learner 2).

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CM2, who worked as a laundress, also mentioned that she did not mind paying the entrance fee when she registered her daughter to the CLC:

> When I registered [my daughter] here, I had to pay an entrance fee, sir, but it wasn't as expensive compared to when [my daughter] attended the vocational school, and thank God, it could be paid in installments as well (Jakarta CM2).

Labour power

The community also contributed through labour power. The contribution was occasionally given when the CLC organised activities to commemorate national holidays. NT2 explained that there were people, whose children are enrolled in the CLC, who sometimes helped cleaning the centre after the celebration of national holidays:

> They usually participate in commemorating the Independence Day on the 17th of August or at the Eid events, sir. It's something regular. But yes, after the celebrations, they also help with the cleaning, sometimes (Jakarta NT2).

After the CLC broke down, and was then rebuilt with a stunning building, the community members started giving more attention to the security of the centre. Teacher 2 mentioned that the community also helped in protecting the CLC from burglars and vandals:

> People doing the night watch also help monitor this CLC from irresponsible people entering and damaging the building or facilities inside (Jakarta Teacher 2).

CM2 confirmed this comment by mentioning that the community contribution to the CLC through a range of labour power support:

> The surrounding community, parents or those who study here, usually help celebrate national holidays and clean the CLC afterwards. The point is we help to maintain the cleanliness and security of this place (Jakarta CM2).

Networks and Partnerships

Introduction

This section focuses on networks and partnerships within and beyond Jakarta CLC. It starts by discussing how relationships within the centre are nurtured, then followed by the networks and partnerships beyond the CLC, and finally the role of networks and partnerships in providing funding security and sustainability for the centre.

Ways of nurturing relationships within Jakarta CLC

The relationships within Jakarta CLC were nurtured by creating what the CLC head and staff understood as a "non-formal education culture". This refers to friendly and supportive working conditions and relationships among staff, characterised with fewer formalities and bureaucracy. One of the strategies used by the CLC head to realise this culture was by making a cooking activity during lunch time a routine:

> The first thing I did to make this CLC felt like any other CLC in general was asking all of my staff to cook in our office for lunch. So, the condition feels more informal. We maintain this activity every day and everyone gets to know each other better and becomes a family (Jakarta CLC head).

NT1 explained that he experienced the change of working culture in the CLC. He mentioned that, before the CLC head led the centre, the working conditions in the institution were hierarchical and bureaucratic. However, since 2017 and cooking became a routine in the centre, he experienced what he believed as "elements of non-formal education":

> Now everything becomes very flexible. There's a culture of non-formal education that we carry out here. Every day there are one or two staff who have the responsibility to cook, and then we all have lunch together. So, even though this is a state CLC, there are still elements of non-formal education that we preserve (Jakarta NT1).

Teacher 2 discussed another strategy that the CLC head and staff used to have a supporting working environment. He commented that the relationships between the CLC head and staff were solid because everybody respects each other's religions:

> Since the CLC head is a Catholic, while all of the staff are Muslim, we congratulate each other when we celebrate Christmas or Eid. We are solid, although we are different (Jakarta Teacher 2).

Networks and partnerships beyond Jakarta CLC

The research participants indicated that Jakarta CLC had unwritten partnerships with government and private agencies. All partnerships are managed directly by the CLC head. Government offices considered as their partner organisations are the Jakarta Education Office and the Ministry of Education and Culture. The education office was seen as their primary partner because it covers all of the centre's operational expenses (e.g. water, electricity, gas, internet, and other maintenance bills) and teachers' incentives. The Ministry of Education and Culture was also seen as a partner for it provides operational funding for all students enrolled in the CLC. In addition, the CLC head commented that she had also established partnerships with some private entities in Jakarta:

> I made partnerships with badminton, volleyball, table tennis, boxing and soccer clubs. They are also our partners. We don't have a written MoU [Memorandum of Understanding] with these clubs, but we agree to accommodate their school age athletes. We also have a partnership with a Juvenile Penitentiary, but I can't say much about this for legal reasons (Jakarta CLC head).

NT1 supported this comment by explaining that partnering activities are fully managed by the CLC head. Based on the list of partner institutions, he believes that the centre did an exemplary job:

> One thing obvious is we are partnering with a number of well-known sports clubs in Jakarta. I think this CLC can be an example, even for state schools. I'm very sure that it is rare for state institutions to have partners from the private sector like this CLC (Jakarta NT1).

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NT2 also notes that the CLC partners with a juvenile penitentiary:

> Sometimes they send some youth to study here. They were bad kids who were involved in brawls, consumed cannabis, etc. (Jakarta NT2).

Funding security and sustainability

The research participants understood partnerships as efforts to obtain financial security and sustainability. However, it is only Jakarta Education Office and the Ministry of Education and Culture that provide funding support to the CLC. The private organisations did not appear to give any funding support to the CLC.

The CLC head explained that she was not worried about funding, because the CLC is a state institution, and hence, the Jakarta government will always fund the CLC and pay incentives to the teachers:

> I am not too worried about funding. As long as this CLC exists, the Government of Jakarta will never lose its responsibility. However, we don't have any other funding sources from the private sector (Jakarta CLC head).

Learner 1, however, mentioned that she paid additional cash to the CLC as a charity. She commented that:

> As I explained earlier, besides paying the monthly tuition fee, I also give additional money to this CLC (Jakarta Learner 1).

Similarly, CM1 whose daughter is a young athlete, also said that once she bought the centre a teaching aid that the teachers needed to support the students' learning:

> One time, [my daughter's] CLC needed teaching material, I directly bought it and then gave it to the teacher (Jakarta CM2).

These comments imply that students coming from sport clubs or other partner organisations contributed through more cash or gifts to the centre. In other words, it was the parents of students coming from private organisations (i.e. sports club and production house) who provide funding support to the CLC, not the

organisations. Therefore, the CLC head's comment that she did not receive funding support from private organisations is accurate.

Curriculum Development and Enactment

Introduction

This section describes how the learning curriculum is enacted in Jakarta CLC. It starts by discussing how the curriculum was implemented and enacted in the centre, followed by who was involved in developing the curriculum.

Curriculum implemented and enacted in Jakarta CLC

Jakarta CLC used the 2013 curriculum for all its learning programmes. Research participants were proud to explain that the CLC has fully implemented the 2013 curriculum. The CLC head, for example, mentioned that she wanted the CLC to be a pilot institution for other CLCs for it has used the 2013 curriculum in all teaching and learning processes. She commented that:

> We have fully implemented the 2013 curriculum. We want to become a pilot CLC, so we no longer use KTSP [School-Based Curriculum]. This applies to ECE and Equivalency Education (Jakarta CLC head).

This comment implies that implementing the 2013 curriculum in all learning programmes is seen as an achievement.

Teacher 1 explained that the 2013 curriculum is a ready-made product that she followed only if it is not difficult and suits the context of the CLC and students:

> The curriculum used here is the 2013 curriculum from the Directorate of [Literacy and] Equivalency Education Development. It's a ready-made curriculum available for each Package level. So, we just follow it whenever it's not that complicated and contextually alright (Jakarta Teacher 1).

This comment suggests that the teachers use the 2013 curriculum as a reference or guide for their teaching and learning processes.

The comment was strengthened by Learner 2 who responded that he is not worried about the curriculum. He said that:

> The curriculum we are using is the 2013 Curriculum, the same like the one being used in public schools. But, what matters here is that I'm developing into a better person in terms of attitude. I used to be a punk, but now I don't use drugs anymore. I have friends too (Jakarta Learner 2).

NT1 also explained that the CLC head and staff did not pay too much attention to the curriculum. Instead, they put emphasis on mutual respect as the main value that all students need to understand given their diverse background:

> Forget instructional education, the important thing is that students can respect each other. Whether they are celebrities, athletes, young mothers, poor children, or children who have problems with the law, they have to respect each other. This is the main value that we want to develop here (Jakarta NT1).

CM2 added that the way her daughter studies in the CLC is not textbook-based. For this reason, she mentioned that her daughter is happy to study in the CLC and wants to continue her study to a university:

> [My daughter] said that her teachers didn't completely stick with the books. So, it's not boring, she really likes studying here. It's different from the moment when she was in her former school. In fact, she said that she wanted to continue her study so that she could get a good job and not become a washing laundress like me (Jakarta CM2).

Parties involved in developing the curriculum

The 2013 curriculum is developed by the Indonesian government, specifically the Ministry of Education and Culture. Neither the CLC head nor staff were involved in its development. However, the CLC head expected her staff to deliver creative and inclusive teaching approaches. She commented that:

> The curriculum is only a reference. With the condition of our diverse learners in terms of ethnicities, religions and backgrounds, I have high expectations for my young tutors to organise creative and inclusive teaching and learning processes (Jakarta CLC head).

Teacher 2 confirmed this comment by explaining that all CLC teachers did some creative modifications in their teaching approaches:

> […] we, the tutors, modify how the learning is delivered. For example, we make sure that learning doesn't have to be in the classroom or do some other interesting strategies in order to make students not bored (Jakarta Teacher 2).

NT1 added that the curriculum in the CLC focuses on more than academic outcomes:

> The 2013 curriculum is given product. But the main focus of learning here, which is mutual respect, is all purely the work of all of us [head and staff] here (Jakarta NT1).

This comment justifies previous comments stressing that the curriculum in the CLC functions as a guide, not as a prescription.

Engagement with Learners

<u>Introduction</u>

This section explores the findings about the methods of learner recruitment and engagement in Jakarta CLC. It is arranged by three themes which focus on how the CLC addresses learner recruitment, needs analysis, and learners' learning needs.

<u>Learner recruitment</u>

The participants indicated that the CLC head and staff did not make much effort to recruit the learners. Since the CLC is a state institution, and has decent infrastructure and facilities, the CLC head and teachers were confident that they did not need anything extraordinary for learner recruitment. They rely on word-of-mouth advertising, normally done by students and parents, for promotion.

The CLC head expressed her confidence in recruiting learners, because the centre has a good reputation, young teachers and great facilities:

> Maybe it is quite difficult for other CLCs to recruit learners. But here, learners come to us in a relatively easy manner. They believe in our institution; our facilities are not worse than those of schools in general, my tutors are also young and passionate about teaching (Jakarta CLC head).

The only promotional strategy used is through banners and leaflets, made and distributed by the staff. NT1 provided an example of how the staff carried out the promotional activities to recruit the learners:

> We are doing some promotion by optimising our own available resources. So, we don't hire and pay people, but purely rely on the staff, especially the young ones. And promotion is part of our job, so it doesn't need additional payment (Jakarta NT1).

This comment indicates that, in addition to not doing much promotion, the CLC head also did not hire anybody to develop and distribute the media.

CM2 provided evidence to support this comment by explaining how she ended up registering her daughter to the CLC:

> I got to know the CLC by searching for information on the internet and going around by car. Because I noticed that the CLC was very big, I was curious, and at that time, I immediately asked how I could register my daughter there. I also asked about the facilities and other important things to make sure that [my daughter] could study well (Jakarta CM1).

Needs analysis

Since the CLC head and staff were confident about the available infrastructure and facilities in the centre, there was no specific needs analysis prior to learner recruitment. However, two aspects that became the foci of needs analysis: teaching competencies and learning approaches. To develop the teachers' teaching skills, the CLC head claimed that she often gave her staff opportunities to join a seminar or training:

What I continue to monitor and anticipate is the condition and ability of the tutors. I often assign tutors to take part in training or seminars, so they continue to have fresh thoughts (Jakarta CLC head).

NT1 supported this comment by mentioning that, at least once a year, the staff could join a seminar or training:

At least once or twice a year, the tutors are always given the opportunity to attend training and seminars (Jakarta NT1).

Meanwhile, Teacher 2 explained that the CLC head and staff also always conducted a meeting prior to a new academic year to share information with the new students:

This meeting is important, because we will know what learning strategies and approaches that we have to do. The learners here are always special and unique, sir. Celebrities, athletes, youth convicts or children with disabilities obviously have different learning needs that cannot be met in formal schools (Jakarta Teacher 2).

Ways of addressing the learners' learning needs

The CLC head and staff used three main strategies to address the learners' learning needs: designing an inclusive learning timetable, combining pedagogical and andragogical approaches, and de-prioritising academic attainment. Each strategy is discussed in the following sub-sections.

Designing an inclusive learning timetable

Research participants claimed that organising the learning process from one to five o'clock in the afternoon is an effective strategy to accommodate the learning needs of the CLC's diverse students. The CLC head mentioned that the timetable that the CLC offers to the students is the best policy that responds to the students' diversity. She commented that:

The learning hours here takes place during the day. This is the best strategy so far, looking at the condition of our students (Jakarta CLC head).

CM2 supported this comment by explaining that the timetable works effectively for her daughter:

> The CLC provides flexible learning timetable for my daughter. She can train in the morning and then goes to the CLC in the afternoon. Afterwards, she can go back to her training (Jakarta CM1).

Learner 1 provided further evidence of the effectiveness of the learning timetable offered by the CLC. She believes that the timetable fits her busy schedule. However, her comment implies that what she understood as a flexible timetable is loose control over absenteeism:

> Because of my job and my tight schedule, I can't go to school like everyone else. I choose to study at home and in the CLC, because I still want to continue to study. So, for me, since the CLC offers Package C programme with its flexible learning timetable, it's really helpful (Jakarta Learner 1).

Combining pedagogical and andragogical approaches

Since the CLC welcomes students of various ages, abilities and background, the research participants indicated that the teachers combined pedagogical and andragogical approaches in the teaching and learning processes. The CLC head expressed her confidence and belief that all of the teachers understand both pedagogy and andragogy well:

> 100 percent of my tutors hold a Bachelor's degree, and 50 percent of them graduated from the Out of School Programme. So, they understand very well about andragogy and pedagogy. The class here is not only mixed-ability class, but also mixed-age and background class (Jakarta CLC head).

Teacher 1 confirmed this comment by acknowledging that she used both pedagogy and andragogy to meet the different needs of different learners. She commented that she combined both approaches to help the learners to stay enthusiastic about their learning:

> The learning approach is tailored to the learners, taking into account their age and background. Because there are also adult learners, I use andragogy and pedagogy as my learning approaches. It's important for me to make the learners remain enthusiastic in engaging the learning activities (Jakarta Teacher 1).

De-prioritising academic attainment

Given that the students in Jakarta CLC are those less likely to be accommodated by formal schooling, and they all have different learning objectives, the research participants explained that they de-prioritised academic attainment. The CLC head and staff mentioned that they would accept all students, regardless of their background. Students could be poor, disabled, or in prison, while others are well-off, athletes, and celebrities. One common element is that they all joined the CLC because they want to earn a certificate that they could use either for work or for entering higher-level education.

Based on these circumstances, the CLC head asked all the teachers to deliver teaching and learning as creatively as possible. She emphasised the importance of learning from what is not available in the books:

> The learning process must not be boring and too theoretical. Theory is only for the test. The important thing is they learn from real objects, not what is written in the books (Jakarta CLC head).

NT1 supported this comment by explaining that the CLC head and staff never put academic attainment as a priority. She commented that it is most important for students to show positive changes in their attitude and views in life:

> The important thing is the learners show a positive change in attitude, such as willingness to continue their education, having mutual respect, excelling in their respective fields, and for those who are dealing with the law, they can make positive changes in their daily life (Jakarta NT1).

Learner 2 provided evidence for the claim that academic attainment is not a priority in the CLC:

> From the learning point of view, the tutors here never forced me to get good grades. They also never give me any homework. They only ask me to learn independently. I'm a grown up, so they just let me decide if I want to learn or not. I can use my remaining time to help my parents at home or study computers (Jakarta Learner 2).

Overview

This chapter presents the findings on the leadership of community education from a state CLC in Jakarta. This case shows that the CLC head is seen as the main centre leader, for several reasons. Since the CLC is a state institution, the participants believe that the primary leader in the centre is the CLC head, a government officer assigned by the education office to lead and manage the institution. The CLC head claimed that she is a transformational manager; she performs managerial leadership for she is a bureaucrat, while realising some transformational measures. The staff confirmed her claim by explaining that she is a revolutionary leader and a risk taker.

The findings indicate that the organisational structure was fully developed by the CLC head and senior staff. In other words, neither the local education officers nor the community members were involved in developing it. However, the education office was requested to authorise the structure after it was developed.

It was also found that the community's contributions to the CLC were mainly through cash. Parents are the second source of funding support, after the education office or the Ministry of Education and Culture.

This case shows that the CLC implemented the latest curriculum developed by the government. Although the 2013 curriculum is a ready-made product, that the government strongly encourages schools throughout Indonesia to implement, the CLC head and teachers used it as a guide, not as a prescription.

The chapter also describes strategies used by the CLC head and staff to recruit and engage with the learners. These are limited because they are confident that the centre could attract learners without doing extensive promotional activities. The CLC head and staff only did conventional promotional activities through displaying banners and leaflets to recruit the learners. To meet the learners' learning needs, the CLC head and staff used three main strategies, namely: designing an inclusive learning timetable, combining pedagogical and andragogical approaches, and de-prioritising academic attainment.

Chapter Six: Manado Community Learning Centre

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the third case, a Community Learning Centre (CLC) in Central Indonesia. It explains the CLC context, presents the findings, and provides an overview.

Context

This CLC is in Manado, the capital of South Sulawesi Province, Central Indonesia that is surrounded by hundreds of islands and has the largest Christian population in Indonesia (Statistics Indonesia, 2018). The CLC is specifically located in the heart of Manado city, and has two branches on two different islands in the province. The main CLC is based is an urban area, inhabited by more than 420 thousand people originating from various ethnicities, including Javanese, Chinese, Batak, Makassar and Moluccans (Field Notes taken on 19 November 2019). The islands where the other two branches of the CLC are home to *Bajo* people, one of the Indonesian ethnic tribes known to live in a nomadic way (*Ibid*). With their rich marine resources, fish has become the staple food on both the mainland and the islands.

The city has easy access to social and other service facilities, such as schools, banks, convenience stores, medical clinics, public transportation, electricity, internet, and water. In contrast, despite their beauty, the islands only have access to primary schools. Electricity on both islands is only available for six hours per day from 19.00 in the evening to 01.00 in the morning (Field Notes 23 November 2019). The city includes community members from heterogeneous socio-economic backgrounds, while the people on the islands are mainly *Bajo* people who work as fishermen or do other odd jobs, with minimal daily income.

The centre was established in 2011 by a local family consisting of a father, a mother and a daughter. The initiative came from the daughter, a third grader at senior secondary school, who wanted to teach children who accompanied their parents for business activities in one of the traditional markets in Manado. Her parents supported her idea, and they encouraged her to obtain a permit to show that she was serious, and to realise her dreams to teach some children in the market. Although she did not know what to do, she was confident that she could obtain the permit.

One day, when she was eating in a restaurant with her parents, she saw the Vice Mayor of Manado. Innocently, she went to the Vice Mayor's security guards and told them that she wanted to say something to the Vice Mayor. Since she was a secondary student, the security guards gave her access to meet the Vice Mayor. She then approached him and said:

> "Sir, I'm XXX, a third grader in XXX senior secondary school, I want to help you to realise your vision: Smart Manado. I want to make a learning class at the Manado market, but I don't have money to rent a room there" (Manado CLC head).

The Vice Mayor smiled at her, and told her to sit next to him. He made a memo on a piece of paper and told her to bring the paper to the traditional market's Director. Essentially, the memo said that the Vice Mayor gave her permission to use a vacant space in the market for learning activities for free as long as she wanted to. She and her parents then met the market's Director who already heard about the memo from the Vice Mayor's staff. The Director directly showed them the available space and told them that they could use it for any kind of educational activities that they had in mind. The space was a six to ten metre room that was usually used as a place for drinking and gambling.

Having cleared and equipped the room with carpets, books, folding children's tables, and a small whiteboard, they used the room to organise "learning class". Once a week, every Sunday, she invited some children to do learning activities including drawing, singing and reading activities for approximately three hours. The number of children joining the learning activities increased over time, making

some people jealous. The family even received a death threat saying that, "if you still teach here, your family won't be safe". However, her parents believed that everything would be alright and advised her not to worry about it.

Having completed senior secondary school, she moved to Jakarta to study. Her parents continued the learning activities in the centre by involving some of her friends who studied in local universities. They established similar centres on two islands where they ran their business. However, the activities in those two centres focused more on training youth and adults with skills related to their businesses; fish and seaweed farming. Once a month, she returned to visit the CLC in the market to teach children.

In her final year, she changed her major from medicine to psychology, then returned to Manado. Upon her return, the CLC in the market was relocated to one of her parents' vacant houses located in an urban area in Manado. It was moved because they claimed that there were no more children hanging around the market. After her return, she resumed the leadership role for all three CLCs, especially the one located in the city centre.

The centre in the city is claimed to be the main CLC, while the other two on the islands are branches. The activities organised in the CLCs are early childhood education, equivalency education and life skills training. The main CLC organises an additional learning activity that focuses on literacy building, targeting local youth and adults, as well as university students. Table 6.1 shows the total number of learning and training participants in various activities organised in the main and branch CLCs.

No.	Programme	Number of students		
		Main CLC	Branch CLC 1	Branch CLC 2
1.	Early childhood education	23	43	41
2.	Equivalency education:			
	a. Package A	-	16	14
	b. Package B	26	23	26
	c. Package C	28	29	31
3.	Life-skills training			
	a. Fish farming and processing	-	10	-
	b. Seaweed farming and processing	-	-	10
	d. Sewing	10	-	-
4.	Literacy	20	-	-
	Total	**107**	**121**	**122**

Table 6. 1: Number of students at Manado CLC, 2018
Source: CLC Profile, 2018

The main CLC is on a 500 square-metre plot, and consists of two floors. The first floor is used for learning and training activities, while the second floor provides accommodation for six university student volunteers. The first floor has eight rooms, consisting of a staff room, a computer lab, a library, a common room that is usually used for equivalency education and literacy classes, a classroom for early years' children, a training room for sewing courses, a kitchen and a toilet. Meanwhile, the branch CLCs on two different islands have similar facilities. Both CLCs are floating on water. The size of each CLC on island A is approximately 17 by eight metres, while the one on island B is 15 by six metres. Each CLC has two classrooms, a staff room, and a reading corner.

The main CLC has four short round tables and 24 chairs for early years' children. It also has fifty campus chairs, a projector, three computers, a television, a DVD player, an audio speaker sound system, and a set of sofas. The chairs are rarely used for equivalency education and literacy classes, which are mostly held by sitting on the carpet in the common room. The CLC also has hundreds of books available in the reading corner that everybody can borrow for free. In the training room, there are ten sewing machines and various sewing supplies, tools and accessories that are used for the sewing course. In contrast, the branch CLCs have limited facilities, only a blackboard, chairs and tables. They have no outdoor facilities, other than the sea. Table 6.2 summarises the infrastructure and facilities at Manado CLC:

Infrastructure				Facilities			
Item	Main CLC	Branch CLC 1	Branch CLC 2	Item	Main CLC	Branch CLC 1	Bran CLC
Classroom	1	2	2	ECE students' tables	4	12	-1
Staff room	1	1	1	ECE students' chairs	24	74	0
Common room	1	-	-	Adult students' chairs	50	98	0
Training room	1	-	-	Projector	1	-	-
Reading room	1	1	1	Computer	3	-	-
Computer laboratory	1	-	-	Television	1	-	-
Kitchen	1	-	-	Staff's tables	-	-	-
Toilet	1	-	-	Staff's chairs	-	-	-

Table 6. 2: Availability of infrastructure and facilities at Manado CLC
Source: CLC Profile (2018) and observations

The Nature of Leadership

Introduction

This section presents the findings on the nature of leadership in Manado CLC. It begins with a discussion of whether the leadership is solo or shared, followed by elaboration of a leadership team, task distribution, time management, learning activities initiation, and the need for professional development programmes.

Family Leadership

After graduating from university, and returning to her home town, the CLC head was given the responsibility to lead and manage the centre by her parents. Interviews with research participants indicated that the CLC head was perceived to be the primary leader in the CLC. However, it could be seen that the CLC head's parents still have a significant leadership influence and role in the centre.

Teacher 1, for example, claimed that there is only one leader in the CLC, but the CLC head's parents could also function as decision makers when the CLC head is not available:

> There's only one leader in this institution. But, there are branch coordinators for A and B Islands who are responsible to manage the organisation of learning activities in each branch. The coordinators [the CLC head's parents] on each island are important, because they indirectly replace [the CLC head's] position as decision maker when she isn't around (Manado Teacher 1).

The CLC head supported this comment by mentioning that, although she is the head of the centre, her parents still have the leadership role whenever she is on another mission:

> My father and my mother are also the leaders of this CLC. As long as I'm available, I take full responsibility, and whenever the staff have problems, they will tell me. When I'm not here, the staff won't be confused, because there are my father and my mother (Manado CLC head).

This comment suggests that, although the CLC head's parents are no longer formal centre heads, they are still considered as leaders by the CLC head and staff.

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CM1, from island A, however, commented that the head of the centre on his island is the CLC head's father, but it is managed together with his wife and daughter:

> [The CLC head], his wife and daughter are the owners of this centre. It means that they are the CLC leaders. For me, their generous attitude and ability to manage this CLC well show enough proof that their leadership is good (Manado CM1).

This comment implies that, in addition to ownership, management and organisation skills are the main reasons why the family members are considered as the CLC leaders.

CM1, from island B, provided a further explanation of why he thinks the family deserves to be the leaders of the CLC on his island. He commented that:

> I see them as hardworking people. They're also able to attract and involve the learners in developing the centre (Manado CM2).

NT1, who is the CLC head's father, provided another perspective on the nature of leadership in Manado CLC. Although the formal CLC head is their daughter, people may still associate the CLC with him and his wife, because they have been developing the centre since its inception:

> I don't deny that my wife and I are two figures who are still quite strongly associated with this CLC, especially by people on the islands. My wife and I led this CLC in its initial development (Manado NT1).

This comment suggests that the CLC head's parents are still considered as people with leadership functions and roles by community members and CLC staff for their dedication to the development of the centre.

Leadership team

Research participants indicated that the CLC did not have a leadership team. The context of the CLC, including its funding, size, and scope, is the main reason why a leadership team was not available and was not seen to be necessary. Teacher 2, however, mentioned that, although the centre does not have a leadership team,

it has two branch coordinators, for island A and island B. The coordinators have an important role in supporting the staff when the CLC head is not in the centre:

> There is no leadership team in this CLC, but there are branch coordinators who are [the CLC head's] father and mother. They help us a lot if [the CLC head] is on duty outside the city (Manado Teacher 2).

NT1 supported this comment by mentioning that he shares tasks with his wife and daughter in managing the CLC. Although formally it is his daughter who is acknowledged as the CLC head, in practice, three people manage the operation of Manado CLC:

> A leadership team is too sophisticated for CLC. What I can answer is that this CLC doesn't have a leadership team. This CLC only has managers with their respective roles, let's just put it that way. Overall, I always tell people that the head of this CLC, including the other two on the islands is [my daughter]. But in its process, we share tasks. I manage the CLC on island A, [my wife] on island B and [my daughter] in the city centre (Manado NT1).

The CLC head, however, mentioned that since the staff consider her, her father and mother as the CLC leaders, she believed that those three could be regarded as the leadership team in the centre:

> Contextually, its funding, size and reach don't allow a CLC to have a leadership team. […] My father and my mother are very important figures in developing my leadership abilities. […] it means my father, my mother and I are the leadership team in this CLC (Manado CLC head).

Job distribution

Working in the CLC is based on volunteering and multi-tasking. All staff are final year university students who volunteer to work in the centre. They gathered in the centre to share an interest in reading for pleasure, and decided to do some voluntary activities in the CLC, because they wanted to share what they have learned in their university, and to contribute to the surrounding community. They are assigned multiple tasks that cover teaching and non-teaching affairs. This is why the people who work in Manado CLC are called "staff", not "tutor" or "administrator".

Teacher 2, for example, commented that all staff are volunteers. They do not have specific job descriptions, but simply do what they can do or are assigned to do. However, she mentioned that everything was carried out in symbiotic relationships among staff:

> One can teach, make activity reports, help [the CLC head] in financial matters as well, and do IT-related stuffs. Everything is done on the basis of mutual cooperation (Manado Teacher 2).

Teacher 1 supported this comment stating that, in addition to being volunteers, the staff also do multiple tasks. They are responsible for both teaching and non-teaching affairs:

> Every tutor in this CLC has multiple tasks. […] Moreover, there are two other branches in two separate islands, so we take turns to visit which island and help as much as we can (Manado Teacher 1).

Besides supporting this comment, the CLC head pointed out what she meant about volunteer staff. In return for what they do for the CLC, the staff can stay and live in the main CLC for free. Whenever the centre receives some funding from government or private companies, they will also receive some income:

> They live here for free while studying and completing their study. Their tasks are to teach and take care of all other administrative needs, such as making letters, developing proposals, ensuring student data entry, and other activities, especially those related to literacy. They get some income if we get some funding from the government or private companies (Manado CLC head).

NT1, on the other hand, mentioned that, since his daughter took the leadership role, task distribution in the centre is carried out in a "millennial" way. By millennial, he meant that distributing tasks to the staff is like talking about an issue to friends. They even often have warm discussions to decide specific materials suitable for some activities that the CLC is going to organise:

> [My daughter] is a millennial, sir. From what I see, there is no gap between her and the staff. I've never seen superior-subordinates kind of relationship. […] She chats casually with the staff on how to implement the learning programmes well, especially literacy (Manado NT1).

