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# **The Role of Social Accountability in the Education System Indonesia**

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# Contents

|   |            |
|---|------------|
| <i>List of Tables</i>   | <i>iv</i>  |
| <i>List of Charts</i>   | <i>iv</i>  |
| <i>List of Figures</i>  | <i>iv</i>  |
| <i>List of Maps</i>   | <i>iv</i>  |
| <i>List of Appendices</i>   | <i>v</i>   |
| <i>List of Acronyms</i>   | <i>v</i>   |
| <i>Acknowledgement</i>  | <i>vi</i>  |
| <i>Abstract</i>   | <i>vii</i> |
| <b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b>   | <b>1</b>   |
| 1.1 Research Objective and Questions  | 2          |
| 1.2 Societal Relevancies  | 3          |
| 1.3 Positionality   | 3          |
| 1.4 Organization of the Paper   | 3          |
| <b>Chapter 2 Literature Reviews</b>   | <b>4</b>   |
| 2.1 What is Social Accountability?  | 4          |
| 2.2 Underlying Framework of Social Accountability in Education System   | 5          |
| 2.3 Social Accountability in Practices  | 