Time management

The CLC head spent most of her time in the centre. However, since she is often invited to attend or speak at various event elsewheres, she often worked remotely. Staff could still run the learning programmes whenever she had something else to do outside the city:

> As much as possible, and as long as there are no invitations, I will always be available in the CLC. Together with the staff, we chat and prepare what literacy activities we are going to do this week or something. But when I'm not here, the staff can work on their own. They are all millennials, so they don't wait for orders (Manado CLC head).

NT1 supported this comment mentioning that the CLC head is a physically mobile person. She commented that, although the CLC head is often available at the centre, because she lives with her in a house in the city close to the CLC, her working style goes beyond physical proximity:

> Sometimes she's in Manado, sometimes in Jakarta, sometimes somewhere I don't know. But, of course, she's often available in the CLC, because she lives here. But [my daughter] isn't the type of person who should always be in the CLC. She's more mobile (Manado NT2).

Learning activities initiation

Manado CLC provides various learning activities: many of them are government-initiated, some are community-initiated and a few are private company-initiated. At its initial phase of establishment, the centre only organised learning activities for early years' children and out-of-school children in one of the traditional markets in the city that the CLC head called "learning class". The activities consisted of drawing, storytelling, singing, and playing traditional games with the children of various ages. However, after receiving input from the local education officers, the CLC head learned that what she and her parents were doing fell under the umbrella of Early Childhood Education (ECE) and equivalency education programmes. These become the two main learning programmes organised in the CLC.

The CLC head mentioned that she never knew that the learning activities that she and her parents did were called early childhood education until she met some local education officers who visited her centre:

> I just wanted to teach children who didn't go to school, that's just all I wanted to do. So, initially, the activities in this CLC were just storytelling, singing, and playing traditional games. Then I discovered that the activities were called early childhood education (Manado CLC head).

Teacher 1, however, commented that, in addition to government-initiated programmes, the main CLC also organises community-initiated learning activities, such as literacy programmes. The activities mainly involve youth population and university students, and consist of book or movie reviews and critical discussions about current national issues. She claimed that it is these activities that make the main CLC a kind of "base camp" for university students and those who love reading:

> There are many activities that involve my fellow university students. For example, we often have book reviews, or simple discussions about education, politics or others. This CLC is like a gathering place for students, sir, so people can exchange ideas with one another (Manado Teacher 1).

A few activities organised in the CLC are initiated by private companies that give funding support to the centre. The activities are usually in the forms of short-term life skills training, such as sewing, cooking healthy food, and using the internet. The CLC head mentioned that the activities are customised to the needs of the donor agency:

> We have short-term life skills training activities that we usually carry out at the request of donors, both government and private (Manado CLC head).

The need for professional development programmes

Based on their career trajectory and educational background, it seemed that the CLC head and staff were in need of professional development programmes, for several reasons. Except for the CLC head, and her parents (NT1 and NT2), all staff are university students majoring in various fields. Teacher 2, for example, is a final year university student who has multiple tasks; teaching in two different

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programmes (early childhood education and equivalency education) and two different subjects (Indonesian and Sociology), being a facilitator in literacy activities; and managing administrative affairs (financing and IT-related tasks):

> I'm a university student, majoring in Islamic Education. I have been working in the CLC since 2017. At that time, I followed my friends who often came here for a discussion. This CLC was widely known as a base camp for university students. Then, I volunteered myself to work here (Manado Teacher 2).

Teacher 1 added that she has to teach English to two different levels of equivalency education programme, although she is not from the English Department. The only professional development that she has had was a month of staying in a village where its people speak functional English to learn and practice English daily:

> I'm a final-year student, majoring in Islamic Education. I am a *Bidikmisi*[6] scholarship awardee, and had the opportunity to study English in the English Village in Kediri, East Java for a month. [That's the] training that I received prior to working here. I have been working here as an English tutor for packages B and C for almost two years (Manado Teacher 1).

This comment implies that, besides having no teaching experience, the teachers also received little opportunity to participate in relevant professional development programmes to improve their teaching skills.

Unlike her parents, the CLC head also had no work experience prior to becoming the head of the centre:

> […] just to make a long story short, I continued my education in the Department of Psychology. Why Psychology? Because I felt that the major was very suitable for me to be able to read the feelings and needs of people around me. In less than a year, I graduated with honours (Manado CLC head).

The CLC head learned how to lead and manage the centre, as well as how to do her job, when she took the leadership position.

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[6] *Bidikmisi* is a scholarship from the Indonesian government for prospective students who are economically less fortunate, but have outstanding academic performance to study in higher education institutions (MoRTHE, 2019)

Organisational Structure

Introduction

This section discusses the organisational structure of Manado CLC. The findings are organised into three sections: (i) Manado CLC organisational structure and its development; (ii) the roles of programme coordinators; and, (iii) the role of the community and the Education Office in developing the organisational structure.

Manado CLC organisational structure and its development

The CLC has a formal (on paper) structure, which differs from the actual structure. The former consists of a CLC head, secretary, treasurer, programme coordinators (early childhood education, equivalency education, literacy, and life skills training), and is used to fulfill the administrative and legal requirements set by the local education office. The latter is what the CLC head claimed as the "real" structure, and consists of a CLC head, branch coordinators (island A and island B), and then staff. The actual structure does not have non-teaching positions and programme coordinators, because the CLC head and student volunteers cover both teaching and non-teaching affairs. The CLC head is assisted by her parents as branch coordinators on two different islands and then supported by the student volunteers. The CLC head has the highest decision-making authority, but the branch coordinators also have an indirect line of authority to the staff, especially when the head is on another mission. The organisational structure of Manado CLC is illustrated in Figure 6.1.
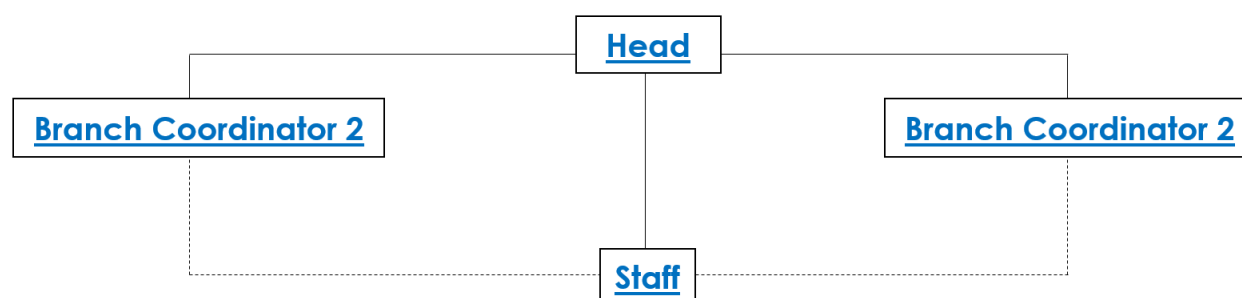
Figure 6. 1: The organisational structure of Manado CLC
Source: Interviews

The people involved in developing the organisational structure were the CLC head and her parents. When explaining that there is a difference between the "paper" structure and the actual one, the CLC head mentioned that the organisational structure of Manado CLC was fully developed by her and her parents:

> The structure on paper is only for legal purposes. Those whose names are written on it are only for administrative purposes, and in reality, the people who work are not them. […] But the real structure is like this. The head of XXX CLC is me, the head of the centre in XXX Island is my father, and the head of CLC in XXX Island is my mother. Then, there are six people who help us (Manado CLC head).

This comment implies that there are some people whose names are listed on the organisational structure, but they do not have any role at all in developing the centre. This is one of the reasons why the CLC head differentiated the on-paper structure and the actual one.

This comment was supported by NT1 who mentioned that the CLC does not formally have a secretary or treasurer, because these two positions could be covered by the CLC head. Since the CLC is small, the student volunteers who work in the centre are called "staff", not tutors or education personnel like in other CLCs in general:

> What we have is a head, [my daughter], myself as the head of CLC on XXX Island, my wife as the head of CLC on XXX Island and six volunteers who work as teachers and educational personnel. We usually call them staff. We made the written structure to meet the legality and administration requirements. It's the unwritten structure that actually applies to our CLC (Manado NT1).

Besides supporting these comments, NT2 explained the reasons why the centre has a limited yet effective organisational structure:

> The organisational structure is quite simple and effective. We made it that way for the sake of efficiency in terms of many things: budget, available human resources and needs of staff. The CLC head is assisted by branch coordinators and six volunteers who do this and that together with us, and organise ECE, equivalency education, life skills training (Manado NT2).

The CLC head, NT1 and NT2 understood that there is a legal issue in having two different structures. However, they chose to give honest responses to the researcher to express their disagreement about the requirements of a CLC structure set by the government. Legally, a CLC structure should consist of a head, secretary, treasurer, and three programme coordinators (MoEC, 2012). The CLC head, NT1 and NT2 did develop the structure required by the government, but did not use it in practice. They did not see it to be contextually suitable and feasible with existing budgets and human resources.

The roles of programme coordinators

The research participants admitted that the CLC does not have specific programme coordinators for the centre's four learning programmes. They mentioned that they worked collaboratively and helped each other in order to make an activity successful. NT1, for example, explained the reasons why the centre does not have programme coordinators:

> All volunteers do multiple tasks. They do a bit of this and a bit of that. They teach and manage the administration affairs as well. There are also civil servant teachers who help us here, and we report their names to the education office and ministry. […] they occasionally also take part in teaching, especially when it's approaching the national exam (Manado NT1).

Although the CLC does not have programme coordinators, Teacher 2 explained that the centre had branch coordinators, and that this works best for the CLC:

> […] we have branch coordinators. [The CLC head's father – NT1] and [the CLC head's mother – NT2] help us in everything, including in implementing learning activities. Moreover, when [the CLC head] is on another duty, they are the people whom we could consult whenever there is something urgent (Manado Teacher 2).

Besides having branch coordinators, instead of programme coordinators, the CLC head mentioned that the centre has a staff rotation schedule. By rotation, she meant a weekly working shift for staff to work either in the main or branch CLCs:

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All staff can be responsible for any programme. Every week there's a rotation, some work here, and some go to the islands. Everything is relaxed, fun and there's no fixed coordinators for this or that activity. We just let it flow (Manado CLC head).

NT2, however, claimed that the centre does not have programme coordinators, because the student volunteers play a significant role in leading the learning activities in the centre. She said that:

The volunteers fully help us. Whatever the task is, they are always ready (Manado NT2).

<u>The role of the community and the local education office</u>

The community and local education office were not involved in developing the CLC's organisational structure. Research participants claimed that structural development is fully the responsibility of the CLC head and her parents. However, the community was mentioned as the inspiration behind structure development. Teacher 1, for example, explained that both the community and local education office were not involved in developing the structure. The former plays a more significant role in developing learning activities, while the latter is mainly responsible for issuing the CLC's operational permit letter:

[…] the Education Office doesn't interfere with the development of the organisational structure, because it is entirely up to the CLC head. The community wasn't also involved in developing the structure, because they were more involved in developing the learning programmes (Manado Teacher 1).

NT1 believed that it was difficult to involve the community in developing the structure:

The community's conditions and culture don't allow it. If we want to help the people here, we must be prepared with everything: concepts, funding, energy and thoughts. When it is successful, then the community will be involved in the CLC. How are they involved? By participating in the learning programmes, and showing a sense of ownership to the CLC (Manado NT1).

While acknowledging that the education office was not involved in developing the structure, the CLC head added that her family is part of the community. Thus, the community was somehow involved in the structure development:

> I know that ideally a CLC is by and for the community. That's the concept, right? But the concept of community is very subjective. I'm the community, my father and my mother too. Structurally, this CLC is as fully developed my father, mother and me (Manado CLC head).

This comment implies that the CLC head, along with her parents who established the institution, have sufficient agency to develop the centre's organisational structure.

Relationships with the Community

Introduction

This section presents the findings on the relationship of Manado CLC with the community. It starts by discussing how the CLC head and staff viewed the community, and vice versa, followed by the community members' contributions to the centre.

Perceptions towards the community

Research participants consistently indicated that the community plays an important role in the establishment and development of the centre. The CLC head and staff claimed that the centre's activities are for the sake of the community, and this claim was acknowledged by the learners and community members who had participated in the learning activities provided in the CLC.

For NT1, the CLC head's father, the community is the main reason why he decided to support the idea of establishing the CLC. After leaving his job as a secondary principal in another province, he decided to return to his home town, because he wanted to contribute to his community. He believed that his persistence to set up the CLC in the traditional market, and on two remote islands, provides enough evidence that what he did is indeed for the community:

[…] it's clear that, for us, the community has a very important role for our CLC. Evidence? First, we set up the CLC in the market, in a place that was usually used for gambling and drinking. We got a lot of criticism, including a murder threat. But we weren't afraid in the slightest, because we have good and sincere intentions. The second evidence is that we also established CLCs on two remote islands that are difficult to reach. But we stay with our decision that we want to help the people on the islands, despite the difficulties (Manado NT1).

In the same vein, NT2 mentioned that the community members and learners are the lifeblood of the CLC:

We see that the community and learners are our lifeblood. Without the community's support, we won't develop. For example, […], without the community' permission, it's impossible for this CLC to run. When we organise some events, we always invite the community representatives, and they also take time to attend (Manado NT2).

The CLC head acknowledged the important role of the community by mentioning that the centre would collapse if the community members do not support its existence:

Without them, this CLC would automatically dismiss itself (Manado CLC head).

Learner 2, a university student who regularly visits the main CLC in the city centre, justified the claim made by the CLC head and staff that the community plays an important role in the centre. He commented that the relationship between the CLC and the community has always been mutual. The activities held in the centre have benefitted the community, while community participation in the activities have also made the centre more active and popular:

The CLC needs the community and vice versa. Based on my experience, this CLC is already popular among university students, sir. There are many activities that involve students, such as discussions, having coffee together, watching a movie, but it isn't just watching. I think it's because of word of mouth that so many students want to participate in the activities here (Manado Learner 2).

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For CM1, on island A, the generosity of the CLC head's family is concrete evidence that the centre is intended for the community:

> The community is the reason why [the CLC head's father – NT1] and his family built a CLC on this island. They never question about the funding. They always said: people don't have to have money to study here. Either children or adults, please do come and learn together here. Children can learn while playing at the CLC, adults can get a Package certificate (Manado CM1).

Community members' contributions

There are two groups that contribute to Manado CLC; the CLC head's family and community members. The former contributes in various forms, ranging from cash, infrastructure and facilities, and labour power, while the latter mainly contributes through non-cash arrangements, such as labour power, cleaning and security maintenance, promotional activities, and participation in learning activities.

The CLC head mentioned that she and her parents consider the CLC as a charity. This is the philosophy that the CLC head's parents always stressed when motivating the CLC head in leading and managing the centre. This is also one of the reasons why any activity in the centre is free of charge:

> My father and my mother always remind me not to expect any help from anybody, either the government or the community. They often say that what we are doing is our charity savings. With the community wanting to come and learn here, that's good. So, their contribution is by coming and learning here. Without any charges, they only need to come here. For ECE, we prepare the teachers, and provide the toys. They simply need to come here (Manado CLC head).

This comment supports a previous comment by NT1 who claimed that they have to be ready with concepts, energy, funding, and thoughts when they decide to help the community.

NT2 mentioned that community members mainly contributed in labour power. She commented that it would not be difficult to ask for help from the community whenever she needed it:

If we need help, they will certainly be ready to help without any payment. For example, when we organised a drawing competition, they helped clean and tidy up this CLC. Even after the event was completed, they didn't go home until everything was tidy. I'm really grateful for it (Manado NT2).

CM2, from island B, supported this comment by mentioning that labour power is indeed the kind of contribution that he and people on the island give to the CLC. As the head of the village, he explained that many villagers normally participated in the activities organised in the centre. They also helped each other, although the activity may be specific for people of a certain religion:

We contribute in labour power, not money obviously. […] if they hold religious services, we help manage the security. Our community members will also be involved in the event, such as Christmas and Eid. We live here side by side. Usually, religious celebrations involve all community members, not only those from certain religions (Manado CM2).

Learner 2, however, commented that he contributed to the centre by doing some promotional activities. As a university student, he explained that the contribution that he could do is by posting some pictures of the activities in the centre to social media platforms. He believed that it could be an effective strategy to popularise the CLC:

We help promote this CLC by posting some photos or videos of our activities on social media, Facebook and Instagram. Then we tag this CLC's account, so that our friends on social media can see it and be interested, sir (Manado Learner 2).

Networks and Partnerships

Introduction

This section presents and discusses the findings on networks and partnerships within and beyond Manado CLC. It starts by discussing how relationships within the centre are nurtured, then followed by the networks and partnerships beyond the CLC, and finally the role of networks and partnerships in providing funding security and sustainability for the centre.

Ways of nurturing relationships within Manado CLC

The relationships among staff within Manado CLC were nurtured by creating a family-like atmosphere. The CLC head considers herself as the elder sister for all of the student volunteers, while the CLC head's parents see the staff as their own children. This is reflected in how the staff call the CLC head as "kakak" (big/elder sister), and call her parents "aba" and "umi" (nicknames for father and mother, often used by Muslim Indonesians).

The CLC head explained that she considers everybody working in the centre as her family. Furthermore, she also tries to build good relationships with all community members by smiling and greeting people every time she meets them:

> I consider the student volunteers as my sisters and brothers. They never hesitate to tell us any difficulties and complaints that they have. I also always try to foster good relationships with all community members. Wherever I go, I have to smile and greet people. […] the effect is very good for ourselves and our institution (Manado CLC head).

This comment was supported by NT2, who mentioned that all staff in the CLC are like her children. To maintain good relationships within the centre, there is an open mind culture, and some routine activities that the family maintains:

> My husband and I consider all volunteers as our own children. Whenever there is any problem, we can express it. We're also very open to all children's [staff's] critical thinking. How do we maintain it? We routinely get together, for example having lunch and dinner together. Sometimes we ask our children [staff] for a picnic too (Manado NT2).

Teacher 1 provided evidence to support this comment by explaining that the relationships within the centre are well nurtured. She believed it happens because everybody in the CLC is open for discussions, and has the same objective, which is to learn and to help people in need:

> We always have discussions almost whenever and wherever we have time, because all of us here only have one goal, which is to learn and give what we have to people who are less fortunate (Manado Teacher 1).

Networks and partnerships beyond Manado CLC

The interviews with research participants indicated that Manado CLC had established partnerships, not only with government and private institutions, but also with a number of successful alumni from the CLC. The institutions that research participants claimed as partner organisations include the Ministry of Education and Culture, the local education office, bank, newspapers, television, and some shops that market the learners' products. However, none of the partnerships is documented in a written agreement, except one with a national private bank (Field Notes 24 November 2019).

The CLC head admitted that partnerships with external partners are built through hard work. Hard work was the key to all of the partners that provide unconditional support to the centre:

> With our hard work that produced successful alumni who work and have high positions, many government and private partners come to us by their own [initiative]. The TV and newspapers reporters come to cover us, without being invited and paid. Yes, thank God! The point is everything is built with hard work and sincerity (Manado CLC head).

This comment suggests that the partnerships enabled the centre to gain financial assistance, and also promotional support.

NT2 acknowledged the importance of networking for the centre's development. That is why she always encouraged the CLC head to make time and attend invitations from partner organisations. If the CLC head is unavailable, she mentioned that there should be a representative to fulfil the invitations on behalf of the centre:

> I always emphasise to [the CLC head] to always attend any invitations from our partners. Every time she is invited to the education office, she must make time to attend. Then, if there are invitations to attend some activities from partner organisations, such as the CLC Forum, the CRC [Community Reading Centre] Forum, we must send representatives to attend them (Manado NT2).

This comment suggests that NT1 had taught the CLC head about the importance of building networks and partnerships beyond the centre.

CM2 supported this comment by explaining that the CLC has extensive networks and partnerships:

> They have extensive networks with government agencies and private companies. They're able to get the attention of television and national banks to expose their activities and provide books. Many alumni from this CLC have become successful people. They [the alumni] often provide some help to this centre, like being the donors, that's how it is (Manado CM2).

Funding security and sustainability

Research participants indicated that partnerships with various individuals and institutions had benefitted the centre, especially in gaining funding support. They acknowledged that the centre received relatively sustainable funding either from the government or from private partners. They also often received some random support from a number of alumni who became successful after studying in the CLC.

The CLC head mentioned that the centre is no longer fully funded by her family. The centre also receives funding assistance from central and local government, as well as successful alumni:

> In the past, the funding was entirely from my father and my mother. Today, almost every year, we get funding from the Ministry of Education and Culture and the Local Government to organise certain programmes. Donations from alumni are also quite routine. We didn't ask, they came to my father and my mother instead. Then they give some goods or money to be managed in the CLC (Manado CLC head).

Since the centre was often offered funding support by central and local government on condition that it organises certain learning activities, NT1 explained that the centre becomes selective. He claimed that the centre would only accept the offer if the learning activities fit the contexts and needs of the surrounding community:

> Over time, through the hard work and support of hardworking activists, financial assistance comes naturally. […] We even become selective, if the programme doesn't fit our context, sorry we won't accept the funding offer. I have to also mention that we received donations from our alumni who have become successful people (Manado NT1).

This comment implies that NT1 was not worried too much whether or not the centre receives funding support from external partners.

NT2 added that, with or without external funding support, the CLC would never collect money from parents or learners. Instead, she supported the idea of selling clothes raised by the CLC head and staff:

> […] we try not to collect anything from the community. Another part of the funding comes from the government's assistance. Our volunteers also sell shirts and traditional clothes. I let the profit be the treasury of this CLC (Manado NT2).

This comment suggests that selling merchandise is another strategy used by the CLC head staff to secure funding.

Curriculum Development and Enactment

Introduction

This section focuses on the enactment of the learning curriculum in Manado CLC. It begins with a discussion of curriculum implementation and enactment in the centre, followed by a focus on the various people involved in curriculum development.

Curriculum implemented and enacted in Manado CLC

There were two types of learning curriculum implemented in Manado CLC: the government curriculum and the centre-developed curriculum. The former refers to the 2013 curriculum that is used for government-initiated programmes; early childhood education and equivalency education. The latter consists of curricula used for community-initiated activities, including literacy and life skills training.

Teacher 1 explained that the teachers are using the 2013 curriculum, developed by the Ministry of Education and Culture, for early childhood education and equivalency education programmes:

> For the equivalency education, we are using the 2013 curriculum from the Directorate of Literacy and Equivalency Education Development. For the ECE programme, we are also using the curriculum developed by the Directorate of ECE (Manado Teacher 1).

This comment was supported by the CLC head, but she mentioned that the teachers have room for creativity:

> […] we're implementing the 2013 Curriculum both for ECE and equivalency education. […] But my teachers are young, I let them do some creativity with their imagination. They only need to know the topic. They teach that topic based on their knowledge, abilities and creativity. The teaching and learning processes, and their "step-by-steps" are up to them (Manado CLC head).

NT2, however, explained that the 2013 curriculum was not fully implemented in the centre. He admitted that he just claimed to implement it, while in practice the teachers simply do what they do best. She elaborated that:

> […] we claim to use the 2013 Curriculum to sound up to date, and fulfil the government's regulations. But the truth is that for ECE, we just let the children play here. For equivalency education, we just do a lot of drilling so that the learners are ready for the national examination. For the life skills training programmes on the islands, the curriculum is what I have in my head. What I can do and know, I deliver it to the learners. What's interesting is maybe the literacy curriculum. It's entirely the creativity of my children [the CLC head and staff]. They discuss, determine the books and films to review and decide the activities to organise. They also talk about who could be invited as speakers (Manado NT1).

In the same vein, NT2 explained that it was difficult to talk about curriculum in the context of the CLC:

> […] it's hard […] when it comes to talk about the curriculum, because honestly the learning processes in equivalency education are independent in nature, and focus on examination questions. And to be honest, many prefer to study independently at home, and are simply present at examination (Manado NT2).

This comment suggests that it was possible for equivalency education learners to self-direct their learning.

<u>Parties involved in developing curriculum</u>

There were three groups involved in developing the curriculum in Manado CLC: the government, the CLC head and staff. The government developed the 2013 curriculum that is used in early childhood education and equivalency education programmes, while the CLC head and staff developed the curriculum for literacy and life skills training activities.

Research participants mentioned that none of them was involved in developing the 2013 curriculum. They explained that the curriculum was entirely developed by the central government, and they only knew when it is ready to use. In this context, NT2 commented that the curriculum is a "given" product and she does not know how it was developed:

> The curriculum is a given product from the government. We only need to apply it. I don't know how it was developed (Manado NT2).

Although the curriculum is a given product, the CLC head mentioned that she and the staff could still make some adjustments based on existing conditions. Furthermore, she believed that the main focus of learning in the centre goes beyond the curriculum and academic attainment:

> We have room to be creative according to our context and circumstances. The important thing is that early childhood children can learn while playing here, and equivalency education students pass the national examination and get a certificate. Beyond that, the important thing is that our students are happy and willing to learn. Who knows, they will be more motivated to continue their education at a higher level (Manado CLC head).

Learner 2 explained that the curriculum for the literacy activities was developed by many people, including the learners:

> The literacy programme is developed by many people. It can be [the CLC head], volunteers or even the participants (Manado Learner 2).

This comment was supported by Teacher 2 who admitted that, since she was involved in its development, she had space for creativity:

> We can do a lot of exploration in the literacy programmes, because the scope is wide and the organisation is adjusted to the needs of young people here (Manado Teacher 2).

The CLC head, however, commented that, since the curriculum for literacy activities was developed by having discussions with the student volunteers about what materials to review, and how the activities would be organised, she was unsure if it could be regarded as a curriculum. She explained that:

> I'm not sure if I can call it a curriculum. The important thing is that there are interesting books or films that we can read or watch together, and then we share our ideas and opinions about the books or films. […] It can be done through jokes and coffee (Manado CLC head).

Engagement with Learners

Introduction

This section discusses the findings on the methods of learner recruitment and engagement in Manado CLC. It is divided into three sections which highlight the strategies used by the CLC head and staff to recruit learners, needs analysis prior to learner recruitment, and ways to fulfil learners' learning needs.

Learner recruitment

Since its initial establishment, learner recruitment in Manado CLC was carried out by relying on three different methods: door to door, banner display and social media. However, since they were confident about the popularity of the centre, the CLC head and staff no longer did specific promotional activities to recruit the learners. They believed that their hard work, the number of successful alumni, and learning programmes, have become effective media for promotion.

NT1 explained the strategies that he and his family did to recruit the learners since the CLC's early-stage development. He mentioned that he needed to "fetch the ball"; he searched for people to visit and do learning activities in the centre:

> In the early days of this CLC, we fetched the ball. We invited the children in the market to play with us. The same strategy also applied to people living on the islands. Slowly but surely, now we rely heavily on word-of-mouth (Manado NT1).

In addition to walking door to door, NT2 mentioned that the CLC head and staff also designed and displayed some banners surrounding the centre:

> We put some simple banners surrounding our CLC (Manado NT2).

The CLC head mentioned that, over time, the CLC became more well known by many people. Since she took over the leadership role, she used social media to promote the CLC and its activities:

> Since I took charge four years ago, I actively posted our activities on IG [Instagram] and FB [Facebook] accounts. And IG and FB are quite effective in attracting people's attention. Many journalists also follow me on IG and FB. They know about the activities that we do (Manado CLC head).

This comment was supported by Teacher 1 who explained that she also used social media as platforms to promote the leaning activities held in the centre, and to recruit learners. However, she explained that the strategy was only effective for the main CLC:

> For branches on Islands, we still visit the people's houses, and decide the number of learners who could be recruited in a particular learning activity (Manado Teacher 1).

Needs analysis

The CLC head and staff mentioned that they did needs analysis prior to learner recruitment. The analysis was never documented, and focused mainly on determining short-term training programmes and securing the availability of facilities and staff. Teacher 2 explained that the CLC head and staff did needs analysis to determine what short-term life skills training could be organised in the centre. The analysis was carried out, because they recognised the different needs, and age differences, between the prospective learners in the main and branch centres:

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> […] we do [needs analysis], because there are different needs from people who live in the main CLC and those residing on Island B. Many people who are interested in joining the learning activities in the main centre are young people, who those on Island B are adults (Manado Teacher 2).

NT2 acknowledged that the CLC head and student volunteers know more about needs analysis. She explained that they did the analysis at the beginning of a new academic year to decide what life skills training would be provided in the centre. The analysis was carried out through discussion:

> [The CLC head] and the children [staff] know the most about this. Usually they discuss first: what programmes that we will run this year, and how many learners that we can we accommodate. Then after doing the calculations, we have a look at our capacity and human resources (Manado NT2).

NT1 explained that the CLC head and staff never did a written needs analysis. He believed that the notion of needs analysis was too complicated for the CLC. He commented that having the infrastructure, facilities and human resources ready at the beginning of an academic year is more important:

> We never do a written and systematic needs analysis. It's too far. The obvious thing that I can say is this. Before a new academic year, we're ready with facilities, infrastructure and resources. That's all […] (Manado NT1).

This comment was supported by the CLC head who explained why needs analysis sounds like a complicated term for her and the staff. Once it was suggested to provide some chairs, tables, and a blackboard so that the centre could be legally acknowledged as a CLC. Despite fulfilling the suggestions, she commented that it was not very useful, because the learning activities did not use those facilities too often:

> There were some officers from the local education office who visited our centre in the market. They said that, if this institution wants to be a CLC, you must have some chairs, tables, and a blackboard for the learning process. […] Now, we have folding chairs and tables, a whiteboard, a projector, and a computer. But oftentimes we do the learning activities by sitting together on the carpet (Manado CLC head).

<u>Ways of addressing the learners' learning needs</u>

Research participants explained that there were four main strategies used to address the learners' learning needs; providing appropriate infrastructure and facilities, designing an inclusive timetable, recruiting competent staff, and deprioritising academic attainment.

The CLC head claimed that she and her parents have provided decent and free of charge infrastructure and facilities for the community to do some learning activities in the centre:

> Even though the place [is] small, what's important is that children have a place to play, learn and gather. […] we also have decent facilities. The children have some toys inside and outside the centre that they can use anytime. We provide the young people many books that they can borrow (Manado CLC head).

This comment was supported by NT1 who explained that, besides providing free learning activities, the branch CLCs on two different islands are built on a shallow sea. Since the Indigenous people of the islands are from the *Bajo* tribe, some still believe that they need to learn on the sea:

> All learning programmmes are free of charge. […] the learning activities on the islands are carried out on the sea [floating centre] so that the learners are willing to study in our CLC (Manado NT1).

Teacher 1 commented that the CLC head and staff designed an inclusive learning timetable to address the different learning needs of different learners. She explained that early years' children do some learning activities in the main CLC every day. However, other learning activities, either in main or branch centres, are only held on Fridays and Saturdays. These two days are chosen, because they are holidays for Muslims and Christians respectively:

> In the CLC branches, the learning process is only two times in one week, when the learners have the time and opportunity to learn. […] the learning process in the main CLC is held almost every day (Manado Teacher 1).

The CLC head and NT1 had an agreement about what they considered to be significant in addressing the learners' learning needs. The CLC head explained that, since the staff are young and not money oriented, they gave all of their heart to fulfil what the learners need:

> […] we also have young and hardworking staff. All of them are very valuable capital for us to meet the learners' learning needs (Manado CLC head).

Similarly, NT1 was proud of the staff, because he believed that they could attract the learners to come and do some learning activities in the centre:

> They are young, beautiful, handsome and smart. They become an attraction for the learners to learn (Manado NT1).

CM2, who used to join equivalency education on island B, acknowledged that the CLC head and staff could indeed address his learning needs. He explained that the way the CLC head and staff persuaded him to study in the centre, or on his own, was what made him believe that joining the centre was the right decision:

> For old people like me, the most important thing is to know the tricks for passing the examination. […] I registered, they gave me some books, and they [the CLC head and staff] said: Sir, please read and study these books. If you want to study here, you can. Please come every Friday and Saturday afternoon, let's study together. If not, please read at home and prepare yourself for the national examination (Manado CM2).

This comment implies that the CLC head and staff provide flexibility for a mature student who might not want to learn with children.

Overview

This chapter presents the findings on the leadership of community education from the third case: a CLC in Manado, Central Indonesia. This case shows that the CLC head was seen as the primary leader and has the highest decision-making authority in the centre. However, the CLC head's parents are still regarded as important figures that could deputise for her when she is not available. This is because the CLC head's parents led and managed the centre while she was completing her undergraduate study. In addition, the nature of Manado CLC, that

has one main centre and branches on two different islands, as well as university students who work as teaching and non-teaching staff in the centre, makes room for "family" style leadership to be in place.

The findings indicate that the centre has two types of organisational structure: formal and actual. The former is used to fulfill the administrative and legal requirements set by the local education office, while the latter is the actual structure that consists of a CLC head, branch coordinators (island A and island B), and staff.

The community contributed to the CLC in various forms. The CLC head's family contributed to the infrastructure and facilities, cash, and labour power. Meanwhile, community members mainly contributed in non-financial ways.

The case shows that there were two types of learning curriculum implemented in Manado CLC: the government-made curriculum and the centre-developed curriculum. However, it was evident that the CLC head, staff and learners see the learner-centredness as the priority, and the curriculum in the main CLC comes from the particular interests and knowledge of the staff.

The chapter also presents strategies used by the CLC head and staff to recruit and engage with the learners. The strategies consisted of a door-to-door approach, banner displays and social media. However, they are limited because the CLC head and staff believe that the popularity of the centre has successfully attracted the learners. To meet the learners' learning needs, the centre used several strategies, such as providing appropriate infrastructure and facilities, designing an inclusive timetable, recruiting competent staff, and deprioritising academic attainment.

Chapter Seven: Ambon Community Learning Centre

Introduction

This chapter presents the findings from the fourth case, a Community Learning Centre (CLC) in Eastern Indonesia. It begins with the CLC context, followed by the findings, and ends with an overview.

Context

This CLC is in Ambon, the Capital of Maluku Province, Eastern Indonesia that has dark memories of riots between different religious and tribal groups from 1999 until 2002, following the fall of Suharto and a severe economic crisis in the country (Van Klinken, 2001). The CLC is located in an urban area, inhabited by more than 390,000 people from various ethnicities, such as Moluccans, Balinese, Javanese, Papuan, Dutch-Ambonese, and Portuguese-Ambonese (Field Notes taken on 4 December 2019). With its tropical rainforest climate, the city has no real dry season.

The city has easy access to social services facilities, such as schools, banks, convenience stores, medical clinics, public transportation, electricity, and water. Known as the UNESCO City of Music (UNESCO, 2019), the city offers plenty of live music in pubs. However, high speed internet connection and Wi-Fi remain difficult to access, particularly for those who live far from the city centre. The city includes community members with heterogeneous socio-economic backgrounds, mostly engaged in the sale of spices (e.g. carnation and nutmeg), or in fisheries and agriculture.

CLC Context

The CLC was formally established in 2007 by a retired primary school principal originating from one of the cities in the Java Island. She is a Muslim who moved to Ambon when she was recruited to be a civil servant teacher. During the inter-communal and religious riots, she was designated as a state primary school

principal in the city. She had to stay at home for approximately two years, because no schools in the city operated during the riots. By mid-2002, she returned to work, but found that only a few students remained to attend school. Many students stayed at home or "hung out" on the streets.

To attract people to go back to school, the principal decided to organise "out-of-school" programmes. She invited people of various ages to enroll at the primary school, and promised them that they would be in safe hands, would not pay fees, would not have homework, and could attend the learning process for three days a week. They were also promised that they would receive a certificate upon finishing their learning. The learning activities started at 13.00 hours and lasted for three hours per day. The school started to look alive again, and the number of people enrolling in the programmes increased over time. The initiative gained the attention of various international agencies that decided to fund it for several years. In 2007, the principal retired, and the "out-of-school" programmes were shut down, because the number of students was decreasing, and there was no more funding or staffing, to continue the activities.

The principal decided to take over the programmes, and manage them separately from the school. To do this, she altered one of her houses into a CLC, recruited some teachers, and carried out the learning activities there. She became the CLC head. At the time of research, the CLC organises early childhood education (ECE) and equivalency education programmes, as well as life-skills training. Table 7.1 shows the total number of people enrolled in various activities in the centre.

No.	Programme	Number of students
1.	Early childhood education	35
2.	Equivalency education:	
	a. Package B	29
	b. Package C	31
3.	Life-skills training	-
	Total	**95**

Table 7. 1: Number of students at Ambon CLC, 2018
Source: CLC Profile, 2018

The CLC is on a 462 square-metre plot, which belongs to the CLC head. It has eight rooms, consisting of a head and staff room, a library, two classrooms for

equivalency education, a classroom for early years' children, a common room that is normally used for life-skills training, a kitchen and a toilet. The ECE Centre in the CLC has five round tables and 35 chairs for all children. It also has one outdoor facility, which is a slide. The CLC provides 40 campus chairs, a desktop, a printer, and a radio tape. It also has some books in the library, mainly storybooks and textbooks published by the Ministry of Education and Culture. In the common room, there is a sofa, and three sewing machines that are usually used for a sewing course. Table 7.2 summarises the infrastructure and facilities at Ambon CLC:

Infrastructure		Facilities	
Item	Available	Item	Available
Classrooms	3	ECE students' tables	5
Head and staff room	1	ECE students' chairs	35
Common room	1	Adult students' chairs	40
Library	1	Sofas	2
Kitchen	1	Computer	1
Toilet	1	Printer	1
		Radio tape	1
		Slide	1

Table 7. 2: Availability of infrastructure and facilities at Ambon CLC
Source: CLC Profile (2018) and observations

The Nature of Leadership

<u>Introduction</u>

This section presents the findings on the nature of leadership in Ambon CLC. It starts by discussing whether the leadership is solo or shared, followed by whether the CLC has a leadership team, how the CLC head distributes tasks, how the CLC head manages her time, how the learning activities are initiated, and finally the need for professional development programmes.

<u>CLC head as the primary leader</u>

Although the learning activities started in 2002, the CLC head took charge of the formal leadership role in the centre in 2007. Research participants indicated that she was the primary leader in the CLC. They also agreed that there was no need for another leader.

Teacher 2, for example, explained that the CLC head is the only leader in the centre. She believes that the CLC head deserves to be the CLC's leader:

> She was the one who pioneered it from scratch, starting from obtaining permits and financing all of its operational expenses. [The CLC head's] ability and experience in managing this institution from its inception until now is also beyond doubt (Ambon Teacher 2).

NT1 – the CLC head's daughter – supported this comment explaining that, in addition to the CLC head's experience and ability, the limited number of staff employed in the CLC is another reason why she thought there was no need for another leader:

> Based on her experience, ability, and character, as well as the number of staff in this institution, I believe there is no need for another leader. Everything has been going pretty well, and it can be said that there are no significant problems so far (Ambon NT1).

CM1 provides a different perspective about why it is unnecessary to have another leader in the CLC besides the CLC head. She believes that the surrounding community has accepted her to be the CLC's leader:

> […] the people here have accepted [the CLC head] as the person who leads this institution. If there are other people who lead it, there is no guarantee that the surrounding community may accept it (Ambon CM1).

CM2, however, explained that he expected the CLC head's daughter or one of the teachers in the CLC could take the leadership role eventually:

> [The CLC head's] leadership is already very attached to this CLC. Maybe later when she could no longer lead this centre, her daughter or one of the tutors could do it (Ambon CM2).

The CLC head supported this comment explaining that she has been trying to educate her daughter and the teachers to continue leading and managing the CLC in the future:

> I am educating my daughter to take the leadership throne, but I can't force her. The obvious thing is I have two tutors. I hope they can also continue to manage this institution later (Ambon CLC head).

Leadership team

Research participants indicated that there is no leadership team in the CLC. The size of the centre, and the small number of staff, were seen as the main reasons why a leadership team is unnecessary. The CLC head explained that a leadership team is not needed, because the CLC is a small institution that, unlike a school, does not require a number of senior staff or a team to assist the head in leading and managing it:

> […] this institution is small. As you can see, this is my house. It isn't big. Then, this CLC is also not like a school (Ambon CLC head).

Teacher 2 supported this comment, noting that the small size of the CLC makes its management easier than that of a school, so that a leadership team is unnecessary:

> I don't think a leadership is needed here, because this CLC is a small institution. So, the management is also not as complicated as school (Ambon Teacher 2).

NT1 commented that a leadership team is too sophisticated for a CLC, given its size and number of staff:

> The leadership team seems too grand for this CLC, sir. This CLC is small and the staff is also very limited. I don't think there is a need for a leadership team here, because we all help each other, and have never thought that this is A's work and that B's work (Ambon NT1).

Job distribution

Giving trust and opportunity were indicated as the main strategies used by the CLC head in distributing tasks. Despite their academic and personal backgrounds, the staff agreed that the CLC head gives them trust and opportunity to work in the centre. The CLC head believes that everybody deserves an opportunity to show what s/he can do. Despite their background, the CLC head commented that people will do their best if given opportunity and appropriate guidance:

I never question somebody's past and educational background. For me, everyone is entitled to have equal opportunity. One of my tutors is just a senior secondary school graduate. She went to university, but then quit for financial reasons and domestic violence. I gave her the confidence to be a tutor here. Initially I taught her how to teach and build relationships with the children. Thank God! She is doing great now (Ambon CLC head).

Teacher 2 supported this comment by explaining how the CLC head gave her the trust and guidance she needed, despite her background:

[The CLC head] believed in my potential and willingness to be a better person. The first time I started working here, I was taught how to communicate with other people. [The CLC head] taught me slowly and patiently, until I could finally teach in front of the students without fear or insecurity (Ambon Teacher 2).

NT1 added that the CLC head does not only give equal opportunities to all staff, but she also gives the opportunity more than once. She mentioned that the CLC head gives an example how work should be accomplished:

[…] everyone is given the same opportunity, and it's not only once, to show his/her best abilities. She also doesn't just stand and watch, she teaches people first and shows them how something should be done, then let them do it on their own (Ambon NT1).

For NT2, it is the methods that the CLC head uses when assigning certain tasks that make him do things right away. Since the CLC head allows him to stay in the CLC for free, NT2 commented that:

If she asks me to do something, she will definitely call and ask me nicely. I feel bad if I do nothing here (Ambon NT2).

Time management

The CLC head spends most of her time in the centre for several reasons. The CLC head explained that she always makes time to come to the centre:

Since I am a retiree, my husband passed away, and my daughter is grown up, I can spend most of my time in this CLC (Ambon CLC head).

This comment was confirmed by Teacher 1 who explained that, despite her age, the CLC head still has the urge to help the surrounding community:

> It's not only because this building is one of her houses, but it's also because, even in her senior age, she still has a strong concern for the development of the surrounding community (Ambon Teacher 1).

NT1 commented that the CLC head always makes time to come to the CLC, because she wants what she is doing for the community members to become preparation for the afterlife:

> She wants to make this [CLC] a provision for the life to come (Ambon NT1).

Learning activities initiation

The learning activities in Ambon CLC could be categorised into two: those initiated by the government and those initiated by private funding agencies. Initially, the learning activities were mainly generated by the CLC head's initiative, but they eventually turned to either government or private funders-initiated programmes. The CLC head explained that, after the riots, the CLC used to organise learning activities funded by donor agencies. However, she commented that the programmes were unsustainable, and that the main activity that remains in the centre is equivalency education:

> After the riots in the 1999-2000s, many donor agencies came to Ambon. We were asked to conduct outdoor learning activities in a fun way. It's more like activities to fill time in a positive way. But the programme that survived until now is equivalency education. In Ambon, there are still many children who drop out of school. They really need a package certificate to achieve their dreams (Ambon CLC head).

Teacher 1 added that the CLC also organises another government-initiated programme; early childhood education. However, she noted that, with or without funding support from the government, both equivalency education and early childhood education, would always be provided in the centre. In addition, she mentioned that the CLC also offers short-term training programmes with funding support from donor agencies:

The main focus of this CLC is ECE and equivalency education. Whatever happens, whether or not there is money, [the CLC head] wants both programmes to sustain. We also have life skills programmes, but they usually last for about three months. But the programmes are usually adjusted to the criteria set by the donor agency (Ambon Teacher 1).

CM2 – a parent and a civil servant with an Out-of-School Education degree – explained that the programmes organised in the CLC should actually be more than those initiated by the government. However, he understood that it is not that simple, and believed that the programmes show the government's responsibility in catering for educational institutions other than schools:

Although it doesn't really meet the expectations of non-formal educational institutions, but I think this is a matter of the presence of the State in supporting non-formal education (Ambon CM2).

The need for professional development programmes

Based on their career trajectory and educational background, it was evident that the participants needed professional development programmes. Except the CLC head, no staff in the centre had teaching experience. Teacher 1, for example, had neither teaching experience nor sufficient academic qualifications prior to joining the CLC:

I studied Economics in the university until the third year, but in 1997 I quit because I experienced domestic violence. I divorced, and then returned to Ambon in 2000. Then I opened a small shop for several years, and remarried. […] in 2015, I met [the CLC head], I told her about my condition, and she immediately offered me a job in this CLC (Ambon Teacher 2).

Teacher 1 stated that she needs professional development programmes, especially in teaching, for she did not have teaching experience, but has to teach three different levels of education, various age groups and four subjects:

My major was Biology Education, but here I am an ECE and equivalency education teacher. For Package B, I teach Science and Mathematics, while for Package C I teach Geography and Sociology (Ambon Teacher 1).

Both staff, however, claimed that they are confident in teaching the early years' children. They mentioned that they often participated in training for early childhood education teachers, provided by the government. Teacher 2 is also enrolled in Early Childhood Education at one of the universities in Ambon:

> As for ECE, I use what I learned from university and teacher training (Ambon Teacher 2).

Despite her long experience in education, the CLC head also indicated that she lacked professional development programmes when she took the leadership role in the CLC:

> I moved to Ambon in 1972, and served as a civil servant in one of the primary schools in the city. Then, I became [a primary school] principal, [...] In 2007, I took over the out-of-school programme at [the primary school], and made it a CLC (Ambon CLC head).

Organisational Structure

Introduction

This section focuses on the organisational structure of Ambon CLC. The findings are organised into three themes: (i) Ambon CLC organisational structure and its development; (ii) the roles of programme coordinators; and, (iii) the role of the community and the Education Office in developing the organisational structure.

Ambon CLC organisational structure and its development

The organisational structure of Ambon CLC consists of six different sections, namely: Head, operator, security, Early Childhood Education (ECE), Equivalency Education, and life-skills training. The CLC head has decision-making authority over all sections. The head is assisted by an operator, and supported by a security guard who lives in the CLC. There are also sections for ECE section, Equivalency Education: Package B and Package C, and life-skills training. The structure of Ambon CLC is illustrated in Figure 7.1.

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                    ┌──────────┐
                    │   Head   │
                    └────┬─────┘
                         │        ┌──────────┐
                         ├────────│ Operator │
                         │        └──────────┘
                         │        ┌──────────┐
                         ├────────│ Security │
                         │        └──────────┘
          ┌──────────────┼──────────────────┐
┌───────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐ ┌──────────────────┐
│ Early Childhood   │ │ Equivalency       │ │ Life-Skills      │
│ Education         │ │ Education:        │ │ Training         │
│                   │ │  • Package B      │ │                  │
│                   │ │  • Package C      │ │                  │
└───────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘ └──────────────────┘
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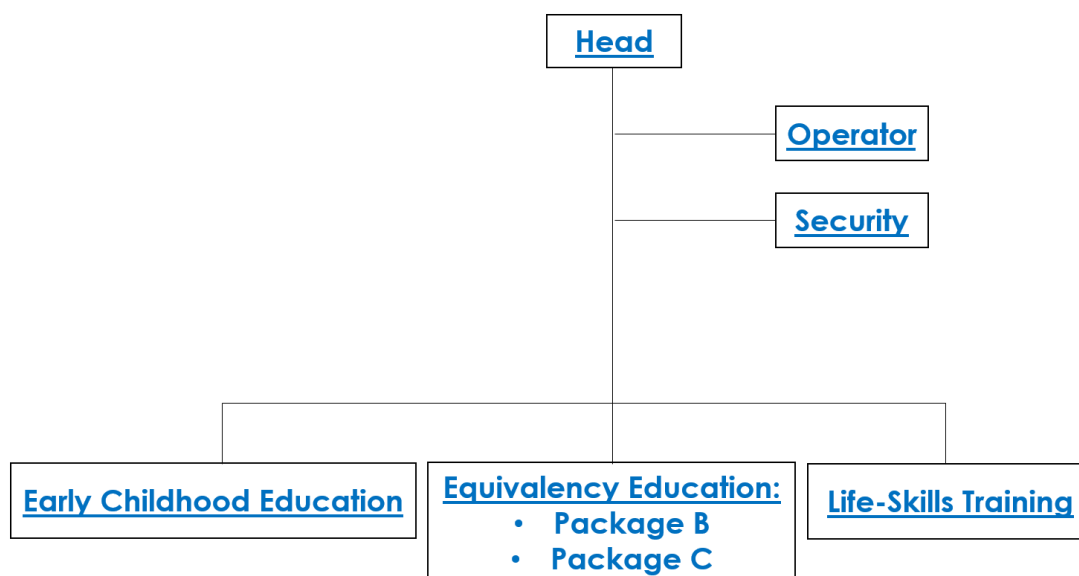
Figure 7. 1: The organisational structure of Ambon CLC
Source: Interviews

The CLC Profile, and the structure observed in the CLC, however, indicated an organisational structure that is significantly different from the structure explained by research participants. The documents indicate that the CLC has seven job roles and sections; Head, treasurer, secretary, education, courses and training, marketing and partnerships, learners/community members. However, the differences were not explored further, because in the Indonesian context it could cause offence and show disrespect (OBG, 2015). The CLC head and staff could have given different answers when interviewed by people assessing their funding proposal, or assessors visiting their centre for accreditation. They also understood that this may be a legal issue, but chose to give honest responses to the researcher to show the actual structure of their centre.

The structure was developed by the CLC head. Teacher 2 explained that the structure initially consisted of more sections than at the time of the research. However, it reduced in line with the decreasing financial support received from the funding agencies:

> Now the structure is very simple. We only have a head, an operator and two tutors. There is also XXX, but he is more like a security guard. He usually repairs some damaged properties in this centre. He's also often asked to run errands: paying water or electricity bills (Ambon Teacher 2).

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The CLC head supported this comment, agreeing that the CLC has a limited structure. She commented that there are only five people who regularly work in the CLC:

> In this CLC, there are only a head, who is me, a computer operator; my daughter, who also helps to develop the CLC profile, publications, correspondence and financial administration reports. Then there are two tutors who teach early years' children and equivalency education. There is one more person XXX whom I ask to stay and guard this place (Ambon CLC head).

Teacher 1 added that the structure consists of staff whom the researcher could see every time visiting the centre. Other names and positions that could be seen on the formal structure shown on the wall are no longer at the CLC:

> Other names and positions are gone. [...] Today, we only have people whom you could see (Ambon Teacher 1).

The roles of programme coordinators

The interviews indicated that the CLC has no programme coordinators, for several reasons. These are because of limited funding, staff, students and learning prgrammes. The CLC head commented that:

> We don't have programme coordinators. The tutors are assigned to teach in ECE and equivalency education. They also help to clean this place; sweeping and mopping. We do everything together (Ambon CLC head).

This comment suggests that the CLC's staff have multiple tasks that involve both teaching and non-teaching affairs.

NT1 supported this comment, noting that everybody in the centre covers each other's tasks:

> Everyone has several tasks, a mix of teaching and administrative tasks. I'm more dominant in the administration affairs, but sometimes I also teach. The same thing applies to [Teacher 1] and [Teacher 2]. They clean, teach and recapitulate students' attendance as well. [The CLC head] is also like that. If [Teacher 1] or [Teacher 2] is sick or they have something to do, she will teach (Ambon NT1).

CM2 added that, besides having few learning programmes and students, the limited budget is a significant reason why the CLC has no programme coordinators:

> Since there are only a few programmes, not too many students, and the programmes are divided into two shifts, there are no programme coordinators. I think [Teacher 1] and [teacher 2] help each other. Even if there are more staff, how can [the CLC head] pay for them? (Ambon CM2).

The role of the community and the District Education Office

Both the community and the local education office were not involved in developing the organisational structure of Ambon CLC. Research participants explained that the structure was entirely developed by the CLC head. The CLC head confirmed that she involved neither the community nor the education office in developing the structure, adding that the structure had shrunk over time due to limited budget and human resources:

> If you look at structure on the wall, you can see that it's very complete. […] But over time, the structure become smaller because of many factors, starting from finance, the people have their own jobs, and the number of students who does not require too many staff (Ambon CLC head).

This comment provides further evidence that there is a difference between the structure explained by the participants during the interviews, and the one observed in the CLC.

NT1 supported this comment and explained the reason why the structure development did not involve the community and local education office:

> Perhaps because of this is a private institution, then its structure development is to be left to the individuals who established it (Ambon NT1).

CM1 confirmed this comment mentioning that the community members did not know anything about the CLC's structure development:

> We, the community members, have no role in developing the organisational structure, because we don't understand this matter (Ambon CM1).

This comment implies that the CLC head has the agency to develop the CLC's organisational structure.

Relationships with the Community

<u>Introduction</u>

This section presents the findings on the relationship of Ambon CLC with the community. It starts by discussing how the CLC head and staff viewed the community, and vice versa, followed by the extent and nature of community contributions to the centre.

<u>Perceptions toward the community</u>

Research participants agreed that the community plays an important role for the CLC. Despite the riots that threatened her life, the CLC head convinced herself and her family that she would stay in the city for the rest of her life. The staff and community members believe that the CLC head established the CLC as a token of love for the city and community members. The CLC head confirmed this, mentioning that the community is the inspiration and reason why she initiated the centre's establishment:

> The community is very important for this CLC. I'm not a native of Ambon, but for me, the community is part of my life. So, this CLC is indeed established for the community. There is no personal desire for me to be famous or [to be] seen higher by others. All I want to do is help the community (Ambon CLC head).

This comment was supported by Teacher 2 who mentioned that many less fortunate people in the area benefit from the CLC:

> Many poor people in this area can register their children here to study with me and [Teacher 1]. Many people who also dropped out of school in this area could get a certificate from this CLC. I'm also one of those who feels the benefits of this institution. I have become more confident, could speak in public, and now I'm studying ECE (Ambon Teacher 2).

NT2 supported the comment, mentioning that the CLC and its learning programmes are dedicated to helping the community members, especially poor people:

[The CLC head] established this CLC to help the surrounding community. Most of those who study here are not well-off like me. The equivalency education students are those who didn't finish their school (Ambon NT2).

CM2 provided evidence of the strategies used by the CLC head to engage with the community members:

[The CLC head] is famous for being friendly. She would say hello everywhere she goes, and she often invites young people who hang out doing nothing to study in this CLC. That's how she reaches out to the surrounding community (Ambon CM2).

Community members' contributions

The contributions to Ambon CLC were made by three groups: the CLC head, parents, and adult students. As indicated earlier, the CLC head contributed in various forms, ranging from infrastructure and facilities, cash and labour power, while parents and students contributed in cash, food and labour power.

The CLC head explained that parents and students contributed in cash. The former provides approximately 1 penny every Monday, and the latter gives 2.50 GBP[7] when registering to the CLC:

Every Monday, the parents of early years' children give 2,000 [IDR] [1 penny] to the tutors to subsidise their transportation. We call it "Monday money". For the equivalency education students, they give a registration fee of 50 thousand Rupiah [2.50 GBP]. That's also used to support the tutors (Ambon CLC head).

Teacher 1 added that, in addition to cash, parents often contributed food when the CLC organises competitions and commemorates national days:

They come, bring food, dress their children and help us clean up when the activities [competitions and commemoration of national days] are over (Ambon Teacher 1).

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[7] Currency exchange as of 04 April 2021

Learner 2 added that she and her peers agreed to give a certain amount of money every month to the teachers, to help fund the CLC. She explained that it is not mandatory, and there is no pressure if someone does not want to participate:

> Every month, sometimes I pay 20 thousand [IDR] [1 GBP], but there are also students who pay more, depending on their economic conditions. This is not mandatory, but it's more like a kind of agreement between me and my friends here (Ambon Learner 2).

NT1 had a somewhat different view, mentioning that the most important contribution is the community members' love for the CLC head. Since she was afraid of other riots occurring in the city, she added that she is grateful for the community members' love for the CLC head:

> But, aside from money, the most important thing for me is that the people love [the CLC head] and this CLC. In this province, if people don't like someone, his/her house can be burned. But the community has never questioned why [the CLC head] established this CLC. They love her for it instead (Ambon NT1).

This comment was supported by Learner 1, who noted that:

> I'm quite influential in this area. I help [the CLC head] guard the security of this CLC. This is more important than giving money (Ambon Learner 1).

Networks and Partnerships

<u>Introduction</u>

This section presents the findings on networks and partnerships within and beyond Ambon CLC. It starts by discussing how relationships within the centre are nurtured, followed by the networks and partnerships beyond the CLC, and finally the role of networks and partnerships in providing funding security and sustainability for the centre.

Ways of nurturing relationships within Ambon CLC

The strategy used by the CLC head and staff to nurture the relationships within the centre was through creating a family-like working environment. The CLC head considers all staff in the centre as her own children. This is confirmed by all staff who see the CLC head as their mother.

To create a good support system in the centre, the CLC head explained that she considers all staff as family. She believed it is an effective strategy to unite all staff and make them work with their heart:

> All tutors are like my own children. I motivate them to go forward. One of them is now in university. I hope all of them succeed, and have a better life. Let this institution be a place for them to learn practically how to teach, how to deal with diverse learners, and how to deal with people from the education office. The condition is what makes us solid, and to enjoy what we have. They never complain (Ambon CLC head).

This comment was supported by Teacher 2, explaining that the CLC is like a home where a family consisting of a mother and children live. For this reason, she commented that the staff are solid and help each other:

> Like people who stay at home, they normally have siblings. [The CLC head], [Teacher 1] and [the CLC head's daughters] are my siblings. Only by doing this do we become solid and sincere in working (Ambon Teacher 2).

Teacher 1 added that, since she considers the CLC head and staff as her family, they rarely have conflicts. She also believed that this means that she and Teacher 2 see no problem at all in cleaning the CLC before and after learning activities:

> [Teacher 2] and I are like [the CLC head's] children. [Teacher 2] and I did not mind cleaning, and doing anything for the development of this CLC. Since we are like family, so I can say that there is no conflict between us at all (Ambon Teacher 1).

NT2 believed that the family-like relationships within the centre make the students feel comfortable:

> Everyone here is very solid. Moreover, we work in a soft way. Everybody studying here feels comfortable (Ambon NT2).

Networks and partnerships beyond Ambon CLC

The research participants indicated that the CLC has no formal partnerships with either private or state organisations. They did have private donor agencies, but this was only for several years following the riots that took place in the city. The participants, however, mentioned that the CLC head knows many important people in the government agencies due to her working experience. These people supply information to the CLC head about financial assistance or the latest policies related to community education and CLC.

The CLC head explained that her experience as a primary school principal for several years gives her the advantage to know and maintain good relationships with many people in the city's education office:

> My experience as a principal gives its own advantages in this matter. I didn't do too many things to get to know people in the education office. We already know each other. My senior age also has a role in building partnerships (Ambon CLC head).

NT1 supported this comment, mentioning that the CLC head receives valuable recent information about the government's funding assistance and national examinations, from her colleagues in the education office:

> [The CLC head] always keeps in touch with her colleagues in the education office. We usually get a lot of information from her friends about funding assistance from the government, and the latest information on the national examination from her friends (Ambon NT1).

CM1 remembered that the CLC has a private partner where she could market her products when she participated in a culinary training programme:

> When we finished learning to make sago cookies, we were assisted to market them through some shops selling Ambonese food and souvenirs. The relationship [between the CLC and training participants] is very good. Although we have graduated, our sago cookies can still be distributed to the shops (Ambon CM1).

This comment implies that all partnerships that the CLC had were through informal agreements. There were no written documents on partnerships found in Ambon CLC (Field notes taken on 6 December 2019).

<u>Funding security and sustainability</u>

The research participants consistently indicated that networks and partnerships aim at gaining funding support for the CLC's daily operation. Since they no longer receive financial support from private donor agencies, they admitted that they rely on the government's assistance. However, they noted that funding from the government is uncertain, and that the budget is mainly for students.

NT1 described how partnerships with foreign donor agencies benefited the CLC with funding support. However, it only lasted for a short period of time, so the CLC had to seek other funding sources besides the CLC head:

> In the past, we received a lot of funding from foreign donors. But gradually, we are becoming more dependent on the government's assistance. [The CLC head] had also sacrificed a lot of money for this CLC (Ambon NT1).

This comment was supported by the CLC head, who explained that she relies on the government's funding to support the CLC's operation. She also used the funding to pay the teachers' salaries:

> To be honest, today I rely on the government BOP [Operational Funding Assistance] to meet the daily needs of tutors, and the operational expenses of this institution. […] Once it's transferred, I share it with the tutors, and use it to cover the operational expenses (Ambon CLC head).

Teacher 1 added that, although the CLC relies on the government's funding, the daily operational expenses are still covered by the CLC head. Once they received funding from the government, they might be able to pay back to the CLC head:

> We rely on funding assistance from the government and donors. We get BOP [Operational Funding] once or twice a year. That's what we always look for. But the daily expenses for electricity, water and gas are usually from [the CLC head] (Ambon Teacher 1).

Teacher 2 supported this comment, noting that the CLC head spent so much on the CLC:

> For the case of [the CLC head], I think what she gives to the CLC cannot be counted anymore (Ambon Teacher 2).

Curriculum Development and Enactment

Introduction

This section presents and discusses the enactment of the learning curriculum in Ambon CLC. It begins with the discussion of curriculum implemented and enacted in the centre, followed by consideration of the various parties involved in developing the curriculum.

Curriculum implemented and enacted in Ambon CLC

Research participants claimed that the CLC implements the School-Based Curriculum (KTSP) for the equivalency education programme. They also mentioned that they did not use any specific curriculum for the ECE programme, and used a curriculum designed at the request of funding agencies for life-skills training programmes.

The CLC head explained that the formal curriculum implemented in the CLC is a School-Based Curriculum, while the curriculum used for the ECE programme is what the teachers know and have in mind. However, she mentioned that curriculum has never been a focus in the CLC:

> We are still using KTSP [School-Based Curriculum]. Honestly, we don't pay much attention to the curriculum, because we focus on how the [equivalency education] students can get a certificate. That's the first thing. They learn from previous exam questions. For early years' children, I let the tutors accompany them to play. They sing, draw, play, and so on. Let the tutors apply what they learned from their university (Ambon CLC head).

This comment suggests that the teachers have the agency to develop what and how they teach the early years' children.

This was supported by Teacher 2, who mentioned that the curriculum is secondary to a "non-confrontrational" learning method. She believes that it is important for all students to enjoy the learning process as they already have enough pressures and problems in their life. She commented that learning activities in the CLC are to help the students, not add more burden:

> The curriculum we are using is still KTSP [School-Based Curriculum]. That's for equivalency education. But the point is that what we do is making sure there should be no violence and coercion in learning. They [equivalency education students] have experienced enough problems in their life. Now they only want a certificate to continue their life. We only help them to achieve it (Ambon Teacher 2).

CM2 mentioned that he did not know the formal curriculum implemented in the CLC for the ECE Programme. However, he showed support for what and how the teachers teach her daughter. He explained that he only wants his daughter to play, and enjoy the activities in the CLC:

> For ECE, I don't know what the curriculum is. But since this is a non-formal educational institution, the important thing is that my daughter is happy to play here. Let her express herself. Well, although the facilities are simple, let her play first. She doesn't need to be able to read or write. Children in kindergartens are often taught to read and write. For my daughter's case, I'll just teach her to read at home (Ambon CM2).

This comment implies that CM2 did not have high expectations of his daughter's cognitive development through literacy at the CLC, and decided to support it by teaching her basic literacy skills at home.

NT1 added that the curriculum for life-skills programmes is designed upon the request of funding agencies. When receiving financial assistance from a donor agency, the CLC head designed the curriculum with the donor and academics:

> There is also a life-skills programme. It is incidental in nature, and is based on requests from donor agencies. For example, we used to work with ILO [International Labour Organisation]. They asked us to gather children who were vulnerable to child labouring, and then be motivated to be aware of child exploitation. [The CLC head] used to work with universities in Ambon, and run the programme for two or three months, if I'm not mistaken (Ambon NT1).

Parties involved in developing curriculum

The curriculum in Ambon CLC was developed by four groups: the government, the CLC head, staff, and donor agencies. The government developed the overall structure of School-Based Curriculum, and the CLC head and staff developed the

curriculum for the ECE programme. The donor agencies were involved in developing the curriculum when the CLC organised learning and training activities on their budget.

The CLC head explained that the School-Based curriculum was developed by the central government. However, she and the staff had the opportunity to choose a subject based on potential in the community. For example, they decided to organise culinary or sewing subjects:

> The KTSP [School-Based Curriculum] is from the government. We're only allowed to develop the local contents. We chose culinary and sewing. As for ECE, the learning approaches are entirely developed by my children [tutors]. They create and innovate based on their abilities (Ambon CLC head).

Despite this explanation, as noted earlier, only three sewing machines were available in the CLC. A kitchen was available, as it is part of the house, but it seemed to be a regular kitchen for cooking, not training activities (Field notes taken on 6 December 2019).

Teacher 2 also mentioned that the government developed the School-Based Curriculum, and the CLC head and staff chose the local subjects (culinary and sewing). For the ECE programme, she commented that there was no specific curriculum, since it was just what she and Teacher 1 agreed to teach:

> The KTSP [School-Based Curriculum] was developed by the government. I don't know exactly about it. But we developed the culinary and sewing local contents. For ECE curriculum, we follow what [Teacher 1] and I agreed to do from day-to-day basis. It's normally all about singing, counting, playing traditional games, reading prayers, and so on (Ambon Teacher 2).

NT1 added that the curriculum for the ECE programme depends on the teachers' creativity. Furthermore, the curriculum for the life-skills programme is designed by involving the funding agency, since it normally has specific objectives to achieve:

The learning process of ECE is all up to [Teacher 1] and [Teacher 2]. The important thing is that the children enjoy learning here, and their parents are not burdened with the funding. The children can get ECE report cards to enter primary school, that's enough. For the life-skills programme, it's more like a bargaining process: what the donor wants, and then we try to develop it. [The CLC head] obviously often asks for some help from her friends for this (Ambon NT1).

The CLC head agreed, mentioning that the funding agency has an important role in developing the curriculum for life-skills programmes:

For the life skills programme, we observe what we will carry out, what the donors want, then we develop the learning process as they wish (Ambon CLC head).

Engagement with Learners

Introduction

This section presents the findings on how Ambon CLC leaders and teachers engaged with their learners. It starts by discussing the methods used in recruiting learners, followed by the needs' analysis carried out by CLC leaders and teachers prior to recruitment, and finally ways of addressing the learners' learning needs.

Learner recruitment

The participants indicated that there was not much focus by the CLC head and staff on learner recruitment. Since the CLC head is a well-known figure in the area, they feel that they did not need specific promotional activities for learner recruitment. The main strategy for promotion is "word of mouth advertising", normally done by staff, students, alumni and parents.

NT2 explained that, whenever the CLC head has the opportunity, she would greet and invite NT2's friends who dropped out of school to join the CLC. He mentioned that it is an effective strategy, since his friends would then talk to other people about what the CLC head said:

> [The CLC head] usually invites my friends who didn't finish school to study here. Since she's close to many people, many of them help [the CLC head] by telling people they know that this is the place to get a certificate (Ambon NT2).

This comment was supported by Teacher 1, stating that she and Teacher 2 also often invite people they know to register in the CLC:

> [The CLC head] always told me and [Teacher 2] to invite our neighbours or relatives who dropped out of school to study here. [She said] they don't need to think about money. The important thing is to just come here (Ambon Teacher 1).

Teacher 2 added that learner recruitment in the CLC relies on the help of alumni. She explained that she was not worried about ECE learner recruitment, because many parents who could not afford to enroll their children in kindergartens would normally register their children in the CLC:

> We rely heavily on the help of alumni who obtained a certificate from this CLC. They usually share stories with their relatives and friends. It's what usually makes a lot of people come and register here. For the case of ECE, we aren't worried too much. Every year there must be parents who register their children here, especially those who are unable to register their children in kindergarten (Ambon Teacher 2).

NT1 mentioned that she did something slightly different to advertise the CLC. Since she is an active social media user, she uses Instagram as a platform for promotion:

> I help a little bit by posting some photos of activities in this CLC on Instagram (Ambon NT1).

Needs analysis

The participants indicated that they never did needs analysis prior to learner recruitment, except for short-term life-skills training programmes funded by a donor. The reasons why they did not do needs analysis for ECE and equivalency education programmes are because it is not easy to predict when and how many

students register with the CLC. Therefore, what they do is to accept all prospective students, regardless of their background, to make use of the facilities available in the centre. If the number of students exceeds the available facilities, the CLC head would then try to obtain more chairs or textbooks (Field Notes taken on 5 December 2019).

NT1 explained some steps that the CLC head and staff did when conducting needs-analysis. The analysis is carried out when the CLC receives financial assistance, and aimed to determine the number of students, resource people and schedule. However, she commented that the same analysis was not carried out for ECE and equivalency education programmes:

> […] a needs analysis was carried out when we were going to organise a life-skills programme. The analysis was in the form of searching for the appropriate number of students to be recruited, agreeing the number of resource persons needed and designing a schedule. But for ECE and equivalency education, I don't think there is needs analysis. We just work naturally. If there are people who register, we just accept them (Ambon NT1).

This comment was supported by Teacher 2, who explained that the CLC head and staff only carried out needs analysis for funded life-skills programmes. She explained that they did not do needs analysis for ECE and equivalency education programmes, because it is difficult to predict when and how many students would enroll in the CLC. Some students joined the CLC when the learning programmes had already started. She commented that:

> I think we have never done a needs analysis, except for life-skills programmes. As for ECE and equivalency education, the objectives and needs are relatively clear. Those who are less able and cannot be accommodated by formal education can register here. For the facilities and resources, we can only maximise what is available. The number of prospective students is also usually unpredictable, but relatively not too many, because most are waiting for the right time to join this CLC, especially adults (Ambon Teacher 2).

This comment implies that the CLC's infrastructure, facilities, and learning timetable, as well as human resources, had no significant changes from time to time.

The CLC head believes that the most important consideration is to have the infrastructure, learning activities and teachers available when there are people who would like to join the CLC. This is the reason why she did not do any formal needs-analysis prior to learner recruitment:

> I let this institution run naturally. The most important thing is that this place is always available for everybody who wants to do some learning activities, and [the tutors] are always ready to accept anyone who registers (Ambon CLC head).

NT2 provided evidence that the CLC head is attentive to the facilities in the CLC. He commented that she often checks whether something needs repairing in order to make sure that all learners have a pleasant time in the CLC:

> [The CLC head] always pays attention to whether something in this house is broken or needs repairing, including whether there is broken glass. She said that it's to make everyone studying here feels comfortable (Ambon NT2).

Ways of addressing the learners' learning needs

The research participants indicated that they try to address the learners' learning needs by designing an inclusive timetable, and making attendance and academic attainment less important than completing a learning or training programme.

The CLC head explained that, unlike ECE programme, having a timetable that fits all equivalency education students is a challenge. Unlike the ECE programme, that could be held five days a week, she and the staff agreed that it would be best to organise equivalency education three days a week with three hours per day in order to accommodate all students. In addition, they never give them any tests or homework:

> For equivalency education, the learning activities take place three days a week; Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday. A meeting is only three hours. It's from 10:00 a.m. - 1:00 p.m. So, in the morning, from 07.00 - 10:00, it's specifically for the early years' children. ECE is every day, Monday-Friday. We also don't burden the children [students] with daily tests, and homework (Ambon CLC head).

This comment was supported by Teacher 1, who explained that the CLC head and staff designed the timetable so that all students would be motivated to finish the programme. She explained that none of the students is required to wear a uniform, or be burdened with expensive tuition fees:

> The learning process here is not too long. It's about three hours for ECE and three hours for equivalency education. ECE in the morning, and then followed by equivalency education. All students are not required to wear uniforms. It's up to them. Parents and students are also not charged with heavy costs. Anybody can study here, that's what matters (Ambon Teacher 1).

Since the equivalency students mainly do not have strong academic and economic backgrounds, Teacher 2 added that the CLC head and staff do not mind low attendance and academic attainment. There is no pressure if they choose to study by their own:

> Here we are trying to accommodate the ability of each student: the ability to learn, financial ability, and the ability to participate in learning. If anyone can attend the class but only for a short period of time, that's fine. If anyone wants to study at home, and come once in a while, we also understand. The point is we all want to work well with everyone (Ambon Teacher 2).

This comment supports the earlier finding that needs-analysis is not formally carried out, because there are some equivalency education students who rarely attend face-to-face meetings with the teachers.

Learner 1 confirmed this comment, mentioning that he often skipped the learning activities in the CLC, and the teachers did not mind about this. He also mentioned that only a few of his peers regularly attend the class:

> I study three times a week. Usually, if I cannot attend some classes, [Teacher 2] and [Teacher 1] don't mind. So, I like studying here, because I can still work as an online motorcycle taxi driver. My friends are the same like me. But people who come here regularly are few […]. (Ambon Learner 1).

CM2 believes that the CLC addresses his daughter's learning needs. Although he could have enrolled his daughter in a more prestigious kindergarten, he opted to

enroll her in the CLC. He believes that the ECE programme allows his daughter to learn while playing. He commented that parental involvement in ECE is crucial to develop his daughter's development:

> I think this CLC can meet my daughter's learning needs. I believe that ECE is important to optimise my daughter's potential. Many people send their children to expensive kindergartens that speak foreign languages. But for me, my daughter is in her playing period. So, it's alright for me that her ECE Centre is in this CLC, because the most important thing is that she is happy. And to support her cognitive development, parents must also play a role. I'm a bachelor too, it's a shame if I can't educate my daughter at home (Ambon CM2).

Overview

This chapter presents the findings on the leadership of community education from the fourth case: a CLC in Ambon, Western Indonesia. This case shows that the CLC head is seen as the primary leader in the centre. The CLC head's ownership of the centre, and long experience as a teacher and primary principal, led the staff and community members to believe that she deserved to be considered as the main leader in the CLC.

The findings indicate that the CLC's organisational structure reduced over time for it no longer received financial assistance from private funding agencies. However, the CLC head and staff kept the initial formal structure as there were some positions (e.g. treasurer and secretary), required by law that a CLC should have. Neither the local education office nor the community was involved in developing the structure.

The community made various contributions to the development of the CLC. The CLC head contributed to the infrastructure and facilities, cash, and labour power. Meanwhile, community members mainly contributed in cash.

This case shows that the CLC mainly implemented the curriculum developed by the government. Only for life-skills training programmes funded by private donor agencies did the CLC develop and design a curriculum to meet the funder's requests. However, it was indicated that the curriculum for the ECE programme arose from the particular interests and knowledge of the teachers.

The chapter also identified strategies used by the CLC head and staff to recruit and engage with the learners. The main strategy to recruit learners is word of mouth advertising, by staff, students, alumni and parents. To address the learners' learning needs, the CLC head and staff used two main strategies, designing an inclusive timetable, and making attendance and academic attainment less important than programme completion.

Chapter Eight: Analysis and Discussion

Introduction

This chapter provides a cross-case analysis of the four Community Learning Centres (CLCs) and their communities. It discusses the findings through the lenses of the theoretical and conceptual frameworks developed from the literature reviewed in chapter two. The analysis and discussion are based on two emergent themes arising from the data (context and community), and themes linked to the six research questions. The themes are:

- Context
- Community
- The nature of leadership
- Organisational structure
- Relationships with the community
- Networks and partnerships
- Curriculum development and enactment
- Engagement with learners.

Context

The four cases show the importance of being sensitive to context when engaging in CLC leadership. Regardless of the CLC's legal status (private or state), and location (urban or rural), the four cases indicated that being cognisant of context is key to CLC leadership. This finding extends the long-established discoveries of critical leadership scholars on the importance of considering context as an essential aspect shaping leadership (Santamaría et al., 2014; Shields, 2018; Smyth, 2017). It further elaborates the importance of context in influencing leadership practice in non-formal educational settings (Etling, 1994) as well as formal educational organisations, such as schools (Braun et al., 2011; Clarke and O'Donoghue, 2016; Dimmock and Walker, 2000; Hallinger, 2018).

However, it is evident that there is no straightforward way to categorise whether the various dimensions of context in CLC leadership fit those of existing frameworks, reviewed elsewhere in chapter two. Each framework has similar elements, and is useful in contexts other than Indonesia. Building on the frameworks developed by both critical and mainstream leadership scholars (Braun et al., 2011; Clarke and O'Donoghue, 2016; Dimmock and Walker, 2000; Hallinger, 2018; Morrison, 2017), this study develops its own dimensions of context that speak to CLC leadership in Indonesia. Table 8.1 shows the similarities of the frameworks discussed in chapter two, generating dimensions of context in CLC leadership.

Braun et al. (2011) Clarke and O'Donoghue (2016)	Dimmock and Walker (2000)	Hallinger (2018)	Morrison (2017)	CLC Leadership
	Culture (societal and organisational)	Macro: economic, political, and socio-cultural.	Macro: globalisation, socio-cultural (political, economic, social, cultural), socio-political discourse (governance, social justice and equity issues, educational standards, regional/ national policy)	Economic Political (education policy)
Material: staffing, funding, facilities, infrastructure External: pressures, targets, expectations	Organisational structures Leadership and management processes	Meso: institutional	Meso: school community (ethnic profile, socio-economic profile, community mobility and cohesion), specific school context (market choice/standing, staff profile, student profile, school/institutional history, mission/vision, student voice)	Socio-cultural/ community
Professional: teacher commitments and experiences, school policy management	Curriculum Teaching and learning	Micro: community and school improvement	Micro: school leader (biography, characteristics, attunement to social justice, motivation, emotional, paradigm)	CLC leader: biography, characteristics, attunement to social justice, motivation, emotional, paradigm
Situated: history, location			Time	Temporal: history and education policy development over time

Table 8. 1: Similarities of frameworks of dimensions of context

Economic context

In all four cases, the level of economic development influenced the CLC leaders' work, in respect of CLC infrastructure and availability of facilities, staff quantity and quality, and community contributions. However, the more eastern the case location, the lower the society's level of economic development (Kurniawan et al., 2019), and this appeared to shape CLC leadership practices. Regardless of their

reliance upon the government's financial assistance, the CLC leaders from the western part of Indonesia (Bandung and Jakarta) were able to hire better qualified teachers than those from the eastern part. Working in an area with moderate to high levels of economic development also gave the Jakarta CLC leader easy access to resources from the government, parents, and community members. In contrast, the CLC leaders in central and eastern Indonesia, Manado and Ambon respectively, found it difficult to rely on community contributions, because economic development is generally low. This echoes findings that school principals working in economically developing societies face challenges in accessing resources, with a consequential impact on their leadership practices (Bush et al. 1998; Oplatka, 2004).

The CLC leaders in Bandung, Manado and Ambon spent considerable time on their jobs despite the different levels of economic development. This is because, although there is a specific formal timetable for certain learning programmes, the CLC leaders live very close to, or in, the CLC, and are not constrained by formal working hours. This contrasts with Lee and Hallinger's (2012) findings, who note that principals from societies (countries) with higher Gross Domestic Product (GDP) tended to spend more time on the job than those from societies with low economic development. This current study shows that the amount of time that CLC leaders spent on their job was not influenced by the society's level of economic development, but by the place where they live, and by the nature of CLCs that have no specific working hours.

Political context

Political context refers to educational policy, defined by political authorities, shaping CLC leadership practices. The national objective of non-formal education in Indonesia determines which CLC outcomes are considered of highest priority. Its function to replace, supplement and complement formal education (Law Number 20/2003) shapes the CLC leaders' consideration in deprioritising physical attendance. The political context also leads the CLC leaders to work to ensure that all adult students complete their learning programme, and then enter either academic or occupational pathways. The four cases show that students can study independently, and attend face-to-face learning activities, if they choose. Although

the examination sets a minimum score to pass for each subject, additional academic attainment simply becomes "added value" for the students, not a priority. Both the students and CLC leaders and teachers understand that academic achievement will not affect the students' job, if any, or their plans to continue their studies or to seek better employment. This particular thinking has resonance with Freire's (1970) philosophy of resisting the banking model of education mentioned in chapter two.

The four cases also suggest that the political context informed the role behaviour of CLC leaders. They demonstrate the complex and creative processes of "policy enactment" (Bell and Stevenson 2013: xlvi) – interpreting, translating, reconstructing and reformulating different types of education policy in different educational settings. As indicated in chapter four, the Bandung CLC leader developed two learning methods: face-to-face and independent study, and allowed equivalency education students to choose one or both of them, as long as they finished the programme. In Jakarta, the equivalency education programme was organised in the afternoon, to accommodate adult students, although in practice they rarely came to class. Similarly, in Ambon, adult students could join the face-to-face learning activities in the afternoon, or study on their own, but were strongly advised to finish the programme. The CLC leader in Manado opted to organise learning activities in the branch CLCs at the weekend, using the legal functions of non-formal education outlined earlier as a legal basis of their decision.

Socio-cultural/community contexts

The socio-cultural/communty contexts in the four cases manifest in different values, behavioural norms and expectations. It is evident that there was a noticeable degree of "collectivism" (Hofstede, 2001: 225) shaping the dynamics of CLC leadership across the four cases. This was shown by how the CLC leaders sought to respond to the multiplicity of Indonesian cultures, such as respecting religious beliefs, embracing non-confrontation, and avoiding conflicts to maintain harmonious relationships (Irawanto et al., 2011; Panggabean, 2004; Yulaelawati, 2012).

In Bandung, for example, since most of the CLC's community members are Sundanese Muslims, the CLC leader firstly organised Al-Qur'an recitation, and Sundanese dancing and singing activities, in order to attract people to come to the CLC. In Jakarta, the CLC leader is highly cognisant of the diverse cultural and religious beliefs in the city, and being a Catholic in the midst of Muslim staff, she ensures that the commemorations of Islamic religious and national days involve the CLC staff, students, parents and community members. The Manado CLC leader and her parents established floating CLCs, not only to reach more people in need, but also because the Indigenous people of the islands believe that learning activities should be done on water. Since Ambon has dark memories of inter-communal and religious riots, the CLC leader and staff put the emphasis on non-confrontational teaching approaches to gain people's trust, and help to protect the existence of the CLC. These findings support Raihani's (2008) evidence that three successful state senior secondary school principals in Yogyakarta strongly articulate Islamic and cultural beliefs and values in their leadership strategies. The findings are also consistent with studies by Truong et al. (2016), and Walker et al. (2012), who note that school principals in Vietnam and China, respectively, match their leadership styles to the values and norms (i.e. Confucianism) prevailing in their socio-cultural contexts. Through the lens of critical leadership, the findings also support the sub-text of leadership for social justice, stressing the importance of recognising cultural diversity in leadership (Johnson, 2014; Khalifa et al., 2016; Santamaría et al., 2014; Shields, 2018).

Despite the high degree of "power difference" (Hofstede, 2001: 98), for example in respect of professional hierarchies, CLC leaders and staff did not feel that parents and community members avoided formal interaction with them. This is because they reached out to engage with the community and, hence, their profession is not perceived to be as formal as state school principals or teachers. This confirms the view of Etling (1994) who observes that non-formal educational leaders tend to see themselves as facilitators whose role is to help or enable people. They maintained informal human relationships, emphasised practicality and avoided rigidity in structure or bureaucracy. This differs from the findings of Lee and Hallinger (2012), in the context of formal education, who note that parents in high power difference index countries may avoid formal interaction with schools, because they feel intimidated by the staffs' higher professional status. In

this study, the non-formal nature of CLCs alongside the leadership approaches adopted enable community engagement.

The four cases show that CLC leaders built communication, and sought the community's engagement, support and trust, through different approaches, but they all emphasised the importance of reaching out. In Bandung, for instance, the CLC leader walked door-to-door to socialise and to invite community members to join some learning and training activities in the CLC. Similarly, the Manado CLC leader engaged people from various backgrounds, especially those living on remote islands, to participate and support the CLC's learning and training activities. In Ambon, the CLC leader greeted people, and talked about the CLC, whenever and wherever possible. The Jakarta CLC leader, however, could not frequently engage with the surrounding community members, because they generally have to work on weekdays, and that is why she organised a number of events open to the public as a strategy to engage with them, and to increase their sense of belonging to the CLC.

CLC leader

CLC leader context encompasses the leaders' biography, characteristics, attunement to social justice, motivation, emotional, and paradigm shaping their leadership. These elements portray who the CLC leaders are, and what they went through, and later helped to account for their commitment to social justice. The cases show clear evidence that all of these elements played significant role in shaping what the CLC leaders do, and how they do it in their own setting.

Both state and privately funded CLC leaders, in urban or rural areas, have experienced or witnessed hardship in their own or the community members' life. These experiences were indicated as the driving forces of what and why they aim to serve and give back to the community. This provides evidence to Shields' (2010) study in the US school-context, discovering that the the difficulties that the principals faced when growing up helps to increase, and account for their commitment to support the less advantaged, and often underserved members of their community. It also supports Etling's (1994) findings that non-formal education leaders often see themselves as servant leaders.

In Bandung, like most of the students she recruited, the CLC leader herself was a school dropout. In Manado, the CLC witnessed the fact that there are many community members who resisted or did not have access to schooling, mainly due to economic, geographical and cultural issues. In Ambon, regardless of the dark history of civil unrests in the city, the CLC leader's love of the city and professional experience influenced her decisions on what to do to help the Ambonese needing educational opportunities. Meanwhile, the case of Jakarta presents a distinctive finding in the way that being a CLC leader is a designation. However, by borrowing Freire's (1970) language, the leader took the opportunity to create transformational changes within and beyond the CLC through education.

<u>Temporal context</u>

Temporal context relates to historical matters, including colonialism, decolonisation, nation-building, marginalisation in education, civil unrest, and education policy development over time that shape CLC leadership. CLC leaders across the cases were all mindful of these matters in leading and managing their institution. Some common themes indicating the CLC leaders' concerns of temporal context range from their approaches in engaging the community members to how they enacted education policy. The cases show that their concerns were generated by their analysis and understanding of temporal context, situated in either national, local or communal settings.

CLC leaders across the cases used Bahasa Indonesia as the delivery language in all training and learning activities. Regardless of their legal status and geographical location, the activities in the four case-study CLCs were mainly delivered in the national language of Bahasa Indonesia. They did it to show a sense of belonging toward the country. This provides evidence to Anderson's (1983: 6) idea of Indonesia as "imagined communities", formed and united by a sense of kinship and belief that community members resided in various and independent islands belong to the same nation, due to the same experience of being colonised for more than three and a half centuries. In this context, it is evident that language plays an important role in the process of decolonisation and nation-building. Above all, it remains an effective tool to popularise the concept of "Unity in Diversity" to maintain the twentieth-century concept, Indonesia.

The cases also show that CLC leaders were careful in approaching community members so that they would be willing to do some learning and training activities in the CLC. Given that all students, including their family, have experienced some form of marginalisation in education, CLC leaders and teachers across the cases performed persuasive approaches. Students were given the opportunity to individualise or self-direct their learning by providing inclusive timetables, and de-emphasising face-to-face attendance. In the case of Jakarta, this is something seen as the combination of pedagogical and andragogical approaches. This finding provides evidence of criticism over the narrow manifestation of andragogy as a self-directed learning approach (Taylor et al., 2000).

Through the lens of leadership for social justice, CLC leaders in the four cases articulated the methodology of "funds of knowledge" (Gonzales et al., 1993: 2), and the philosophy of valuing students' "virtual schoolbag" of knowledge and experiences (Thomson, 2002: 1). Regardless of their social status, students in the four case-study CLCs were valued as individuals who have different competence and knowledge. Specific to the case of Ambon, the CLC leader and teachers were highly considerate in building tolerant and harmonious relationships with their surrounding community members. They repetitively mentioned that the learning process should be non-confrontational. This is because they have dark memory of civil unrest that occurred in the city following the economic crisis and fall of Suharto's New Order regime. By showing tolerance and understanding of each student's condition, it is to show that they understand why it is important to maintain peace in the city.

CLC leaders across the cases were also mindful of loosely coupling and ever-changing education policies in Indonesia. Although an ideal CLC organisational structure is in place, none of the CLC leaders implemented it. Instead, they developed their own version, perceived to be contextually more suitable, and feasible in realising their vision. The same thing applies to implementing national curriculum. Since they are aware that it is a political product that could change overtime, they preferred to not fully prescribe to it. Even in the case of Jakarta state CLC, resistance was apparent when it comes to implementing the latest national curriculum. They understood that by fully prescribing to it would add more burden to the students, and thus made them withdraw themselves from learning.

These different dimensions of context – economic, political, socio-cultural/community, leader and temporal – played an important role in shaping CLC leadership practice. CLC leaders need to recognise the diverse nature of CLC contexts in order to be successful. This highlights the importance of how CLC leaders respond to the unique CLC circumstances or problems that require different leadership approaches. The CLC leaders' ability to read the situation, and evaluate how to adapt their behaviour to it, is key in developing an appropriate leadership response.

Overall, this study confirms that the specificity of context cannot be stripped away from educational leadership. Understanding where and when educational leadership is practiced is just as important as what successful leaders do and how they do it. In Indonesia, with a large population, more than 17 thousand islands, 300 ethnic groups, and five different religions recognised by the state, it is evident that different dimensions of context are important features shaping leadership. More specifically, this study shows that CLC contexts influence leadership practices, and CLC leaders adapt their practices to different dimensions of context. It affirms, elaborates and extends the importance of highlighting leadership in context asserted by Braun et al. (2011), Clarke and O'Donoghue (2016), Dimmock and Walker (2000) and Hallinger (2018), as well as critical scholars (Morrison, 2017; Santamaría et al., 2014; Shields, 2018; Smyth, 2017).

Community

In this study, community refers to residents in the area where a CLC is located (Bray, 1996, 2000, 2003). It is heterogenous, consisting of people from various groups who contribute to, and benefit from, the CLC. It includes parents with children at the CLCs, community members who participate in learning and training activities at the four CLCs, CLC leaders, teachers, and non-teaching staff. They are united by shared common features, especially geographical area and concerns for their own, or their children's, education. All these people have roles to play in respect of CLC development.

Although community in this study refers to its basic concept of geographical locality, there is a significant difference in its construction across the cases. Community in Jakarta, for example, is similar to what Shaw (2008: 30) regards as "contrived communities", or people who live in a certain place for economic reasons. While the Indigenous people of Jakarta are the *Betawi* or Batavians, the community in Jakarta also includes individuals who come from various regions in Indonesia, to seek their urban dreams (Avenzora et al., 2016). Taylor (2009) observes that migration to Jakarta has occurred since the eighteen century, while Sinulanga (2005) notes that the proportion of migrants has reached 80 percent. It is not surprising, therefore, to see that the community in Jakarta is heterogenous in terms of ethnic, racial, and religious backgrounds. Despite its diversity and pluralism, however, it would be misleading to say that the community in Jakarta has no sense of solidarity. Language and media, as well as the country's motto *bhinneka tunggal ika* (unity in diversity), widely propagated in the country since its independence in 1945, helps to create Jakarta as a cultural melting pot. This confirms the early work of Hillery (1955) and Plant (1974), who understand community as a positive, warm, and harmonious concept, characterised by solidarity.

Community in Bandung, Manado, and Ambon, in contrast, matches Hillery's (1955) understanding of rural community and social interaction. It is constructed as a product of traditional heritage in a particular geographical area with common racial and religious backgrounds. However, it is rather elusive to say that the community members have common interests, because they all have different aspirations, especially in making use of the CLC. The community in these areas fits the romantic notion of community as neighbourhood, assuming that individuals live in an area to build close relationships with their neighbours (Tett, 2010).

In Bandung, for example, the community members consist of people of the Sundanese tribe who are generally self-employed from one generation to another, as farmers, cattlemen, or merchants. Sundanese language and traditions, as well as Islam, are strongly apparent and have become the underpinning values of social interaction. In Manado, although people living in the city centre are ethnically diverse, the community in the branch CLCs consists primarily of members of the

Bajo tribe with strong attachments and belief that the sea is their mother. Their main livelihood has been, and remains, catching fish. The community members in Ambon comprise people from various ethnicities, such as Moluccans, Balinese, Javanese, Papuan, Dutch-Ambonese, and Portuguese-Ambonese, but they are mostly bounded by Islamic and Christian values. Muslim-Christian conflicts have existed since the Dutch colonial period in the country (Arifianto, 2009), but the community members in Ambon show that avoiding tensions between the two religions is a collective aim that portrays collective perceptions of being part of Indonesia.

The findings show that describing Indonesia as a diverse and plural nation is an understatement. Its diverse islands, ethnic groups, religious beliefs and dialects, as indicated earlier, speak for the country's extensive multiculturalism and pluralism. The strength of a community's sense of belonging in Indonesia lies in how its members perceive the essence of its culture. This resonates with Anderson's (1983: 6) idea of "imagined communities".

Overall, as noted earlier, community in this study refers to the basic concept of people residing in a particular geographical locality (Bray, 1996, 2000, 2003). It covers all people who have roles in respect of CLC development, including people working in the CLC (leader and staff), and those outside the CLC who either contribute to, or derive benefit from, the CLC. They are united by shared geographical, ethnic, religious, and linguistic features, and a concern for education. As they share all of these features, communities in Bandung, Manado and Ambon trust, and engage in the various activities of, the CLC. The community in Jakarta, however, has a more heterogenous background, but they also participate in the CLC, and even make contributions to its development, for they have a concern for education.

In responding to these circumstances, as indicated earlier, CLC leaders in the four cases have different approaches and strategies. Yet, they are cognisant of the communities, and seek their engagement and trust by building informal relationships. This confirms the finding of Bush and Glover (2014), in the school context, who conclude that there is no "one size fits all" leadership style that could respond to any situation. In addition, CLC leaders also place themselves as part of the community who are willing to facilitate and help people obtain access to

education. However, they also put the emphasis on informal learning, to ensure that the communities see the CLC as a non-formal education institution, which is far less bureaucratic and structure than a formal education institution. This extends the view of Etling (1994), that leaders in non-formal educational settings should base their approach on several dimensions that are different from schools, such as focusing on learning rather than teaching, adopting a non-prescriptive curriculum, informality in human relationships, reliance upon local resources, immediate learning and training usefulness, and a low level of structure. This finding is also in line with Freire's (1970) philosophy that education should go beyond the traditional formal and bureaucratic system, widely embraced by the advocates of adult and community education.

The Nature of Leadership

This section analyses and discusses the nature of leadership in the four case-study CLCs, linked to previous research and theory. It starts with the nature of leadership, followed by leadership as a shared activity and ends with CLC leadership and trust.

The nature of leadership

CLC leadership follows a generally similar pattern across the four cases. Before discussing the pattern, it is worth noting that there is no easy way to categorise CLC leadership into various "mainstream" and Western-originated educational leadership models dispersed throughout this landscape, such as instructional leadership, managerial leadership, distributed leadership, transactional leadership, and transformational leadership (Bush, 2003; Bush and Glover, 2014; Robinson et al., 2008). Each provides a helpful framework to confirm that leadership is not simply a position of power, but a process of influence to achieve desired purposes (Bush, 2003; Bush and Glover, 2014). However, the four cases show that CLC leadership does not only aim at mobilising changes in employee attitudes, beliefs, values, or behaviours (Yukl, 2013), but also focuses on fostering an educational institution that ensures equitable learning opportunities for all.

CLC leadership, in other words, calls for social justice that begins with providing learning opportunities and needs for all students, regardless of their gender, economic background, ethnicity, and religion. This supports the findings of Khalifa et al. (2016: 1274), and Shields (2010: 559), who all note that, in the quest for social justice and equality, educational leaders need to be "culturally responsive", by embracing diversity, and "transformative", by shifting from "business as usual" leadership. Based on the excessive and unrealistic responsibilities of transformative educational leaders (Weiner, 2003), however, it is difficult to say that the CLC leaders in the four cases practice transformative leadership. What the cases show is that the four CLC leaders practice the behaviours of both transformative and culturally responsive leadership, namely: critical awareness, critical reflection, critical analysis and critical action (Khalifa et al., 2016; Shields, 2010, 2018).

The cases indicate that CLC leadership begins with an active and careful process of considering self, the strengths, weaknesses, and challenges of a particular society, and the school system. This process requires critical reflection on questions about for whom the education system is working and for whom it is failing, who is advantaged and always included, and who is marginalised and excluded. Once problem areas of inequity are identified, both state and privately funded CLC leaders examine and evaluate beliefs, values, practices, and policies that need to be changed in order to identify how they could provide learning opportunities for community members, especially those from low socio-economic backgrounds, who are not readily accommodated by formal schooling. Finally, CLC leadership calls for action – action to redress inequalities and ensure that people of all ages joining the CLC are treated with respect, and have an equal opportunity to participate and to develop their potential.

Privately funded CLC leaders in Bandung, Manado and Ambon were highly aware of who they are, and what they could, and could not, do as well as the realities and inequalities that exist in their community and education. They also understand that there are many people in their community who keep dropping out, and it is difficult to bring them back to school, for various reasons. Informed by this reality, they decided to establish a CLC that could provide access to learning and training activities. Establishing a CLC is seen as a feasible action, because it does not

require as many resources as a school, and its legal function as a non-formal education institution has the potential of being accepted by people from different contextual settings, including those holding strong cultural beliefs. This finding largely supports studies in the US-American and South African school contexts (Shields, 2010; Mogadime et al., 2010), which show that it is only when the school principals have concerns, and criticise existing discrimination, that they could support the less advantaged, and often underserved, members of their community.

In Jakarta, although being a CLC leader was a designation, the CLC leader was fully cognisant of her professional role and the authority to do something good for the community. Her long career in bureaucracy, her academic background, and existing inequalities in the city, informed her decisions to make significant changes in the CLC. Being a Catholic, leading a state educational institution in an area where Muslims comprise the major population, the CLC leader was also aware that she needed to be democratic in order to be successful. This aligns with Raihani et al.'s (2014) study in Indonesia, which found that performing democratic behaviours are key to responding to cultural diversity.

Another generally similar pattern of CLC leadership found across the cases is that the CLC leaders see themselves as "servant leaders" (Greenleaf, 1970: 15). This finding provides evidence relating to several multiple case studies on critical leadership (Alston, 2005; Gooden, 2005; Johnson, 2014) in the US, which found that successful African American principals place themselves as servant leaders when leading schools with diverse communities. It also supports the finding of Etling (1994), that educational leaders in non-formal settings often see their position as community facilitators or helpers.

Muslim CLC leaders in Bandung, Manado and Ambon see what they do as "saving" for the afterlife. In Islam, it is believed that when a person passes away, there are three good deeds that will never come to an end: ongoing charity, beneficial knowledge, and righteous offspring who will pray for him/her. Therefore, if the CLC leaders do well in their leadership role, it will help them in life after death. Meanwhile, the Catholic Jakarta CLC leader considers her leadership responsibility as a way to serve God. In the Catholic religion, people are obliged to make use of whatever gifts they have received to serve others, as tokens of faith to God.

However, regardless of their religion, including whether the CLC is a state or privately funded institution, located in western, central or eastern Indonesia, or based in a rural or urban community – the data show that the CLC leaders position themselves as leaders who aim to serve and give back to the community.

Leadership as a shared activity

CLC leaders are regarded as the central figures in CLC leadership, regardless of the differences in how they lead and manage their institutions. This emphasis is shown in how the four cases focus on aspects of the CLC leaders' role. The CLC leaders are generally portrayed as heroic leaders who guide the light for the CLCs with their resilience and sacrifices to provide learning alternatives for those in need. The narrative suggests that CLC effectiveness is closely linked to the quality of the CLC leaders at the apex of the hierarchy. This supports the widely cited claims on school leadership, such as Leithwood et al.'s (2020: 6) assertion that successful leadership is key to creating "catalytic effects" on pupil learning and "other consequential features of the school and its community".

Despite being portrayed as traditional heroic leaders, however, the cases show that CLC leadership is not a solo activity that merely focuses on the role of CLC leaders in creating change within both internal and external hierarchies. Pressures associated with financial and human resources call for participative leadership (Leithwood et al., 1999), collegiality (Bush, 2011), shared leadership (Crawford, 2019), and distributed leadership (Gronn 2008; Harris 2010). They also demand the extension of leadership roles beyond structural positions. Although all four CLC heads are seen as the primary leaders, the cases show that CLC leadership acknowledges various sources of influence, which encompasses both formal and informal roles.

The manifestation of shared leadership is apparent in the existence of figures in the CLCs who are considered as senior staff and as people to consult when the CLC leaders are unavailable. In Bandung, this person is the secretary, while in Jakarta it is five teachers who already worked in the CLC before the CLC head was appointed. It is the CLC head's parents in Manado, and Teacher 1 in Ambon. The senior staff, however, are not grouped in senior leadership teams (SLTs) (Bush, 2012). The informal characteristics of CLCs, and the small number of staff, are

the main reasons why a leadership team is not needed in both state and privately funded CLCs.

The findings of this study largely support other research (Pittinsky and Zhu, 2005; Hallinger and Kantamara, 2000; Hallinger, 2018), which shows that distributed leadership may operate differently in Anglo cultures, Confucian cultures, and East Asia respectively. A research project conducted in 61 nations around the world – GLOBE (Global Leadership and Organisational Behaviour Effectiveness) – found that Anglo cultures (Australia, Canada, Ireland, New Zealand, White South Africa, the UK and the US) regard participatory leadership more favourably than Confucian Asian cultures (Mainland China, Japan, Singapore, South Korea, and Taiwan) (Pittinsky and Zhu, 2005). Across Confucian societies that respect power distance, and practice fairly high levels of social collectivism, a leader is expected to take on the job on behalf of followers (Hallinger and Kantamara, 2000). In East Asia, such as Thailand, distributing leadership means appointing four or five assistant principals to assist a senior principal (Hallinger, 2018). In Indonesian CLCs, this study extends the findings of both Hallinger and Kantamara (2000) and Hallinger (2018) by confirming that distributed leadership enacts differently in the country, and could mean that CLC heads lead on behalf of the followers, and appoint one or two people to deputise for them in their absence.

CLC leadership and trust

The four cases show that trust has an important role in leadership distribution. Trust is closely related to a supportive CLC environment, an increased sense of teacher autonomy, and consistent change in student behaviour and participation. Regardless of their prior academic and formal working experience, for example, the four CLC leaders rely on the staff's competence and commitment to work with dedication in the CLC, and to collaborate with each other. The CLC leaders also have confidence in the students and community members to complete their participation in certain learning and training activities in the CLC. In return, the CLC leaders have become respected and trusted by their staff, students and community members.

This finding provides evidence to support an increasing body of research on school leadership in the UK and US, which shows that trust is a vital aspect for change, and that successful leadership distribution is dependent upon trust building (Bryk and Schneider, 2002; Day et al., 2009; Louis, 2007; Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000). Specifically, in Indonesia, the finding supports the studies of Raihani and Gurr (2006) and Raihani (2008, 2017), that trust is one of the most important and influential values of successful principalship that could gain community participation in the school process.

Concern and openness are the behaviours that CLC leaders and staff show to build trust. Concern or "benevolence" (Tschannen-Moran and Hoy, 2000: 557) is evident in how the CLC leaders and staff show personal regard for others, and belief that they will protect each other's well-being. In both state and privately funded CLCs, the cases show that teachers rely on the goodwill of CLC leaders, especially when experimenting with teaching strategies. This supports the finding of Sweetland and Hoy (2000), that trust is central for middle school teachers in the US who need to experiment with teaching strategies for students, including young adolescents.

Openness can be seen in the process by which the CLC leaders and staff share personal and relevant information. Although it may increase mutual vulnerability, it also builds reciprocal trust, and creates an open CLC-climate. Both CLC leaders and staff became confident that they are genuine in their behaviour, and neither the information nor the individual will be exploited. The cases show that, while sharing their personal and relevant information with the staff, the CLC leaders lead by example, providing an appropriate balance between structure and direction, as well as support and evaluation.

Overall, the findings support studies on school leadership in the US, by Louis (2007) and Sweetland and Hoy (2000), and in Indonesia by Raihani and Gurr (2006) and Raihani (2008, 2017). Louis (2007), and Sweetland and Hoy (2000), indicate that openness or integrity is perceived to be one of the most important leadership behaviours to create an open-climate school in the US. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, openness is important to improve effective school teamwork, due to concerns over corruption in the country (Raihani and Gurr, 2006; Raihani, 2008, 2017).

Organisational Structure

<u>Introduction</u>

This section analyses and discusses the organisational structure of the four case-study CLCs, linked to relevant literature. It starts with CLC organisational structure, followed by family-based ownership and ends with the formalisation of non-formal education.

<u>CLC organisational structure</u>

The cases show that the organisational structure of Indonesian CLCs is variable. In general, the structure consists of four to eight sections, with Manado having the simplest structure and Jakarta the most complex. Neither the community nor the government are involved in developing the structure. None of the CLCs followed the organisational structure "suggested" by the Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC). The Ministry recommends a CLC to have at least six sections, namely leader, secretary, treasurer, and coordinators of education, entrepreneurship and industry, and information and partnership (MoEC, 2012). However, none of the four CLCs have entrepreneurship and industry, and information and partnership, sections.

Besides reiterating an earlier finding about the importance of context in CLC leadership, the findings of this study confirm Bush's (2015) conviction that, there is no single organisational structure that fits every educational institution. The concept of organisational structure articulates differently within educational leadership models. In the context of CLC leadership, the cases show that the organisational structure combines elements of both vertical and horizontal approaches. Although CLC leaders maintain considerable control at the apex of hierarchy, there is a degree of emphasis on influence from multiple sources, rather than formal authority.

The findings also suggest that there is "policy resistance" (Ball, 2015: 5) in CLC leadership. In some senses, there is a struggle to produce an identity and meaning for each CLC through its organisational structure. The CLC leaders note the importance of structure in constructing organisational processes (Fidler, 1997), by guiding the pattern of communication (Owens, 2001). However, they decline to

develop a structure that resembles formal schooling, because the CLC is a non-formal education institution (Law Number 20/2003). In the privately funded CLCs in Bandung, Manado and Ambon, their establishment provided the leaders with agency in developing the structure. In fact, regardless of the tension between agency and structure, discussed in chapter two, both state and privately funded CLCs privilege agency over structure when in comes to developing orgnaisational structure for their CLC.

Choosing agency over structure created some difficulties for CLC leaders. For example, the Jakarta CLC leader experienced discomfort and tensions with local education officers. Manado and Ambon CLC leaders avoided quasi-legal consequences by developing two different structures: paper and real. As indicated in chapters six and seven, the "on paper" structure is used to fulfill the administrative and legal requirements set by the local education office. The "actual" structure comprises people and learning programmes delivered in the CLCs. Although this may be seen as inappropriate, it was the measure that Manado and Ambon CLC leaders felt they needed to take to secure public funding.

In the UK, reductions in public funding have turned the colleges, which have some similarities with CLCs, into an industrial "battlefield" (Briggs, 2005, 2004, 2003; Lambert, 2013, 2011). There is increased competition between colleges to gain funding by fulfilling accountability measures set by the government. Similarly, the cases of Manado and Ambon show that developing an "on paper" structure is necessary because they have to compete with other CLCs, especially from the western part of the country like Bandung and Jakarta CLCs, in order to receive financial assistance from the government.

Family-based ownership

Family ownership is apparent in the organisational structure of privately funded CLCs. The cases show that, in Bandung, Manado and Ambon, decision-making authority lies mainly in the hands of the CLC leaders who established the CLC. There is also a significant involvement of the CLC leaders' family in the leadership and governance of the CLC.

This finding is not surprising, because family ownership is common in the Indonesian education sector. The evidence of family ownership in education in Indonesia dates to the *Taman Siswa* (Pupil's Garden) movement, led by Ki Hajar Dewantara in 1922. Together with a group of Javanese activists, Ki Hajar set up schools throughout the country, to provide Indigenous non-government education during colonial times (Kroef, 1957; Tsuchiya, 1975). Instead of employees, *Taman Siswa* schools had family members who shared professional and financial resources and responsibilities (Tsuchiya, 1975).

From the legal standpoint, the Indonesian government provides justification for family ownership in CLC. Law Number 16/2001 regulates the minimal structure, funding mechanism, and working area of a foundation – a legal entity that has assets dedicated to achieving certain objectives in the social, religious and humanitarian fields. CLC is one of the institutions affected by the law, but the state has no power to determine who can, or cannot, work in privately funded CLCs.

Formalising non-formal education

Across the four cases, there are two learning programmes that both state and privately funded CLCs include in their organisational structures: ECE and equivalency education. In many other countries, these two programmes are generally considered as part of the formal education system. This is because ECE and equivalency education are intentionally planned, and institutionally organised, through state and public educational institutions within a strict period of time (ISCED, 2011).

This finding provides evidence about the highly contested notion of community education. In this study, community education is understood as, and used interchangeably with, non-formal education. This confirms the findings of other studies, that community education is country-culture specific, and is often mixed with other terms, such as non-formal education, youth and adult education, literacy education, and working-class action (Griswold, 2013; Poster and Krüger, 1990; Shaw, 2008, 2013; Tett, 2010; Tight, 2002; Wallace, 2008).

This finding also largely supports other studies (Maber, 2016a, 2016b; Ng and Madyaningrum, 2014; Peng and Wu, 2016), which all found that community

education in Asian countries, such as Hong Kong, Indonesia, Myanmar and Taiwan, is understood differently from that in the West. Community education is often articulated as low-cost out-of-school educational activities with a wide variety of foci, such as training for earning, empowering women, navigating conflict and raising awareness of environmental issues. This inexpensive mode of learning and training, mainly targeting adults or those excluded from schooling systems, is a common feature of community education programmes offered in developing countries (Tight, 2002).

The finding also suggests that state power is apparent in how the Indonesian government attempts to formalise non-formal education. Despite the agency that they have in developing the organisational structure, the CLC leaders seem to be powerless when they are "forced" to incorporate ECE and equivalency education programmes into the structure. As mentioned earlier, Bandung, Manado and Ambon CLCs, for example, initially only organised informal learning activities. Gradually, they become educational institutions that specialise in providing ECE and equivalency education. Financial support from the government is a key element that sways the CLC leaders to integrate the two programmes into their structure. In Jakarta, the formalisation of non-formal education is vividly obvious. ECE and equivalency education are the only programmes organised in the CLC. The sustainable funding support from the government and its community context are the main reasons why the policy was taken by the CLC leader, which was also supported by the Jakarta education office.

Relationships with the Community

Introduction

This section analyses and discusses the findings on the relationships between CLCs and the community, linked to relevant research and theory. It includes the relationships between CLCs and the community, the relationships between CLCs and the state, and community members' contributions.

Relationships between CLCs and the community

Community is indicated to be the main beneficiary of CLCs, and a major reason for why both state and privately funded CLCs exist. However, it is difficult to provide evidence, from academic or grey literature, that CLCs are usually established and managed by and for the community (Mohanty, 2007; Sihombing, 1999; UNESCO, 2008). Similar to CLCs in Cambodia, Laos, Thailand and Vietnam (UNESCO, 2008, 2012, 2015), Jakarta CLC is state-owned. The remaining three CLCs, in Bandung, Manado and Ambon, are established and managed privately by philanthropic individuals and families but acknowledge community participation in decision-making. This reiterates the earlier finding about the contested notion of community. However, it also shows that relationships between the CLCs and the community are mutual. CLC leaders and teachers empower specific groups of people, who are not accommodated by formal schooling, but they are also enabled by the community members through gaining their trust and participation.

This finding supports the basic narrative of community education as a learning alternative that aims to "liberate" certain disadvantaged groups from educational inequalities, for example in the UK and the US (see chapter two). In Indonesia, this study shows that the premise of community education has mixed elements of both liberating and liberal models of community adult education, as seen in the UK and US respectively. In Bandung, Manado and Ambon, the initiative to establish the CLCs comes from the CLC leaders and their families. Their main purpose is to help people to gain access to learning activities so that they could open up more life opportunities. In time, the community members did not only participate, but also made contributions to the CLC in various forms. Meanwhile, in Jakarta, the initiative of CLC establishment comes from the state. The CLC then accommodates students with different learning needs and backgrounds, not only those from economically disadvantaged families.

Relationships between CLCs and the state

Although the literature implicitly suggests that state intervention in CLCs is minimal, this study shows that Jakarta CLC, as a state institution, is an arena of struggle, with potential conflicts between the CLC leader and the local government (Ball, 2003). The Jakarta CLC leader stands in between the government "up there"

and community members "down here". In the school context, this condition normally creates accountability and performativity pressures for the principals (Ball, 2003; Mulford, 2006). However, this does not apply to the Jakarta CLC. Given the resources and students recruited in the CLC, the state is seen to be responsible for providing assistance to the CLC, but not interfering with the CLC leader's autonomy in decision-making.

This finding supports Torres' (1995) study, which found that, during the 20th century, education has globally been sponsored, mandated, and organised by the state. In the US, there has been an increasing emphasis on the importance of state education, suppressing a robust structure of private and voluntary education funded by families, churches, and philanthropists (West, 1994). In Canada, adult education programmes are only funded by the state if they can be measured by certain indicators, such as employment statistics (English and Mayo, 2012). Furthermore, Tooley (1993, 1996) found that, in England, functional illiteracy, youth delinquency and lack of technological advancement, all led to failures in state schooling. As also noted in the present study, one justification for state intervention in education is that there are still certain groups of people in need of financial support (Tooley, 1993, 1996).

Community members' contributions

Community members in all four CLCs contribute in various forms to maintain the operation of CLCs. These include cash, labour power, and non-material contributions. These three forms vary across activities and are largely based on agreement when registering with the CLC, or on personal economic capacity. Preferences about the form of contributions vary across CLC leaders, students, parents, and community members, in the four cases.

Cash contributions are preferred in all four CLCs, especially in the urban context of Jakarta, because they are easy to process, and can be provided in instalments. Adult students and parents often prefer contributing in cash, because CLC construction and maintenance are mainly undertaken by the CLC leaders for privately funded CLCs, and by the government for Jakarta state CLC. Manado CLC provides an exception, where the community members on the islands mainly

prefer to provide labour power. This is because most of the community members are fishermen who have no stable income. However, labour power is also an alternative for the community members in other CLCs.

Non-material contributions, such as giving prayers, giving suggestions, and doing promotional activities, are also examples of community members' contributions to the four CLCs. In Bandung, where most community members are Muslim, some people contribute through prayers. In Islamic belief, the weakest expression of an individual's courage to oppose wrong is by heart (i.e. prayers), and hence, prayers are seen as a form of contribution. In Manado, students and parents sometimes promote the CLC to their friends as a form of contribution. In Jakarta and Ambon, sharing learning experience to friends and relatives is indicated as an example of community contribution.

The findings of this study overlap with, yet contradict, the evidence from studies in the Indonesian school context. Parker and Raihani (2011), for example, found that, even years after decentralisation, parental and community participation in Islamic Schools (madrasah) are generally low, and limited to providing financial support. Similarly, Fitriah et al. (2013) found that, after the Free School Programme policy in Indonesia was introduced, neither parents nor the school committees made suggestions, and even the role of school committees was restricted to "rubber stamping" the school budget. In contrast, the present study shows that community contributions in the four case-study CLCs were not limited to funding support.

Networks and Partnerships

<u>Introduction</u>

The four cases indicate that networks and partnerships are an important aspect of CLC leadership. As in other educational settings, the goals of building networks and partnerships in this study are also about broadening opportunities, including with business agencies (Muijs et al., 2010). However, the four case-study CLCs show that broadening opportunities primarily means securing resources, mainly financial support from the government. This finding uncovers the subtext of

networks and partnerships in Indonesian CLCs, which is reliance upon state funding that both state and privately funded CLCs across the cases eventually face in order to back up, and support existing resources.

This section also considers how CLC leaders in the four cases nurture relationships within their organisation. The value of *kekeluargaan*, which roughly means familyism, family-like relationships, or kinship, is consistently revealed across the four case-study CLCs. This section discusses and analyses these two emerging themes respectively, linked to relevant literature and theory.

Reliance upon state funding

Building networks and partnerships across the four cases means gaining financial aid, mainly from the government, to support the CLC daily operation. There is a common expectation that the CLCs could receive state funding sustainably. There also appears to be a consensus among CLC leaders and teachers in the four cases that their primary partner is the Ministry of education and Culture, and local education office. By law, these two bodies are responsible to supervise and provide technical guidance to all CLCs in Indonesia so that they could maintain their learning and training activities (MoEC, 2012). Although limited and competition-based, funding assistance is a form of support that the Ministry and education offices have to provide. For this reason, the cases show that they are seen as "partners" by the CLCs.

In privately funded CLCs, there are generally two main partners: private companies and government offices. The former functions to provide financial support, buy the CLC's products or employ its graduates, while the latter serves as donor agencies. Although both partners do not guarantee financial assistance, it is evident that the main objective of building networks and partnerships is to obtain funding security and sustainability that could support each CLC daily operation. In Jakarta, the education office and the Ministry of Education and Culture are regarded as the main, and only, partners of the CLC. Both agencies are seen as the CLC's partners, because they cover its operational expenses and teachers' incentives, and operational funding for all students enrolled in the CLC respectively.

The findings largely support other studies on school leadership in Indonesia (Raihani, 2008; Raihani et al., 2014) and China (Chen and Ke, 2014; Oplatka, 2004). In Indonesia, Raihani (2008) and Raihani et al. (2014) found that networking is crucial to secure or improve facilities from the government that could benefit the school, students and teachers. Similarly, in China, Chen and Ke (2014) and Oplatka (2004) found that building networking primarily means resource-seeking from the government, and maintaining good relationship with government authorities.

Familyism working culture

Kekelurgaaan (familyism, family-like relationships or kinship) is the main value that fosters teamwork, and helps to nurture togetherness and collaboration within the four case-study CLCs. Given the blurring and multi-tasking roles that all people within the CLC should bear, the *kekeluargaan* value also helps to minimise conflicts among staff in the CLC.

The value is evident in several terms, such as *bapak* for father, *ibu* for mother and *kakak* for elder sister or brother that are consistently discovered in all cases. Although intentionally used to reduce formality and hierarchy, the familial terms are the signifiers of structural positions in the CLC. The CLC leaders in Bandung, Jakarta and Ambon, for example, are generally considered as *ibu* or mother, while teachers, non-teaching staff, and students are seen as children. When the leader is relatively young in age, like in Manado, the familial signifier used to describe her would be *kakak*.

This finding supports Raihani and Gurr's (2006) and Raihani's (2008) study, which found that *kekeluargaan* (familyism) is a unique Indonesian value held by successful school principals to foster friendly and collaborative working cultures. It also provides evidence to Shiraishi's analysis (1995, 1996) and that of others (Suryakusuma, 1996; Wieringa, 1993), which all found that there is a strong use of family principle in the Indonesian educational settings since the country's post-colonial period. The family principle was intended to alter hierarchical social relations, prominently accepted during the colonialism era, through educational reform (Newberry, 2010).

Curriculum Development and Enactment

Introduction

This section analyses and discusses curriculum development and enactment in the four case-study CLCs, linked to previous research and theory. It addresses national and individualised curricula, and a challenge towards the culture of performativity.

National and individualised curricula

The cases show that there are generally two types of curriculum used in the four-case study CLCs: government-made and CLC-developed. The former is a policy formulated by the central government, and none of the four CLC leaders were involved in its development. The latter is a curriculum developed by the CLC leaders and teachers for certain informal learning and training activities, based on requests from community members or donor agencies.

The government's curriculum comprises the 2013 curriculum and the School-Based Curriculum (KTSP). Both are national curricula widely used in national private and state schools throughout the country. Following the country's tradition in naming a national curriculum, the 2013 curriculum means that issued in 2013. Its ambitious aim is to produce Indonesian citizens who can contribute to the lives of the society, nation, and humanity. This curriculum is a response to Indonesia's disappointing achievements in the *Programme for International Student Assessment* (PISA) 2009 and 2012 (Suprapto, 2016).

The 2013 curriculum is intended to replace the School-Based Curriculum: a national curriculum issued in 2006 that provides an opportunity for teachers and community members to choose a subject (e.g. culinary, fashion, agriculture, etc.), based on local preference, to be part of the formal teaching and learning process (BSNP, 2006). However, due to criticisms of the many (nine) amendments to the national curriculum since 1945 (Soekisno, 2007; Suratno, 2014), schools were given the opportunity to implement the 2013 curriculum only for grades 1, 4, 7, and 10 (Hassan, 2013), and the remaining grades could still use the School-Based Curriculum. This policy also applies to all CLCs organising ECE and equivalency

education programmes: only new students are advised to be introduced to the 2013 curriculum.

Another curriculum implemented in the four case-study CLCs is the CLC-developed curriculum. It is developed conjointly by CLC leaders and teachers for informal learning and training activities, suggested by community members or donor agencies. The curriculum is more like an agreement on the process and aspects needed for learning and training to occur: people in charge, topics, and schedule. It is normally used for a limited period, depending on the agreement, and can be further implemented with slight changes, if needed or requested.

The four cases indicate that neither type of curriculum has the focus and concern of learning activities in both state and privately funded CLCs. In line with the main objective of non-formal education, set by the law, to replace, supplement and complement formal education (Law Number 20/2003), participation and programme completion are regarded as more important than the curriculum itself. For early years' children, attending the CLC to learn through playing activities, is what matters for CLC leaders, teachers and parents. For youth and adult students enrolled in equivalency education, they have the agency to decide how they learn best, and there is no pressure for them to achieve high scores in the national examination. For community members who are engaged in certain informal learning activities, they can suggest what and how to learn, to ensure that they can best benefit from the activities they do in the CLC.

When curriculum is seen as a policy, the findings of this study provide further evidence of the notion of "policy enactment" (Bell and Stevenson, 2013: xlvi) and "policy resistance" (Ball, 2015: 5), discussed earlier. Both CLC leaders and teachers in the four cases interpret, reconstruct, reformulate, and even refuse, the government curriculum to be implemented in their CLCs. The findings also support the study of Muazza et al. (2018) in Indonesia, which found that a national curriculum, including its components (e.g., books and learning materials), often puts the underprivileged schools and children, especially those in rural, and remote districts, in a difficult situation, because it excludes their characteristics, values and perspectives.

The findings of this study also support case studies from the north of Portugal, which found that, even in areas strongly regulated by the state, it is possible for NGOs delivering adult education programmes to recontextualise the "official knowledge" produced by the national curriculum (Loureiro and Cristóvão, 2010: 420). In this study, the cases show that, even when national curriculum is regulated by the central government, both state and privately funded CLCs are still able to recontextualise and make sense of the curriculum. The ways the national curriculum is perceived, and enacted, in the four case-study CLCs also leads to a message that there is a challenge to the culture of performativity in CLC leadership, discussed in the following section.

Challenging performativity

There seems to be a common understanding, among CLC leaders, teachers and learners among the four cases, that academic attainment is not a priority. Although all students are obliged to pass a national examination at the end of their learning, in order to achieve a certificate of completion, the CLC leaders, teachers and learners across the cases were not burdened by it. This happens partly because, since 2017, equivalency education students can be awarded with a certificate if they: (i) complete their learning programmes; (ii) achieve at least "good" in their attitude indicators; and, (iii) pass the national examination (MoEC Regulation Number 3/2017). In other words, passing the examination is one of three requirements that students should accomplish to earn a certificate. This provides scope and agency for the CLCs to determine whether or not a student can receive a certificate of completion. Another reason, indicated in the findings chapters, is associated with students' perceptions about what knowledge is, and how it benefits them.

The findings of this study provide a new perspective on "performativity" (Ball, 2003: 216). As indicated earlier, this study does show that the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) is a powerful international agency, with PISA as its weapon, because it has encouraged the Indonesian government to make changes to its national curriculum. This study also shows that the ways students see the status of knowledge help to foster, or challenge, the culture of performativity. When they see curriculum as an entitlement, and

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know that rejection of it will not reduce access to life chances, it would be difficult for the CLC leaders and teachers to be performativity workers. Their critical awareness also informs them that, whether learners want to seek an occupation, or continue their education to a higher level, the certificate is nothing more than an administrative requirement.

In Bandung, Manado and Ambon, there is a perception among community members that formal education or schooling will not do much to change their life, especially their economic status. For this reason, persuading people who dropped out of school to do some learning activities in the CLC is not easy, let alone expecting them to achieve high academic scores. As a result, ensuring programme completion is the main target, and academic attainment is an additional outcome that students can pursue, if they wish. Meanwhile in Jakarta, although the CLC is a state institution, the CLC leader and teachers also do not feel concerned to direct the teaching and learning process in ways that demand students to achieve high results in the national examination. Given the students' diverse backgrounds, the CLC leader and teachers tend to focus on aspects beyond academic outcomes, such as attitude, mutual respect, and resilience in programme completion.

Engagement with Learners

Introduction

This section analyses and discusses the CLC leaders and teachers' engagement with students across the four cases, linked to relevant literature. It includes reaching the unreached and examines why equivalency education certificates may not seem to be legitimate.

Reaching the "unreached"

There is a similar pattern to how CLC leaders and teachers engage with students across the four cases. The strategies are various, but they all point to the importance of persuasion for student recruitment in both state and privately funded CLCs. Student recruitment involves not only CLC leaders and teachers, but

also parents, students, and community members. The cases show that student recruitment in the four case-study CLCs relies mainly on "word of mouth" advertising, normally by students, alumni and parents. However, this happens only when the CLCs gain trust from community members that they are credible institutions that provide benefit to the lives of the community. Prior to this, particularly in Bandung, Manado and Ambon CLCs, student recruitment depended heavily on the CLC leaders' resilience in persuading community members to become involved in some informal learning activities in the CLC. Unlike these CLCs, the Jakarta CLC's legal status as a state institution, and its superior infrastructure and facilities, provide advantages for student recruitment.

These data largely support Romi and Schmida's (2009) finding that the scope and advantages of non-formal education fit with the post-modern era, because it uses persuasion instead of coercive traditions or regulations when engaging with adult learners. Moreover, in the view of people "persuaded" to do some learning activities in the CLC, the findings also provide evidence of the contested notion of "educational marginalisation" (Lewin, 2007: 22-24; UNICEF, 2015: 12).

In general, this study confirms UNESCO's (2010a) understanding of educational marginalisation as a severe and persistent disadvantage embedded in deep social inequalities. Specifically, it supports UNESCO's (2010b) finding that there are various groups of marginalised population in the Asia Pacific, including learners from remote, rural and isolated areas; learners from linguistic and ethnic minorities; Indigenous peoples; learners with disabilities and special needs; underperforming learners who are at risk or have dropped out; and learners from very poor families.

The findings also support Lewin's (2007) seminal model of "zones of exclusion from education", and UNICEF's (2015) Five Dimensions of Exclusion (5DE). Based on how the CLC leaders and teachers across the four cases carry out student recruitment, the students identified and targeted in this study largely belong to UNICEF's (2015: 17) "semi-invisible children" – those who can be found in multiple databases, but difficult to identify because the databases are not linked, and the people's names and addresses are difficult to trace. Indeed, all CLC leaders in the four cases have to search for, and recruit, students themselves, and upload their

data to an online portal provided by the Ministry of Education and Culture, as a requirement to be eligible for national examinations.

The legitimacy of equivalency education certificates

A similar pattern is apparent in the strategies that CLC leaders and teachers across the four cases used to meet students' learning needs. Two strategies consistently used are designing an inclusive timetable and combining pedagogical and andragogical approaches. The former refers to the process of providing a learning timetable that does not rely on extensive face-to-face meetings, intended to accommodate and maintain students' participation regardless of their daily activities. The latter means incorporating understanding of pedagogy and andragogy in teaching and learning strategies to respond to different age-groups.

The findings support Taylor et al.'s (2000) view that non-formal or community education is often associated with andragogy, because it is often perceived as adult education. However, as indicated in the four cases, the notion of andragogy manifests narrowly in an individualised or self-directed learning timetable. This extends the findings of Taylor et al.'s (2000) criticism of andragogy for its ambiguity as a theory of learning, or a theory of teaching, and of the dichotomy of andragogy versus pedagogy.

The findings of this study also link to many news articles in Indonesia that raise doubts, and questions, over the legitimacy of equivalency education certificates (Gunawan, 2018; The Jakarta Post, 2015). The lack of emphasis on face-to-face meetings, and strong support for individualised learning, are two examples of such questions. For these reasons, it is common to find lawsuits against political candidates who have equivalency education certificates during general or local elections. The allegation generally centres upon the authenticity of the certificates (Yulaelawati, 2010). However, it is almost impossible for the lawsuits to be successful, because the law allows CLC leaders and teachers to support individualised learning.

As stipulated by the law, and then appropriately articulated by the CLC leaders and teachers across the cases, the learning activities of equivalency education comprise three different modes; face-to-face (20 percent), tutorials (30 percent),

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and independent learning (50 percent) (MoEC Regulation Number 3/2008). Indeed, there is a debate about the modes of tutorials that students should take. However, the law simply stipulates that a tutorial is academic assistance given to students to support their independent learning process, which can be done individually or in groups, and by face-to-face or distant learning. This leaves the CLC leaders and teachers with the agency to encourage students to do independent learning, as long as they complete their programme.

Overview

This chapter analyses and discusses findings on the leadership of community education in the four case-study CLCs, linked to previous research and theory. It focuses on exploring how leadership is enacted and practiced by Indonesian CLC leaders. It further analyses the experiences of teachers, non-teaching staff, students and community members in supporting the CLC leaders, and providing contributions to the CLCs.

The chapter focuses on analysing the leadership of community education from the experiences of people at the grassroots, to establish their practice and challenges in leading and managing CLCs. The study has several implications as follows:

First, the study suggests that, based on the country's diversity and plurality, being cognisant of different dimensions of context and community is key to CLC leadership in Indonesia. Second, CLC leadership centres upon providing equitable learning opportunities for all and, to achieve this aim, CLC leaders practice transformative and culturally responsive leadership. Third, CLC organisational structure varies, and differs from that suggested by the government and combines elements of both vertical and horizontal approaches. Fourth, although CLC leaders aim at providing equitable learning opportunities for the community, relationships between the community and the CLCs are mutual. Fifth, networks and partnerships primarily aim at building good relationships with government authorities, to secure resources. Sixth, curriculum in both state and privately funded CLCs is seen as an entitlement, and this offers a new perspective on performativity. Seventh, persuasion is key to learner recruitment, and this articulates in a lack of emphasis on face-to-face meetings, and strong support for

individualised learning, which paradoxically often results in doubts and questions over the legitimacy of equivalency education certificates.

The next, and final, chapter explains how the research questions were addressed and discusses the significance of the study.

Chapter Nine: Conclusion

Introduction

This chapter provides an overall assessment of the research, and addresses the significance of the study. The first section shows how the research questions have been addressed. The second section discusses the significance of the study, and explains knowledge claims. The third section elaborates implications for practice, policy, and further research, grounded in the data. The chapter ends with an overview of the chapter, and of the study.

Before addressing the research questions, it is important to review two contested notions: community and community education. This study shows that there is no easy way to understand the term "community". Its meaning is complex and it can be defined and understood differently, depending on the many different ways of approaching it. From its descriptive use, community refers to at least three aspects, namely: (i) a place or locality – a particular group of people who live in a specific neighbourhood; (ii) interest – people sharing a common characteristic for some aspects, such as religion, culture, ethnicity, etc.; and, (iii) function – people with common interests, which makes them acquire a common sense of identity through the activities that they engage in together (Plant, 1974). This understanding, however, obscures the possibility of seeing community as a symbolic concept, which generates people's sense of belonging towards a particular area. In other words, community is a desire that manifests in various forms of social relationships. In this study, community refers to people residing in a particular district or city who make contributions to, or receive benefits from, a Community Learning Centre (CLC). It includes parents with school-aged children at the CLC, community members who participate in learning and training activities at the CLC, CLC leaders, teachers, and non-teaching staff. They are united by shared common features, especially geographical area and concerns for their children's, or their own, education.

Given that community is a slippery concept, semantic problems are also inevitable when it comes to providing a definition of "community education". Philosophically, the concept of community education has close relationships with the seminal

thinking of Bourdieu (1977), Dewey (1915), Freire (1970), and Illich (1971), in the ways that they criticise the schooling system as a key factor in reproducing and preserving social inequality. In Indonesia, the concept is strongly associated with the three pillars of education proposed by Ki Hajar Dewantara (1935), which resonates well with Coombs and Ahmed's (1974) typology of formal, non-formal and informal education. In this study, the term "community education" is interchangeable with non-formal education. It refers to an inexpensive mode of out-of-school educational activities, mainly targeting adults or those who are not readily accommodated by formal schooling, including early years' children from economically disadvantaged families. The activities provided in the case study CLCs include two formal education programmes, early childhood education and equivalency education, and other locally determined learning and training programmes with a variety of foci, such as arts and culture, entrepreneurship, literacy and religion.

Addressing the Research Questions

Research question one: What is the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs?

CLC leadership is generally similar across the four cases. The data show that context and community play an important role in shaping CLC leadership practice and effectiveness. Regardless of the CLC's legal status and location, being cognisant of different dimensions of context is key to CLC leadership. CLC leaders across the four cases adapt their practice to both the macro and micro level context, including economic, political, socio-cultural/community, leader and temporal dimensions. Regardless of their origin, the CLC leaders place themselves as part of the community who would like to contribute, and give back to the community by providing access to education. For these reasons, the CLC leaders aim at creating a just society through the provision of learning opportunities.

To achieve their aims, CLC leaders across the four cases incorporate the behaviours of critical awareness, reflection, analysis and action. The data show that the leaders began their stewardship of their CLCs by actively and carefully considering themselves, the community, and the education system. They critically questioned the existing education system: how it works, for whom it is working or

failing, and who is advantaged or disadvantaged. This process enabled them to analyse common beliefs, practices and policies that need changing. Once they had a clear understanding of the system and areas of inequity, the CLC leaders made a decision to support the community by providing learning opportunities for all, especially those from low socio-economic backgrounds. In Bandung, Manado and Ambon, the leaders established a CLC to provide access to learning and training activities, and with the intention of gaining public acceptance. In Jakarta, specifically, the leader decided to make use of her authority wisely by making significant changes in the CLC, and doing something good for the community. One commonality among the state and privately funded CLC leaders is that they position themselves as servant leaders who aim to serve and give back to the community.

Despite being the central figures in their CLC, however, CLC leadership is also a shared activity. The data show that CLC leaders acknowledge various sources of influence from both formal and informal sources, mainly due to the difficult pressures of financial and human resources. The practice of shared leadership in the four-case study CLCs manifests in the existence of senior staff who are considered as capable people whom other staff could consult, especially when the CLC leaders are unavailable. In Bandung, the senior staff is the secretary, the CLC leader's parents in Manado, and Teacher 1 in Ambon. Meanwhile, in Jakarta, the senior staff are five teachers who already worked in the CLC before the CLC leader was appointed. However, due to the informal characteristics of CLCs as well as limited human resources, the senior staff are not grouped into a leadership team. In addition to their important role and contributions to the CLC, trust given by the CLC leaders and their colleagues is an important aspect that helps to establish whether or not a particular person could be considered as a senior figure.

Trust plays a significant role in distributing leadership in the four-case study CLCs. The data show that trust helps to foster a collaborative working environment, greater teacher autonomy, and a steady change in student behaviour and participation. In both state and privately funded CLCs, trust is an influential factor that eventually enables the CLC leaders to become respected and trusted by the whole CLC ecosystem: staff, students and community members.

There are two specific behaviours that CLC leaders and staff across the four cases show in building trust, namely: concern and openness. Concern articulates in the ways CLC leaders and staff show positive regard for each other, and believe that they protect each other's well-being. The data show that concern is central for teachers in both state and privately funded CLCs who need to experiment with teaching strategies for students of various ages. In Bandung, Manado, and Ambon, the CLC leaders have confidence in their teachers, although they did not have teaching experience, and some are still studying at university. Both the leaders and teachers make themselves open to the good intentions of each other for the best interest of students. In Jakarta, the CLC leader gives room and opportunities to all teachers to experiment with teaching strategies, and collaborate with each other to address various students' learning needs. Although there is a considerable degree of risk arising from the experiment, the Jakarta CLC leader believes that the teachers would do their best to mitigate it.

Openness is evident in how CLC leaders and staff share personal and relevant information. Despite creating vulnerability, openness enhances reciprocal trust, and creates an open working climate and effective teamwork. It also builds assurance that both CLC leaders and staff are sincere in their actions, and will protect the information and the individual. The data also show that, while sharing their personal and relevant information with the staff, the CLC leaders across the four cases lead by example, providing a balance between personal and professional affairs. In Bandung, Manado and Ambon, the CLC leaders and staff know each other, personally and professionally. They are well informed about each other's commitment, and expectations for working in the CLC. The CLC leaders also transparently share their non-profit aim and nature of working in a CLC. Similarly, the Jakarta CLC leader also shares her long-standing professional background to motivate her staff and students. She also ensures that all staff are well informed about the sustainable government financial support, and that they can benefit from it.

Research question two: What is the organisational structure of Indonesian CLCs?

The organisational structure of the four-case study CLCs is varied. Both state and privately funded CLCs generally have a limited organisational structure, and the more eastern the CLC location, the smaller the structure. The data show that community members and the government were not involved in organisational structure development. The data also show that none of the CLCs adheres to the government's "suggestion" of an ideal CLC organisational structure. Both state and privately funded CLC leaders chose to use the agency that they have in developing their organisational structures, instead of cloning the one suggested by the government.

There is clear evidence that CLC leaders across the cases tried to develop an organisational structure that makes sense to them, and suits the context and community where they are working. The Jakarta CLC leader, for example, made a substantial change in the organisational structure although she had to face discomfort and tensions with the Jakarta education officers (see chapter five). The Manado and Ambon CLC leaders developed two different structures: paper and actual, to avoid quasi-legal consequences (see chapter six and seven respectively). However, the data show that the CLC organisational structure across the four cases generally combines vertical and horizontal elements. The CLC leaders in the four cases maintain control at the top of the hierarchy, but acknowledge various sources of influence from formal and informal sources.

The privately funded CLC leaders also involve their family members in governing the CLC. Their action is legitimised by the legal system in the country that provides justification for family ownership of CLCs. The law also leaves the state with no power to determine who can, or cannot, work in privately funded CLCs.

State power, however, is apparent in how the government attempts to formalise non-formal education. The data show that there are two learning programmes that are always present in both state and privately funded CLCs: early childhood education and equivalency education. These programmes are generally considered as formal learning programmes in many other countries. Given that the CLC leaders need sustainable funding support from various sources, including the government, they inevitably felt obliged to include the two formal education

programmes in their structures. This also gradually led both state and privately funded CLCs to be educational institutions that specialise in providing low-cost formal education programmes.

Research question three: What is the relationship of Indonesian CLCs with the community?

Community is generally considered as the most important part of the CLC ecosystem across the cases, and the primary reason of its establishment. Theoretically, the initiative for CLC establishment comes from the community, and its development and management are also carried out by the community members. However, regardless of acknowledging community participation and influence in decision-making, the data show that privately funded CLCs in Bandung, Manado and Ambon are established and managed by philanthropic individuals and families. As they developed and showed credibility, community members took part in supporting the CLCs by making contributions in various forms. In contrast, Jakarta state CLC is established and managed by the state. However, it is only when the CLC accommodated students with different learning needs and backgrounds that its leader and staff gained more recognition, and became respected by the community members as well as the government. This suggests that there are mutual interactions and relationships between the four case-study CLCs and their communities. CLC leaders and teachers across the cases enable specific groups of people in the community through learning and training activities, while the community members derive benefits from, and make contributions to, the CLCs.

In the case of Jakarta CLC, however, the data show that the CLC leader did not only need to foster relationships with the community, but also with the government. Since the CLC is a state institution, the CLC leader stands in between the government and the community members. This does not appear to create accountability and performativity pressures for the CLC leader. The state is seen to be primarily responsible for supporting the CLC, especially in financial affairs, but it should not interfere with the CLC leader's autonomy in decision-making. Community members and students, who are not generally accommodated by

formal schooling, are perceived as those to whom the CLC leader is mainly accountable.

Community members across the four cases make considerable contributions to the CLCs, in various forms, to support their operation. The contributions consist of cash, labour power, and non-material resources, which vary across activities, and are generally made on the basis of agreement when registering, or relate to personal economic capacity. CLC leaders, students, parents, and community members have their own preferences in making contributions to the CLCs.

In both state and privately funded CLCs, especially in Jakarta, cash is largely preferred as a form of contribution by students, parents, and community members. This is because cash contributions are simple, and can be made in instalments. In addition, they are also favoured because CLC construction and maintenance are generally covered by the CLC leaders for privately funded CLCs, and by the government for Jakarta state CLC. However, in cases where the community members are economically disadvantaged, labour power is an alternative way to contribute to the CLCs. In Manado, specifically, the community members generally contribute in labour power, because most of them work as fishermen and have no permanent income (see chapter six).

The data also show that there are other forms of community contributions to the four-case study CLCs other than cash and labour power. These include giving prayers, making suggestions, and doing some promotional activities through social media or sharing experience to friends and relatives. Prayers are given specifically by Muslim community members in Bandung who believe that, although weak, prayers are a form of contribution (see chapter four). Posting some pictures on social media to publicise the CLC's activities is also mentioned as a form of contribution, especially in Manado, where the staff are largely university students who are users of various social media applications (see chapter six). In Ambon and Jakarta, sharing learning experience in the CLCs with close friends and relatives is acknowledged as a form of community contribution (see chapters five and seven respectively).

Research question four: How do Indonesian CLCs build and expand networks and partnerships?

Networks and partnerships play a key role in CLC leadership. The main objective of building and expanding networks and partnerships is to broaden opportunities, including with private-business agencies. However, the data show that networks and partnerships in both state and privately funded CLCs primarily aim at securing financial support from the government to back up their daily operations. The CLC leaders and staff across the cases also have a common expectation to receive funding support from the government in a more sustainable fashion. In this context, the government (the Ministry of Education and Culture and the local education office) is acknowledged as the CLCs' main partner. This is supported by the government's legal mandate to provide guidance and support, including competition-based funding assistance, to CLCs throughout Indonesia.

In general, privately funded CLCs have, or used to have, two main partners, namely: private companies and government offices. The data show that both partners generally function to provide funding support. In Bandung, there are cases where private companies buy the CLC's products or employ its graduates (see chapter four). In Ambon, however, the CLC eventually became reliant upon government funding since there was no longer funding available from private donor agencies (see chapter seven). In Jakarta, the CLC's main and only partners are the local education office and the Ministry as both provide funding support for its operational expenses, teachers' incentives and students (see chapter five).

To secure government funding, the data show that CLC leaders across the cases maintain good relationships with government authorities. However, the data also show that fostering supportive relationships within each CLC is as important as maintaining good relationships beyond the CLC. This leads to the value of *kekeluargaan* (familyism, family-like relationships, or kinship) strongly practiced in both state and privately funded CLCs. The value primarily aims at fostering teamwork, and nurturing togetherness and collaboration. In practice, it helps to minimise conflicts among staff, which could potentially arise due to unsustainable funding and multi-tasking.

This value is articulated in several familial signifiers, such as *bapak* (father or Mr.), *ibu* (mother or Mrs.) and *kakak* (elder sister or brother), which are consistently used in both state and privately funded CLCs. The signifiers are intended to reduce formality, while showing structural positions. Depending on their age, the CLC leaders are generally positioned as *ibu* (see chapters four, five and seven) or *kakak* (see chapter six). Meanwhile, the remaining people working at the CLC, including students, are considered as children of *ibu* or siblings of *kakak*.

Research question five: How is the curriculum developed in Indonesian CLCs?

There are generally two curricula used by the CLC leaders and teachers across the cases, namely: the CLC curriculum and the government curriculum. The CLC curriculum is developed by the CLC leaders and teachers for various informal learning and training activities, suggested by the community or funding agencies. It generally takes the form of an agreement on the process and aspects needed to realise and support the activities, such as human resources, topics, and timetable. The agreement normally lasts for a short period of time, but can be further used with minor amendments, when needed or suggested. In Bandung and Manado, the CLC curriculum is used for community-initiated programmes. In Bandung, it is used for agriculture, arts and culture, and barista (coffee mixing) programmes (see chapter four), while in Manado it is for literacy-related programmes, such as book and movie reviews, open discussions on contemporary issues of various topics, etc., and life skills training, including fish and seaweed farming and processing (see chapter six). In Ambon, the CLC curriculum is only developed at the request of funding agencies for life-skills training programmes, such as sewing and making Ambonese special food (see chapter seven). The case of Jakarta, however, provides an outlier. The CLC only uses the government curriculum, because the programmes organised in the CLC are all government-initiated programmes.

The government curriculum consists of two national curricula, the 2013 curriculum and the School-Based Curriculum, which are widely used in national state and private schools throughout the country. The curriculum is used in two learning programmes organised in all four CLCs, namely: early childhood education and

equivalency education. Despite being encouraged by the Indonesian government, the data show that there is little focus on the national curriculum. The CLC leaders, teachers, parents, and adult students across the cases generally see curriculum as an entitlement. For the CLC leaders and teachers, the curriculum mainly comes from their particular interests and knowledge, and the learning strategies and approaches are student-centred. For parents of early years' children, the priority is on playing while learning in the CLC. For adult students, learning is based on their personal willingness and decisions, and freedom from coercive traditions and pressures to achieve high academic scores. This provides a whole new perspective on the culture of performativity.

The CLC leaders and teachers across the cases agree that learning should be individualised or self-directed. Students are also aware that they have agency to design their own ways of learning. In both state and privately funded CLCs, programme completion is more important than academic attainment. Both people working at the CLC, and the students, understand that rejecting the national curriculum does not reduce access to life chances. In addition, the students are also aware that achieving high academic attainment will not do much to change their economic status. What they understand is that the learning certificate can function as an administrative requirement to seek an occupation or to continue their formal education. For these reasons, it is clearly indicated that the CLC leaders and teachers across the cases could not be regarded as performativity workers.

In Bandung, the community members are generally self-employed, and they have a common perception that formal education or schooling will not do much to change their occupational path (see chapter four). Similarly, in Manado, the drop-out rate is high, and there are Indigenous people who hold strong cultural beliefs that learning activities should be done on water (see chapter six). In Ambon, there is a dark history of riots that lingers in the city, and makes the community members sceptical over schooling (see chapter seven). Meanwhile, in Jakarta, a huge gap of social inequality exists, and there are groups of people who are excluded, or exclude themselves, from schools for various reasons (see chapter five). Based on these delicate conditions, the CLC leaders and teachers across the cases show more concern about aspects beyond the implementation of national

curriculum and academic scores, such as attitudes, tolerance, respect, and resilience in programme completion.

Research question six: How do CLC leaders and teachers engage with the learners?

There are generally four strategies that CLC leaders and staff across the cases use to recruit students, namely: door to door, banner display, village meetings, and social media. In Bandung, Manado and Ambon, student recruitment used to heavily rely on the CLC leaders' efforts in reaching out to the community members. In Jakarta, the CLC's state status, and superior infrastructure and facilities, provide advantages for student recruitment. The strategies for student recruitment across the cases, however, changed over time. As both state and privately funded CLCs gained popularity and trust from the community, student recruitment involved more people, especially parents, students and alumni.

The data, however, point to the importance of persuasion in student recruitment. Regardless of the CLCs' legal status and location, persuasion plays a key role, because the people that the CLC leaders try to engage are those who are generally marginalised. Although it is difficult to identify them, the data show that marginalised people in this study include people from various backgrounds who face difficulties in accessing formal education due to several reasons, such as geographical location, cultural belief, language, ethnicity, disability, poverty, and exclusion from schooling. In addition, the marginalised population is also semi-invisible, because they are difficult to trace by names and addresses. The CLC leaders need to identify and search for the students, and give their details to the Ministry of Education and Culture for data recording and national examinations. This complex condition further reiterates the significance of persuasion in engaging with the students.

After the students have been persuaded to engage in the CLC, the leaders and teachers across the cases generally designed an inclusive timetable, and developed a learning approach that responds to various age groups. Students are given the opportunity to individualise their learning, especially in designing learning strategies that suit their conditions. They could combine face-to-face

meetings and independent study as long as they show commitment, and complete their participation. The teachers also make sure that they combine both pedagogical and andragogical approaches in the teaching and learning processes. This is important, because the students come to the CLC with their "virtual schoolbag" of knowledge and experience, as well as various backgrounds and age-groups (Thomson, 2002: 1). Furthermore, when the learning strategies use coercive traditions or regulations, especially strong demand for full face-to-face attendance and high academic attainment, the students might drop out.

In Bandung, students have the freedom to choose and combine face-to-face meetings and independent learning. Given that many of them are adults, have prior experience in formal schooling, or do some occupational activities, independent learning is the most preferred learning method. Face-to-face meetings with students who prefer this method are organised once or twice a week in groups, depending on the agreement made by the students and teachers (see chapter four). In Jakarta, face-to-face meetings are organised five days a week in the CLC. However, it takes place in the afternoon, and there is no strict control over absenteeism as long as the students could manage their own learning. Some students who work as celebrities and athletes rarely come to the CLC due to their daily schedule (see chapter five).

In Manado, besides providing floating CLCs, the learning and training activities are organised on two days a week (Fridays and Saturdays). This decision was taken because two CLCs are located offshore, and many students do some economic activities at the weekdays, and the two days are holidays for both Muslims and Christians (see chapter six). In Ambon, learning activities are organised five days a week for approximately three hours per day. Yet, the CLC leader and staff never force students to attend face-to-face teaching and learning processes on a daily basis. The students have freedom to choose, and decide the type of learning style that is most suitable to their conditions (see chapter seven).

The lack of emphasis on face-to-face meetings often raised questions over the legitimacy and authenticity of equivalency education certificates, widely exposed in local and national newspapers. It also sometimes created lawsuits against people who have equivalency education certificates, and join general or local elections as political candidates. From the legal standpoint, however, the CLC

leaders in the four cases have the scope and agency to encourage individualised learning, and to decide whether or not a student can earn a certificate. The law also justifies students designing their own modes of learning. They can combine face-to-face (20 percent) and independent learning (80 percent), individually or in groups. This requirement is the only form of performativity that CLC leaders, teachers and students across the CLCs have to accept.

Significance of the Study

This section reflects on the contribution of this study in terms of contextual, empirical and theoretical significance. The study provides insights into the practice and challenges of leading and managing CLCs. It provides research-based data of value to policy and decision makers, educational planners, and researchers, particularly in Indonesia.

Contextual significance

This study contributes to knowledge about community education, which is generally under-researched in Indonesia, and globally. In Indonesia, sources on community education largely comprise grey literature. Napitupilu (1997), Sihombing (1999), and Yulaelawati (2012), for example, describe the historical context of Indonesian CLCs, what community (non-formal) education and CLC mean, and their development and learning programmes. After conducting a professional visit to Tokyo, Japan, Kamil (2009) found that Indonesian CLCs have similarities with *Kominkan* – a state educational institution that already existed in the country long before the Nagasaki bombing, that offers various out-of-school learning programmes, especially literacy-related and pastime activities. In addition, Dharma (2008) reported that CLCs in seven provinces in Indonesia generally organised various learning and training programmes, such as functional literacy, early childhood education, equivalency education, vocational skills training, entrepreneurship training, sports and recreation, and women's education.

In contrast to the findings of Dharma (2008), and Kamil (2009), the data in this study show that the learning programmes organised in the four-case study CLCs are generally formal education: early childhood education and equivalency education. Although they initially did not intend to do so, the data show that both state and privately funded CLCs eventually specialised in organising those two programmes. Furthermore, other life skills or income-generating training programmes are generally temporary, and developed if, and when, there are suggestions from the community members, or funding from donor agencies.

The multiple case-study data show certain contextual variations across cases, suggesting that CLCs are context sensitive. CLCs in rural areas such as Bandung and Manado, and the eastern part of Indonesia (Ambon), where people are sceptical about the importance of formal education, and experience intercommunal and religious riots respectively, are disadvantaged in their access to resources. The community members served in these places are also generally homogenous in terms of ethnicity, religion, and socio-economic background. Meanwhile, in the urban context of Jakarta, the CLC has better infrastructure, facilities, funding, and human resources, than the rural and eastern case-study CLCs. The students recruited in Jakarta also come from diverse ethnic, religious, and socio-economic backgrounds. No previous studies in Indonesia have focused on the importance of context in shaping community education. Rahma et al. (2019) focused on urban settings, while Dharma (2008) reported both rural and urban contexts of Indonesia, but did not explore how context shapes the CLCs and their activities.

Data from this study also add understanding to the ways government policies are understood, enacted or declined by the four case-study CLCs and their communities. The data show that CLC leaders in either state or privately funded CLCs, urban or rural areas, and western, central or eastern Indonesia show a general pattern of enacting and refusing government policies in curriculum and organisational structure. CLC leaders in the four cases gave little focus to national curricula, and encouraged individualised learning instead. All CLC leaders also privilege agency over structure in developing their organisational structures. The Jakarta state CLC leader put aside discomfort and tensions with local education officers when developing the structure (see chapter five). Manado and Ambon CLC

leaders avoided quasi-legal consequences by developing paper and real structures (see chapter six and seven respectively). No previous studies on community education in Indonesia explore and report how CLC leaders in Indonesia make sense of, and follow up, government policies in their organisational settings.

This study also adds knowledge to existing research on community education in Southeast Asia. Maber (2016a; 2016b), for example, found that community education plays an important role in empowering women in Myanmar when the country was under political transition. Similarly, Ng and Madyaningrum (2014) found that, in Indonesia, community education could develop community capacity in improving waste management practices, and hence, create individual and societal change that have long term effects. Different from these studies, however, this research shows that the relationships between the "provider" and "client" of community education are reciprocal in the ways that both groups contribute to each other in various forms. As indicated earlier, this study found that community does not only gain benefit from, but also makes considerable contributions to, the CLCs.

This study fills the knowledge gap left by various grey literature on CLCs in Southeast Asia. UNESCO (2008), for example, defined a CLC as an educational institution, which is established and managed by local communities to provide out-of-school learning activities with the support of government, NGOs and the private sector. This study, however, found that privately funded CLCs are established and managed by philanthropic individuals or families, and a state CLC in Jakarta is established by the local government, and led by a designated bureaucrat. UNESCO (2008, 2012) also explained that a CLC aims at providing four main services, namely: education and training, community information and resource services, community development activities, and coordination and networking. In contrast, this study shows that the four CLCs primarily aim at providing equitable access to learning opportunities, especially pre-primary and "catch up" basic and secondary education programmes, targeting early years' children from underprivileged families and people who drop out, or choose not to enter, formal schooling.

NILE (2017), furthermore, reported that there is a diversity of CLC terms in six Asian countries. In Bangladesh, the educational institutions are generally referred to as "People's Centres" or "Lifelong Learning Centres (LLCs)" in Mongolia,

"lifelong learning halls and centres, community centres, or small libraries" in Republic of Korea, and "CLCs" in Indonesia, Thailand and Vietnam. In other words, NILE (2017) suggests that the term CLC is specifically associated with South-East Asian countries. This study confirms NILE's (2017) synthesis report. Moreover, it adds that a diversity of terms is also found in the notion of "community education" and the leadership thereof.

Methodological significance

This study produced new knowledge about how leadership is practiced in Indonesian CLCs. It adopted a multiple case-study approach to capture data from four CLCs in different contexts and communities, and of different types. A multiple case-study approach was employed in this study due to the lack of existing information about CLCs in Indonesia. The approach enables this study to provide rich and detailed understanding of the ways leadership of community education is practiced in specific local contexts. It involved an extended process of data collection and analysis, but it also led to robust findings and trustworthy conclusions. Moreover, the multiple case study approach adopted in this study also generated "analytic generalisation" (Yin, 2009: 32) – an understanding of how leadership is practiced in Indonesian CLCs that may have wider applicability in different settings and contexts.

This study is the only multiple case-study research on leadership in Indonesian CLCs. Some internationally published studies on school leadership in Indonesia did use a multiple case-study design, but generally focused on a specific region in the western part of the country, and thus, missed the opportunity to capture the contextual complexity of Indonesia (Jawas, 2017; Parker and Raihani, 2011; Raihani, 2008; Raihani and Gurr, 2006; Sumintono et al., 2015; Uhbiyati, 2015).

This study is also the only research on leadership in Indonesian CLCs that uses multiple methods. It employs and triangulates three different methods – semi-structured interviews, observations, and documentary analysis – to provide a sound exploration of the investigated phenomenon, the leadership of community education. The use of multiple methods contributes to in-depth understanding of how leadership is practised in Indonesian CLCs. The study gained multiple

perspectives of participants primarily through interviews from different people at the grassroots, supplemented by field observations and documentary research. Previous qualitative studies on school leadership in Indonesia mainly relied on a single method: semi-structured interviews (Jawas, 2017; Parker and Raihani, 2011; Raihani, 2008; Raihani and Gurr, 2006; Sumintono et al., 2015; Uhbiyati, 2015), and did not supplement it with observations and document reviews to enhance research validity through methodological triangulation (Bush, 2012; Denzin and Lincoln, 2005; Denscombe, 2010; Robson and McCartan, 2016; Scott and Morrison, 2006).

This study employed stratified purposive sampling to obtain data from participants who have valuable information and experience regarding the way leadership is practised in Indonesian CLCs. Participant triangulation facilitated the inclusion of multiple perspectives of people who contribute to, or derive benefit from, the CLCs, including CLC leaders, teachers, non-teaching staff, students, parents, and community members, to provide comprehensive data. In contrast, previous studies on community education (Asmin, 2017; Rahma et al., 2019) and school leadership in Indonesia (Jawas, 2017; Parker and Raihani, 2011; Raihani, 2008; Raihani and Gurr, 2006; Sumintono et al., 2015; Uhbiyati, 2015), interviewed people working at the CLCs and schools respectively, but excluded the important experiences of non-teaching staff, parents and community members. Therefore, this study incorporated both the provider and client perspectives.

Theoretical significance

This study has made a significant contribution to the voluminous body of educational leadership literature, which is characterised by the contestation and corroboration of school leadership models. The assumption of effective educational leadership being key to student learning and organisational change is explored through the multiple case-study data. This leads to the identification of leadership behaviours to address the learning needs of a marginalised population in Indonesia and other developing contexts that cannot be fulfilled by formal schooling.

Various mainstream school leadership models (Bass, 1997; Leithwood and Jantzi, 2006; Gronn, 2008; Harris 2010; Hoyle and Wallace, 2005; Robinson et al., 2008) are useful in understanding the data from this present study. The models provide a guide in understanding the strategies that educational leaders do to achieve individual and organisational change. For example, distributed leadership puts the emphasis on expanding leadership roles beyond those in formal leadership posts (Gronn, 2008); instructional leadership offers an understanding of the strongest leadership model in improving learning outcomes through involvement in designing the curriculum (Robinson et al., 2008); managerial leadership mainly focuses on task completion (Hoyle and Wallace, 2005); transactional leadership highlights the importance of a mutual transaction (Bass, 1997); and transformational leadership focuses on enhancing organisational qualities, dimensions and effectiveness (Leithwood and Jantzi, 2006). However, the models appear to focus mainly on bringing about individual and organisational change. The scholars of these mainstream models are also arguably slow to acknowledge the significance of context in shaping leadership practices. This study offers a proposition about different dimensions of context as a significant aspect of leadership. In line with the models of contingent leadership (Hallinger and Leithwood, 1996; Bush and Glover, 2003), it acknowledges the diverse nature of contexts, and the importance of adapting leadership styles to respond to unique organisational circumstances.

Extending the views of critical leadership scholars (Johnson, 2014; Khalifa et al., 2016; Santamaría et al., 2014; Shields, 2018), this study provides evidence to support their view that leadership should not only focus on individual and organisational change, but also on societal improvement. The advocates of transformative leadership (Santamaría et al., 2014; Shields, 2018), for example, believe that effective leadership should begin by questioning and challenging the abuse of power and privilege that causes or maintains inequity and injustice. In addition, the proponents of culturally responsive leadership (Johnson, 2014; Khalifa et al., 2016) note that, in order to be successful, school leaders need to build inclusive environments for ethnically and culturally diverse students and families. However, some critical leadership scholars tend to heavily critique and contrast critical leadership against the traditional Western-originated school leadership models mentioned earlier. In addition, much of which work appears to

be pedaled by mainstream school leadership models that have become a "globalised phenomenon" (Gunter, 2016: 8) and a worldwide "industry" (Leithwood, 2007: 41).

It was not the aim of this study to shoehorn CLC leadership into any particular leadership model. Moreover, with only 18 internationally published studies on school leadership in Indonesia (see Appendix 1), this study makes use of existing literature on both mainstream and critical leadership to conceptualise CLC leadership. What this study shows is that CLC leadership acknowledges the importance of being mindful to context, and the significance of critical behaviours to create individual, organisational, and societal change. This conceptualisation is breaking ground in developing an understanding of leadership in non-formal or community education in Indonesia that might be relevant in other contexts.

Building on existing mainstream and critical leadership literature, the data from the present study also indicate the significance of values in CLC leadership. Similar to culturally responsive and transformative leadership, the data show that CLC leadership begins with questions of justice and equity. It then offers the promise of serving the community to create individual, organisational and societal change. Furthermore, as widely discussed in mainstream educational leadership literature, the data also suggest that trust, *kekeluargaan* (familyism) and religious-based motivation are key values of CLC leadership. It is important for CLC leaders to incorporate these values into their leadership practice in order to be successful. Also, the data imply that both state and privately funded CLC leaders privilege agency over structure as a means of bringing about desired change.

This study extends the premise of educational leadership for social justice that emphasises equal opportunities for all students, regardless of their family background, social status, or financial situation, and guarantees that the students' knowledge and experience are acknowledged and appreciated (Bogotch and Shields, 2014; Bogotch et al. 2008). Even under minimal material conditions, social justice leaders support students from diverse groups with a wide range of needs (Brooks et al., 2017; DeMatthews and Mawhinney, 2014). They also aim at disrupting social injustice by providing inclusive learning opportunities, activities, and environments (Brown, 2006; McKenzie et al., 2008; Theoharis and Causton-Theoharis, 2008). In this study, the CLC leaders across the cases responded to

individual learning needs, and engaged people from various backgrounds and ages, including those who are sceptical about formal schooling or hold cultural beliefs against it. Although highly challenging, it is evident that CLC leadership could reach specific groups of people who are not served by mainstream education. Moreover, CLC leadership embraces a marginalised population by providing learning and training opportunities in ways that value their knowledge and experience. It makes use of leadership, teaching, and the entire CLC environment, to respond to, and to embrace, community diversity.

Implications of the Research

This study shows that leading and managing a CLC is a complex phenomenon that needs a critical assessment of practice, policy, and further research to increase understanding of how it can be successful. The following sections discuss how this study provides the potential for impact in these three respects.

Implications for practice

The success of leading and managing a CLC is highly associated with what the CLC leaders do, how they do it, and where and when it is carried out. In all four cases, it was mentioned that there is only a single formal leader. However, as indicated in chapter eight, this was a culturally determined response. As in other Confucian countries, sharing or distributing leadership in Indonesian CLCs articulates in the recognition of particular staff capable of taking a leadership role. This suggests that CLC leadership is not a solo activity that relies on the role of CLC leaders at the apex of the hierarchy. Given that there are generally complex challenges of financial and human resources, the support and participation of various stakeholders, including the government, CLC leaders, parents and community members, is also paramount in contributing to CLC development. This leads to a number of implications for practice.

The findings of this study imply that there is a necessity for CLC leaders across the cases to adopt better public accountability measures, both to the state and the community members. Public accountability to the state is important to gain

more acknowledgement and support, while public accountability to the community members is essential to explain how resources are (re)distributed. This can partly be done by documenting the use of resources, and the nature of practices, challenges, and successes.

Implications for policy

CLC leadership plays a key role in creating individual, organisational and societal change. Regardless of the various challenges they face, the CLC leaders show resilience in serving the community through the provision of equitable learning opportunities. For the significance of community education programmes, and the generally marginalised people they serve, there is a general expectation among the CLC leaders that they would like more acknowledgement from the government, in the forms of inclusive education policy, continuing professional development, and sustainable funding mechanisms. These expectations lead to several implications for policy.

1. The Indonesian government needs to consider revisiting the typology of formal, non-formal and informal education policy. It does acknowledge non-formal education as an integral part of lifelong learning that takes place outside the formal educational system, to enable marginalised people to acquire the life skills needed to adapt to a changing environment. However, there is no supporting policy that elaborates non-formal education in Indonesia as a concept which is interchangeable with community education.

2. The Ministry of Education and Culture and local education offices throughout Indonesia should have a working unit that is responsible to formulate, advocate, coordinate, and monitor the implementation of community education programmes in Indonesia. At the time of the research, the Minister of Education and Culture was criticised for restructuring the ministry, and removing the non-formal education unit. Regardless of its size and level, the basic principles for establishing a working unit of non-formal (community) education are to show responsiveness towards community education and to the people in the country who are not accommodated by formal schooling.

3. The Ministry of Education and Culture and local education offices should improve continuing professional development for CLC leaders, teachers, and non-teaching staff. Based on their prior academic and professional trajectory, the study shows the need for CLC leaders, teachers and non-teaching staff to have thorough training and re-training in order to enhance their skills and competence in leading and managing, teaching, and fulfilling administrative affairs respectively.

4. The Ministry of Education and Culture should revisit policies on CLC organisational structure, and the three different learning modes of equivalency education. The data clearly show that none of the four case-study CLCs follows the organisational structure suggested by the ministry (see chapter four, five, six and seven). The data also show that adult students across the cases generally prefer to do independent learning, and only attend face-to-face meetings whenever possible. By revisiting the two policies, the ministry would help to develop bottom-up policies that reflect the practice of community education at the grassroots level.

5. The government should improve financial support for community education activities. Forms of support could be grants, tax reductions, free use of public buildings and facilities for community education activities, and the production of training materials in various formats accessible to all CLCs in the country. In this respect, close cooperation with local government and education offices is crucial.

6. The study shows that the CLC leaders need to search for, and then recruit, students due to difficulty in obtaining data and information about people who dropped out from, or have no access to, formal schools. In this context, the Ministry of Education and Culture and local education offices should create a database that provides data and information of people who are not accommodated by schooling. The database should also be integrated with databases managed by other state ministries and agencies.

Implications for research

This study shows that CLC leadership plays an essential role in developing CLCs, and providing equitable access to learning opportunities. It is also a unique and

complex phenomenon, which is under-researched and requires further inquiry. Due to financial and time constraints, the present study is limited to four CLCs and their communities from three main regions of Indonesia. It did not seek findings from other regions and government authorities at local and national levels. To address these limitations, further research is required:

1. This study focused on gaining an in-depth understanding of the ways in which leadership is practised in four CLCs in three regions in Indonesia. This limits the potential for generalisation. Further research is required to explore this phenomenon in other regions of Indonesia, especially other islands as well as more rural and less developed districts/cities.

2. This study focused on well performing CLCs, indicated by their Grade A accreditation level. Similar research is required on CLCs with other accreditation categories (B and C) to gain an understanding of how educational leadership is practised in these settings.

3. This research focused on the leadership of community education from the experiences of people at the grassroots: CLC leaders, teachers, non-teaching staff, students, and community members. It would also be worthwhile to explore the perceptions of government officials at local and national levels. This would provide complementary data for comprehensive understanding of the ways in which leadership is practised in Indonesian CLCs.

Overview

This chapter shows how the multiple case-study data have provided answers to the research questions, and what this study contributes to the body of knowledge. The chapter also offers research-based recommendations for practice, policy, and research.

This study shows that CLC leadership in Indonesia is susceptible to context and community. The CLC leaders generally show the behaviours of critical leadership models (culturally responsive and transformative leadership) by challenging existing or preserved injustice and inequality in a particular community, and then

dedicating their capabilities or authority to serve and give back to the community. They aim to create change beyond individual and organisational improvement through the provision of learning opportunities for all. This aim is further strengthened by some fundamental values of CLC leadership, namely: trust, *kekeluargaan* (familyism, family-like relationships, or kinship), and religion.

The study indicates that there is disinclination towards the government policy about CLC organisational structure. The four case-study CLCs have different organisational structures from each other, and none of them adheres to the structure suggested by the government. However, state power is apparent in the formalisation of non-formal education programmes that exist in all organisational structures across the cases.

The study demonstrates mutual relationships between CLCs and the community. Theoretically, the CLC leaders and teachers empower and enable community members through education. Yet, after gaining their trust, the CLCs receive contributions from the community members in various forms, such as cash, labour power, and non-material participation.

The study shows that building networks and partnerships is key to gaining and securing funding and facilities, mainly from the government. Networking and fostering partnerships in this study, however, is limited to maintaining good relationships with government authorities.

The study indicates that little focus is given to national curricula in both state and privately funded CLCs. Curriculum is seen as an entitlement, and all students have the agency to individualise and self-direct their learning. This offers a new perspective on performativity.

The research identifies some strategies that the CLC leaders and teachers adopt to recruit students. Persuasion is key to student recruitment. This articulates in a lack of emphasis on face-to-face meetings, and strong support for individualised learning. However, this also often leads to doubts and questions over the legitimacy of equivalency education certificates.

Based on the recruited and targeted students, the study shows that CLC leaders and teachers across the cases share a similar expectation for community education and for CLCs not to be treated as the Cinderella of the education family. The study suggests that CLC leaders and teachers are the people who do the "dirty job" for the Indonesian government which is unable to fulfil its promise to ensure free, equitable and quality pre-primary, primary and secondary education for all.

Maintaining and increasing support for community education and its programmes may help the government to realise its promise to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) Target 4.2: "ensure inclusive and equitable quality education and promote lifelong learning opportunities for all" (United Nations, 2015). Given the country's diversity and plurality, formal educational institutions in general, and schools in particular, cannot be the only vehicles to achieve the target. In this respect, CLCs offer support, while demanding attention from the state to develop and sustain its activities, and to create societal change.

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Appendices

Appendix 1: Internationally Published Empirical Literature on Educational Leadership and Management in Indonesia from 1990-2020

Year	By	Title	Publisher
2006	Raihani and Gurr, D.	*Value-Driven School Leadership: An Indonesian Perspective*	*Leading and Managing*
2008	Raihani	*An Indonesian model of successful school leadership*	*Journal of Educational Administration*
2011	Parker, L. and Raihani	*Democratizing Indonesia through education? community participation in Islamic Schooling*	*Educational Management Administration and Leadership*
2012	Bandur, A.	*School-based management developments: challenges and impacts*	*Journal of Educational Administration*
2012	Hariri, H., Monypenny, R. and Prideaux, M.	*Principalship in an Indonesian school context: can principal decision-making styles significantly predict teacher job satisfaction?*	*School Leadership and Management*
2012	Lee, M. and Hallinger, P.	*National contexts influencing principals' time use and allocation: economic development, societal culture, and educational system*	*School Effectiveness and School Improvement*
2014	Sofo, F., Fitzgerald, R. and Jawas, U.	*Instructional leadership in Indonesian school reform: overcoming the problems to move forward*	*School Leadership and Management*
2014	Hariri, H., Monypenny, R. and Prideaux, M.	*Leadership styles and decision-making styles in an Indonesian school context*	*School Leadership and Management*
2014	Raihani, Gurr, D., and Drysdale, L.	*Indonesia: Leading an Islamic school in a multicultural setting in Indonesia*	*Leading Schools Successfully: Stories from the field*
2015	Sumintono, B., Sheyoputri, E. Y. A., Jiang, N., Misbach, I. H., and Jumintono	*Becoming a principal in Indonesia: possibility, pitfalls and potential*	*Asia Pacific Journal of Education*
2015	Uhbiyati, N.	*A competency-based model of the human resource development management of ustadz at salaf boarding school*	*International Journal of Educational Management*
2016	Hariri, H., Monypenny, R. and Prideaux, M.	*Teacher-perceived principal leadership styles, decision-making styles and job satisfaction: how congruent are data from Indonesia with the anglophile and western literature?*	*School Leadership and Management*
2017	Damanik, E. and Aldridge, J.	*Transformational leadership and its impact on school climate and teachers' self-efficacy in Indonesian high schools*	*Journal of School Leadership*
2017	Jawas, U.	*The influence of socio-cultural factors on leadership practices for instructional improvement in Indonesian schools*	*School Leadership and Management*
2018	Bandur, A.	*Stakeholders' responses to school-based management in Indonesia*	*International Journal of Educational Management*
2018	Shulhan, M.	*Leadership style in the madrasah in Tulungagung: how principals enhance teacher's performance*	*International Journal of Educational Management*
2018	Wiyono, B. B.	*The effect of self-evaluation on the principals' transformational leadership, teachers' work motivation, teamwork effectiveness, and school improvement*	*International Journal of Leadership in Education*
2019	Sumintono, B., Hidayat, R., Patras, Y. E., Sriyanto, J., and Izzati, U. A.	*Leading and Managing Schools in Indonesia: Historical, Political and Socio-cultural Forces*	*Perspectives on School Leadership in Asia Pacific Contexts*

Appendix 2: Interview Guides

Interview Guide for CLC Leaders

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Cecep Somantri. I am a PhD student at the University of Nottingham, the United Kingdom (UK). Thank you very much for accepting this invitation. As mentioned in the consent form that I previously gave to you, I am interviewing you because I want to gather information about your experiences, views and practices in relation to the leadership of community education at this Community Learning Centre (CLC). I am sure I will learn a lot from you.

This conversation will be made anonymous and your name and institution will not appear in this research. Is it OK if we begin?

No	Research questions	Interview questions and probes
1.	What is the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs?	a. Would you mind telling me about your educational background and career history? b. How do you understand your role and responsibilities in this centre? c. Does this centre have a leadership team? If yes, what is their role? How is the team developed? If no, why do you think this centre does not have one? d. Is there any other leader other than you? If yes, what is his/her role? Do you think it is a good idea to have that position in the centre? If no, do you think this centre needs one? e. How do you manage job distribution in this centre? f. How do you manage your time as a CLC leader? g. How are the centre activities initiated?
2.	What is the organisational structure in Indonesian CLCs?	a. What is the organisational structure of your centre? Who was involved in developing the organisational structure? b. Does this centre have programme coordinators? If yes, what are their specific roles? (prompt: education, entrepreneurship and industry, information and partnership?) c. What is the role of the community and/or the local education office in the organisational structure?
3.	What is the relationship of Indonesian CLCs with the community?	a. Do you see the community as an important part of your centre? How do you engage with the local people to participate in the centre? b. What forms of contribution do community members give to the centre? When do they contribute?
4.	How do Indonesian CLCs build and expand networks and partnerships?	a. How do you nurture and maintain your relationships within the centre? b. How do you build networks and partnerships beyond your institution? Who are you mainly targeting? c. How do you secure funding availability and sustainability for the centre?

5.	How is the curriculum indicated in Indonesian CLCs?	a. What formal curriculum is implemented in the centre? b. Who developed the curriculum? Are the community involved? c. Are you involved in the development? If yes, in what aspects?
6.	How do CLC leaders and teachers engage with the learners?	a. How do you recruit the learners? b. Do you carry out needs analysis prior to the recruitment? c. How do you address the learners' learning needs?
		Do you have any other comments that you would like to make about CLCs?

Interview Guide for Teachers

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Cecep Somantri. I am a PhD student at the University of Nottingham, the United Kingdom (UK). Thank you very much for accepting this invitation. As mentioned in the consent form that I previously gave to you, I am interviewing you because I want to gather information about your experiences, views and practices in relation to the leadership of community education at this Community Learning Centre (CLC). I am sure I will learn a lot from you.

This conversation will be made anonymous and your name and institution will not appear in this research. Is it OK if we begin?

No	Research questions	Interview questions and probes
1.	What is the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs?	a. Would you mind telling me about your educational background and career history? b. How do you understand your role and responsibilities in this centre? c. Does this centre have a leadership team? If yes, what is their role? How is the team developed? If no, why do you think this centre does not have one? d. Is there any other leader other than the CLC Head? If yes, what is his/her role? Do you think it is a good idea to have that position in the centre? If no, do you think this centre needs one? e. How does the CLC Head manage job distribution in this centre? f. How does the Head manage his/her time as a CLC leader? g. How are the centre activities initiated?
2.	What is the organisational structure in Indonesian CLCs?	a. What is the organisational structure of your centre? Who was involved in developing the organisational structure? b. Does this centre have programme coordinators? If yes, what are their specific roles? (prompt: education, entrepreneurship and industry, information and partnership?) c. What is the role of the community and/or the local education office in the organisational structure?
3.	What is the relationship of Indonesian CLCs with the community?	a. Do you see the community as an important part of your centre? How does this centre engage with the local people to participate in the centre? b. What forms of contribution do community members give to the centre? When do they contribute?
4.	How do Indonesian CLCs build and expand networks and partnerships?	a. How do you nurture and maintain your relationships within the centre? b. How does this centre build networks and partnerships beyond your institution? Who is this centre mainly targeting? c. How does this centre secure funding availability and sustainability?

5.	How is the curriculum indicated in Indonesian CLCs?	a. What formal curriculum is implemented in the centre? b. Who developed the curriculum? Are the community involved? c. Are you involved in the development? If yes, in what aspects?
6.	How do CLC leaders and teachers engage with the learners?	a. How does this centre recruit the learners? b. Does this centre carry out needs analysis prior to the recruitment? c. How do you address the learners' learning needs?
		Do you have any other comments that you would like to make about CLCs?

Interview Guide for Non-Teaching Staff

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Cecep Somantri. I am a PhD student at the University of Nottingham, the United Kingdom (UK). Thank you very much for accepting this invitation. As mentioned in the consent form that I previously gave to you, I am interviewing you because I want to gather information about your experiences, views and practices in relation to the leadership of community education at this Community Learning Centre (CLC). I am sure I will learn a lot from you.

This conversation will be made anonymous and your name and institution will not appear in this research. Is it OK if we begin?

No	Research questions	Interview questions and probes
1.	What is the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs?	a. Would you mind telling me about your educational background and career history? b. How do you understand your role and responsibilities in this centre? c. Does this centre have a leadership team? If yes, what is their role? How is the team developed? If no, why do you think this centre does not have one? d. Is there any other leader other than the CLC Head? If yes, what is his/her role? Do you think it is a good idea to have that position in the centre? If no, do you think this centre needs one? e. How does the CLC Head manage job distribution in this centre? f. How does the Head manage his/her time as a CLC leader? g. How are the centre activities initiated?
2.	What is the organisational structure in Indonesian CLCs?	a. What is the organisational structure of your centre? Who was involved in developing the organisational structure? b. Does this centre have programme coordinators? If yes, what are their specific roles? (prompt: education, entrepreneurship and industry, information and partnership?) c. What is the role of the community and/or the local education office in the organisational structure?
3.	What is the relationship of Indonesian CLCs with the community?	a. Do you see the community as an important part of your centre? How does this centre engage with the local people to participate in the centre? b. What forms of contribution do community members give to the centre? When do they contribute?
4.	How do Indonesian CLCs build and expand networks and partnerships?	a. How do you nurture and maintain your relationships within the centre? b. How does this centre build networks and partnerships beyond your institution? Who is this centre mainly targeting? c. How does this centre secure funding availability and sustainability?

5.	How is the curriculum indicated in Indonesian CLCs?	a. What formal curriculum is implemented in the centre? b. Who developed the curriculum? Are the community involved? c. Are you involved in the development? If yes, in what aspects?
6.	How do CLC leaders and teachers engage with the learners?	a. How does this centre recruit the learners? b. Does this centre carry out needs analysis prior to the recruitment? c. How does this centre address the learners' learning needs?
		Do you have any other comments that you would like to make about CLCs?

Interview Guide for Learners

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Cecep Somantri. I am a PhD student at the University of Nottingham, the United Kingdom (UK). Thank you very much for accepting this invitation. As mentioned in the consent form that I previously gave to you, I am interviewing you because I want to gather information about your experiences, views and practices in relation to the leadership of community education at this Community Learning Centre (CLC). I am sure I will learn a lot from you.

This conversation will be made anonymous and your name and institution will not appear in this research. Is it OK if we begin?

No	Research questions	Interview questions and probes
1.	What is the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs?	a. Would you mind telling me a little bit about yourself? b. Does this centre have a leadership team? If yes, what is their role? If no, why do you think this centre does not have one? c. Is there any other leader other than the CLC Head? Is yes, what is his/her role? Do you think it is a good idea to have that position in the centre? If no, do you think this centre needs one? d. What are you learning in this centre? e. How are the centre activities initiated?
2.	What is the organisational structure in Indonesian CLCs?	a. What is the organisational structure of your centre? Who was involved in developing the organisational structure? b. Does this centre have programme coordinators? If yes, what are their specific roles? [prompt: education, entrepreneurship and industry, information and partnership?] c. Who do you generally interact with in this centre? [who do you contact when you need something from the centre?]
3.	What is the relationship of Indonesian CLCs with the community?	a. Do you think your centre sees the community as an important part of its existence? If yes, please give an example. b. How does this centre engage the local people to participate in the CLC? Who initiates the engagement? c. What forms of contribution do community members give to the centre? When do they contribute?
4.	How do Indonesian CLCs build and expand networks and partnerships?	a. Does this centre have partner institutions? If yes, what do you know about these partnerships? b. What is your role, if any, in relation to the funding of this centre?

5.	How is the curriculum indicated in Indonesian CLCs?	a. What formal curriculum is implemented in the centre? b. Who developed the curriculum? c. Would you mind telling me about your learning experience in this centre?
6.	How do CLC leaders and teachers engage with the learners?	a. How and when did you join this centre? b. How and why does joining this centre benefit you? c. How does this centre cater for your learning needs?
		Do you have any other comments about CLCs?

Interview Guide for Community Members

Dear Sir/Madam,

My name is Cecep Somantri. I am a PhD student at the University of Nottingham, the United Kingdom (UK). Thank you very much for accepting this invitation. As mentioned in the consent form that I previously gave to you, I am interviewing you because I want to gather information about your experiences, views and practices in relation to the leadership of community education at this Community Learning Centre (CLC). I am sure I will learn a lot from you.

This conversation will be made anonymous and your name and institution will not appear in this research. Is it OK if we begin?

No	Research questions	Interview questions and probes
1.	What is the nature of leadership in Indonesian CLCs?	a. Would you mind telling me a little bit about yourself? b. Does this centre have a leadership team? If yes, what is their role? If no, why do you think this centre does not have one? c. Is there any other leader other than the CLC Head? Is yes, what is his/her role? Do you think it is a good idea to have that position in the centre? If no, do you think this centre needs one? d. What is your main role in this centre? e. How are the centre activities initiated?
2.	What is the organisational structure in Indonesian CLCs?	a. What is the organisational structure of your centre? Who was involved in developing the organisational structure? b. Does this centre have programme coordinators? If yes, what are their specific roles? [prompt: education, entrepreneurship and industry, information and partnership?] c. What is the role of the community and/or the local education office in the organisational structure?
3.	What is the relationship of Indonesian CLCs with the community?	a. Do you think your centre sees the community as an important part of its existence? If yes, please give an example. b. How does this centre engage the local people to participate in the CLC? Who initiates the engagement? c. What forms of contribution do community members give to the centre? When do they contribute?
4.	How do Indonesian CLCs build and expand networks and partnerships?	a. Does this centre have partner institutions? If yes, what do you know about these partnerships? b. What is your role, if any, in relation to the funding of this centre?

5.	How is the curriculum indicated in Indonesian CLCs?	a. What formal curriculum is implemented in the centre? b. Who developed the curriculum? c. Are you involved in the curriculum development? If yes, in what aspects?
6.	How do CLC leaders and teachers engage with the learners?	a. How and when did you join this centre? b. How and why does joining this centre benefit you? c. How does this centre cater for your learning needs?
		Do you have any other comments about CLCs?

Appendix 3: Field Notes from Bandung

Aspects for Observation	Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
Site topography, vegetation coverage, water and wetlands, traffic networks and residential sites and facilities	• Bandung: the third largest metropolitan city in Indonesia. • The CLC is located in a rural area (remote village) --> in the north of Greater Bandung. • The climate is conducive, and has seasonal rainfall. • The village is a centre for various crops and vegetables production in Bandung. • Social services facilities are available, but there is no nearby local hospital (20 KM). • Junior and senior secondary schools are far from the village. • The roads are poor, and have been in that condition for a very long time. • Public transport is available once in an hour.	Check Statistics Indonesia and UNESCO.
Community socio-economic status and cultural situation	• The indigenous people of the village are Sundanese. • They speak Sundanese as their mother tongue. • The people are relatively homogeneous in terms of socio-economic backgrounds. • The villagers are largely self-employed: farmers, cattlemen or merchants.	
Availability, adequacy and status of CLC infrastructure and facilities	(table below)	

Infrastructure				Facilities			
Item	Required	Available	Delta	Item	Required	Available	Delta
ECE classrooms	2	2	0	ECE students' tables	13	12	-1
Equivalency education classrooms	6	6	0	ECE students' chairs	74	74	0
Reading corner	1	1	0	Equivalency education students' tables	98	98	0
Toilets for ECE students	2	1	-1	Equivalency education students' chairs	196	196	0
Toilets for equivalency educations students	2	2	0	Tutors and non-teaching staff's tables	8	8	0
Toilets for tutors and non-teaching staff	1	1	0	Tutors and non-teaching staff's chairs	8	8	0
Art stage	1	1	0	Musical instruments	4	2	-2
Kitchen	1	1	0	Mini truck	1	1	1

	Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
	• The CLC stands on 1,000 square-metre land (building area: 840 square metres)	Check CLC Profile and accreditation report

Appendix 4: Document Review Guide

Document Review Guide

Region	Jakarta	
	Western	
	Central	
	Eastern	
CLC type	Public	
	Private	

Documents	Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes

Appendix 5: Research Ethical Approval

University of Nottingham
UK | CHINA | MALAYSIA

School of Education
University of Nottingham
The Dearing Building
Jubilee Campus
Wollaton Road
Nottingham
NG8 1BB

educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

03/07/2019

Our Ref: 2019/30

Dear Cecep Somantri

Thank you for your resubmitted research ethics application for your project:

Community Education Leadership: Evidence from Indonesia

Our Ethics Committee has looked at your submission and has the following comments.

Thank you for tending so closely to the concerns, suggestions and questions on your earlier submission. We note that the excel form's use of the term 'personal data' is not well aligned with the GDPR and you have covered this clearly in the privacy notice.

We note your attention to participants' right to withdraw their data up to the point of analysis.

Based on the above assessment, it is deemed your research is:

- **Approved**

We wish you well with your research.

Dr Mary Oliver
Ethics Committee

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Appendix 6: Recommendation Letter from the Ministry of Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND CULTURE
DIRECTORATE GENERAL OF EARLY CHILDHOOD
EDUCATION AND COMMUNITY EDUCATION
Jalan Jenderal Sudirman, Building E, 3rd Floor, Senayan, Jakarta 10270
Phone (+62 21) 5725061, Facsimile (+62 21) 5725484
Homepage: www.paud-dikmas.kemdikbud.go.id

Letter of Recommendation

To whom it may concern,

This recommendation is issued at the request of Cecep Somantri, a post graduate research student at the University of Nottingham, the United Kingdom (UK) to support his research entitled "The Leadership of Community Education: Evidence from Indonesia".

Cecep Somantri will visit and work together with four Community Learning Centres (CLCs) and their communities from four different areas, namely: West Jakarta City, Bandung Barat District, Manado District, and Ambon District, representing Jakarta Province, Western Indonesia, Central Indonesia and Eastern Indonesia respectively. Prior to his visits, Cecep Somantri is advised to report to a Local Education Office and make direct contact to each centre to explain the objectives of the research.

Cecep Somantri has explained the research foci and aims, and showed the potential results on the development of community education policy and practice in a meeting in the Directorate General Early Childhood Education and Community Education, the Ministry of Education and Culture, Republic of Indonesia.

Considering its potentials risks and benefits, I believe the study can support the development of community education in Indonesia.

As the Director General of Early Childhood Education and Community Education, herewith I recommend Cecep Somantri to accomplish his research. I hope that the study will be given favourable considerations and supports by all relevant parties.

The recommendation is valid for a six-month period since its issuance, and is possible for renewal.

Jakarta, 23 August 2019

Yours sincerely,

Harris Iskandar, Ph.D
Director General

Appendix 7: Participants' Information Sheet

University of Nottingham
UK | CHINA | MALAYSIA

Cecep Somantri
University of Nottingham
The Dearing Building, Room C11
Jubilee Campus
Wollaton Road
Nottingham
NG8 1BB

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

Research title: Community Education Leadership: Evidence from Indonesia

Researcher's details:

My name is Cecep Somantri, a PhD student at the University of Nottingham, the United Kingdom (UK). I am conducting a study titled "Community Education Leadership: Evidence from Indonesia". It is supervised by Professor Tony Bush and Dr. Kay Fuller, both from the University of Nottingham. The study has received ethical approval from the University of Nottingham, School of Education.

Invitation to participate in the research:

You are being invited to take part in this research study on community education leadership in Indonesian Community Learning Centres (CLCs). You have been selected to take part in this research because you are an important person with relevant opinions and experiences to share in this study. Your participation is on a voluntary basis. You have the right to withdraw from this study at any time without having to give any explanation. If you withdraw from the study, I will destroy all your identifiable samples, but I will use the data collected up to your withdrawal. Before you decide whether or not to take part in this study, kindly read and understand the aim of conducting this study and what your participation will involve. If anything is unclear or if you would like more information, please contact me at Cecep.Somantri@nottingham.ac.uk or phone +62 8211 6072745.

Aims of the research:

The overall aim of this study is to gain an understanding of the ways in which the leadership of community education is practiced in Indonesian CLCs. Your participation in this research is greatly valuable. It will provide invaluable knowledge and understanding that could fill the research gap in "out-of-school" leadership and community education. This research is also intended to provide a voice for leaders, teachers, teaching personnel and students of well-performing CLCs. The findings will help to inform educational policy and decision makers, educational planners, and researchers, about community education leadership in Indonesia.

Participants' requirements:

In this study, you will be requested to contribute your experiences and views about the ways in which the leadership of community education is practiced in Indonesian CLCs. The interview will be carried out in time and place at your convenience. The interview is expected to last for up to 45 minutes of your time, depending on how much you need to consider your statements and to respond. I will seek your consent for note taking and audio recordings during interviews in order to simplify the process of transcriptions. You will also be asked to provide consent to be observed during meetings/gatherings which I attend.

Participants' rights:

You have the right to accept this invitation or not. You can also decide at any point of time during the study to withdraw from participating. You have the right to refuse to respond to any question if you wish so. You also have the right to ask any question arising from the interview guide. Even after you decide to take part, you have the right to withdraw at any time. The right to withdraw at any time from the research will in no way influence or adversely affect you as the participant.

Benefits and risks:

This research is considered to be a low risk study. Nevertheless, I will seek permission to enter the research site from relevant authorities, then I will seek your informed consent and I will treat your information with strict confidentiality.

There are no direct benefits of taking part in this study. The major benefit of this study is that we can better understand the leadership of community education, provide a strong contribution to educational leadership and management, and inform national and local governments in Indonesia about community education leadership. Your participation, therefore, is important to improve community education policies and services in your locality.

Confidentiality and anonymity:

All data from the research project will be treated with anonymity, confidentiality and pseudonymisation. In situations where the results of this study are published in international journals and discussed in conferences, you will remain anonymous. In the resulting thesis and any publications, pseudonyms will be used. The research data will be encrypted and stored in a password protected computer and the University of Nottingham (UoN) OneDrive, which only the researcher has access to. Should my supervisors need access to the data, this would be permitted if accessed in OneDrive. In line with the University's regulations, the research data will be kept for a period of 7 years. After this period, they will be permanently deleted.

Contacts for further information:

You may contact me at: Cecep.Somantri@nottingham.ac.uk, phone: +628216072745 for any questions or if you want information about the results of the study once data collection is complete. Also, if you have any questions or concerns about the conduct of this study, you may contact my research supervisor, Professor Tony Bush, at: Tony.Bush@nottingham.ac.uk, phone +044(0)1159514494, or the School of Education Research Ethics Coordinator at: educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk.

Thank you very much for reading this and taking part in this study.

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Appendix 8: Participant Consent Form

University of Nottingham
UK | CHINA | MALAYSIA.

Cecep Somantri
University of Nottingham
The Dearing Building, Room C11
Jubilee Campus
Wollaton Road
Nottingham
NG8 1BB

PARTICIPANT CONSENT FORM

Please read this page and sign if you agree to take part.

Research title   : Community Education Leadership: Evidence from Indonesia

Researcher   : Cecep Somantri

Supervisors   : Professor Tony Bush and Dr. Fuller

- I have read the Participant Information Sheet and the nature and purpose of the research project has been explained to me. I understand and agree to take part.

- I understand the purpose of the research project and my involvement in it.

- I understand that I may withdraw from the research project at any stage and that this will not affect my status now or in the future.

- I understand that while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.

- I understand the procedures of the study, that I will participate in interview and I will be observed, and that I will be audio recorded during the interview.

- I understand that I have the right to my privacy respected and that all research data will be encrypted and stored in a password protected computer and the University of Nottingham (UoN) OneDrive, which only the researcher has access to.

- I understand that should the researcher's supervisors need access to the data, this would be permitted if accessed in UoN OneDrive.

- I understand that in line with the University of Nottingham's regulations, the research data will be kept for a period of 7 years, and after this period, the data will be permanently deleted.

- I understand that I may contact the researcher or the supervisor if I require further information about the research, and that I may contact the Research Ethics Coordinator of the School of Education, the University of Nottingham, if I wish to make a complaint relating to my involvement in the research.

I have read and understood the written details provided for me about the research, and agree to participate in the study.

Signed ....

Print name ....

Position .... Date ....

Contact details
Researcher   : Cecep Somantri. Phone: +6282116072745. Email: Cecep.Somantri@nottingham.ac.uk
Supervisor   : Professor Tony Bush. Phone: +044(0)1159514494. Email: Tony.Bush@nottingham.ac.uk
The University of Nottingham, School of Education Research Ethics: educationresearchethics@nottingham.ac.uk

Appendix 9: An Example of Observational Data Analysis in Bandung

Region	Jakarta	
	Western	√
	Central	
	Eastern	
CLC type	Public	
	Private	√

Theme	Sub-Theme	Aspects for Observation	Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
Context	Geographical condition	*Site topography, vegetation coverage, water and wetlands, traffic networks and residential sites and facilities*	• Bandung: the third largest metropolitan city in Indonesia. • The CLC is located in a rural area (remote village) --> in the north of Greater Bandung. • The climate is conducive, and has seasonal rainfall. • The village is a centre for various crops and vegetables production in Bandung. • Social services facilities are available, but there is no nearby local hospital (20 KM). • Junior and senior secondary schools are far from the village. • The roads are poor, and have been in that condition for a very long time. • Public transport is available once in an hour.	Check Statistics Indonesia and UNESCO.
Community	Community condition	*Community socio-economic status and cultural situation*	• The indigenous people of the village are Sundanese. • They speak Sundanese as their mother tongue. • The people are relatively homogeneous in terms of socio-economic backgrounds. • The villagers are largely self-employed: farmers, cattlemen or merchants.	Explanation can be collapsed under **CONTEXT**

Context	CLC physical condition	Availability, adequacy and status of CLC infrastructure and facilities	Infrastructure				Facilities			
			Item	Required	Available	Delta	Item	Required	Available	Delta
			ECE classrooms	2	2	0	ECE students' tables	13	12	-1
			Equivalency education classrooms	6	6	0	ECE students' chairs	74	74	0
			Reading corner	1	1	0	Equivalency education students' tables	98	98	0
			Toilets for ECE students	2	1	-1	Equivalency education students' chairs	196	196	0
			Toilets for equivalency educations students	2	2	0	Tutors and non-teaching staff's tables	8	8	0
			Toilets for tutors and non-teaching staff	1	1	0	Tutors and non-teaching staff's chairs	8	8	0
			Art stage	1	1	0	Musical instruments	4	2	-2
			Kitchen	1	1	0	Mini truck	1	1	1

Context			
		• The CLC stands on 1,000 square-metre land (building area: 840 square metres) • All belong to the CLC head. • The CLC has 16 rooms - 1 head office - 1 staff office - 8 classrooms (2 for ECE; 6 for equivalency education) - 2 function rooms for gatherings or training programmes - 1 kitchen - 1 reading room - 4 toilets (1 for the CLC head and staff, 1 for ECE students, and 2 for equivalency education students) • The CLC also has: - 1 stage for traditional music and dance rehearsals (3x1 m). - 1 greenhouse for rose flowers planting (2,800 m2).	Check CLC Profile and accreditation report

Appendix 10: An Example of Document Review Data Analysis in Jakarta

Region	Jakarta	√
	Western	
	Central	
	Eastern	
CLC type	Public	√
	Private	

Theme	Documents	Descriptive Notes	Reflective Notes
Context	CLC profile	• The CLC has eight different sections, namely: head, education coordinator, operator, treasurer, Early Childhood Education (ECE), Package A, Package B, and Package C. • The plot size: 1.444 m2. • The CLC has 4 floors and 28 rooms. All belong to the Jakarta government. • All teaching staff have a bachelor's degree.	• Confirmed by responses from the interviews (CLC head, teachers). There was a significant change after the CLC head took the leadership position. • Matched the data from field-notes. • Matched the data gained from interviews.
	Annual report	• 156 students enrolled in 2019: 40 ECE students and 116 equivalency education students.	• Confirmed by the interviews, and data shown in the staff's office.
	Letters of inventory	• The infrastructure and facilities in the CLC belong to the government of Jakarta.	• Confirming the data found in the CLC profile.
	City profile	• The number of inhabitants: 52,447 people, but none of them are the indigenous people of Jakarta city: the Batavian. • The area has high living cost.	• Confirmed the data from interviews.
	Letters of assignment	• All teachers have a letter of assignment from the head of the Jakarta Education office. • They also have a monthly incentive from the regional budget. • Their status is by contract (non-civil servant)	• As explained by the CLC head and teachers.
Curriculum Development and Enactment	Guide for the 2013 curriculum implementation	• All equivalency education students are to meet the minimum standards of learning attendance and assessment. • Teachers have the rights to design the learning process and activities.	The guide is available, but the CLC head, teachers and students are not concerned with the curriculum.

Theme	Sub-Theme	Answers
	Leadership team	**Your question is too fancy for CLC. Formally, a leadership team clearly doesn't exist, and I'm sure it isn't in any other CLCs in Indonesia.** Contextually, its funding, size and reach don't allow a CLC to have a leadership team. But what distinguishes this centre from other CLCs is the role of a family in providing education services to help both the government and the community. My father and my mother are very important figures in developing my leadership abilities. If you want to call it a leadership team, it means my father, my mother and I are the leadership team in this CLC, because all staff certainly consider the three of us as leaders in this CLC.
	Leadership team	Don't look at the structure first, okay! You'll be confused. **My father and my mother gave me the leadership role. They believe it's time for me to lead this centre.** But still, my father and my mother are also the leaders of this CLC. As long as I'm available, I take full responsibility, and whenever the staff have problems, they will tell me. When I'm not here, the staff won't be confused, because there are my father and my mother. The difference is, let's say there are three leaders here, but there have never been conflicts of interest, because this centre is like a charity savings for all of us.
The Nature of Leadership	Job distribution	O okay, I'll try to find a way to answer this question as briefly and well as possible, because the answer is quite long. First, this CLC has two branches: one in Island A and another one in Island B. The journey to an island is approximately six hours. Three hours by land and three hours by sea. The CLC in Island A is managed by my father, and the centre in Island B is managed by my mother. This is first. Second, [there are] two student volunteers, my friends. Every week they go to the islands to teach. This is to make the people enjoy the learning activities, because they are young, beautiful and fresh. They visit the islands regularly and in rotation. This is the second one. Next, **we actually only have six volunteers as permanent employees. Not literally permanent, but rather fully help us. They all live here, on the second floor. They live here for free while studying and completing their studies. Their tasks are to teach and take care of all other administrative needs, such as making letters, developing proposals, ensuring student data entry, and other activities, especially those related to literacy.** They get some income if we get some funding from the government or private companies. For example, when we receive the operational funding from the government, I won't deny that they receive some money from it. Now we're receiving some stimulant fund from CIMB Bank, and they get a little benefit from it as well. In addition, every time we get training opportunities, for example: English language training, management, etc. that we get from both the government and CSR, I give them the opportunity to attend the training. Our English teacher a moment ago had a full month of English training in the English village. It's free of charge. She joined it.

	Time management	As much as possible and as long as there are no invitations, I will always be available in the CLC. Together with the staff, we chat and prepare what literacy activities we are going to do this week or something. But when I'm not here, the staff can work by their own. They are all millennials, so they don't wait for orders. ECE [Early Childhood Education, equivalency education, literacy programmes, and life skills training can all run with or without me.
	Learning activities initiation	Honestly, I didn't know that what I was doing was called non-formal education or early childhood education. I just wanted to teach children who didn't go to school, that's just all I wanted to do. But I'm sure my father knew about it, because he's a civil servant. So initially the activities in this CLC were just storytelling, singing, and playing traditional games together with the children. Then I discovered that the activities were called early childhood education. I was also required to have chairs, tables, blackboard and so forth. Okay, I just followed it and whatever the name was, I didn't change what and how I did things. The same thing happened with the literacy programmes that I did. It was said that the name of my programme was improving reading culture. Well, I didn't really care, because the most important thing for me is that I want to channel young people's aspirations and energy in a positive direction through reading and discussion, that's all.
The Nature of Leadership	Organisational Structure	Your question is really sharp. Okay, there are two kinds of structure. Structure on paper and real structure. Both structures were developed by my father, mother and I. The structure on paper is only for legal purposes. Those whose names are written on it are only for administrative purposes, and in reality, the people who work aren't them. People mentioned on the structure are my father, my mother, my uncle and my father's friend. But the real structure is like this. The Head of … CLC is me, the Head of the centre in Island A is my father, and the Head of CLC in Island B is my mother. Then, there are six people who help us and they final-year student volunteers. Usually they work with us for two years or so before getting a more stable job. They are both teaching and non-teaching staff. We just call them staff. So, structurally there are me, my father and my father in the above tier, then directly goes to the permanent staff; the six people that I explained. There are also teachers from state schools whom we ask for help to teach in the equivalency education, but to be honest, they rarely teach. We need their names for administrative reports to the Ministry of Education and Culture and the education office to prove that we have teachers. They [teachers from state schools] also need us to complete their number of teaching hours and receive additional incentives. So, it is mutually beneficial.
	Organisational Structure	This CLC doesn't have specific programme coordinators. All staff can be responsible for any programme. Every week there's a rotation, some work here, and some other go to the islands. Everything is relaxed, fun and there's no fixed coordinators for this or that activity. We just let it flow.

Appendix 12: An Example of Sorting and Compiling Sub-Themes Expressing Similar Information to Generate a Theme from the Case of Manado

Theme	Sub-Theme	Interview Responses
The Nature of Leadership	Family Leadership	Don't look at the structure first, okay! You'll be confused. **My father and my mother gave me the leadership role. They believe it's time for me to lead this centre**. But still, my father and my mother are also the leaders of this CLC. As long as I'm available, I take full responsibility, and whenever the staff have problems, they will tell me. When I'm not here, the staff won't be confused, because there are my father and my mother. The difference is, let's say there are three leaders here, but there have never been conflicts of interest, because this centre is like a charity savings for all of us (Manado CLC Head).
		No, there isn't, sir. **There's only one leader in this institution**… But, there are branch coordinators for the Islands A and B who are responsible to manage the organization of learning activities in each branch. The coordinators on each island are important, because they indirectly replace … [CLC Head's] position as decision maker when she isn't around. However, the one that holds the highest decision maker is … [CLC Head] (Manado Teacher 1).
		Other than … [the CLC Head], **there is no other leader here**. I think it's enough to have only one head to lead this CLC, because … [the CLC Head] has been very optimal in developing this centre. … **[the CLC Head] also has strong support from her parents** (Manado Teacher 2).
		The formal CLC head is their daughter, but people may still associate the CLC with him and his wife:
		I always tell people that the CLC Head is … [my daughter]. But I don't deny that my wife and I are two figures who are still quite strongly associated with this CLC, especially by people on the islands. My wife and I led this CLC in its initial development. So maybe I can say it this way, my wife and I are normally considered as the parents of university students who volunteer in our CLCs. If … [my daughter] isn't around, they can consult any problems or difficulties with us. But so far, the activities in our CLCs have run well without significant problems (Manado NT1).
		There is no [other leader than the CLC Head]. [The leader is] Just the head. **But those considered as parents are me and my husband.** I think it's enough for us the leaders for our CLC. Now let it … [my daughter] continue. We 're sure that this CLC will be more advanced and sustainable (Manado NT2).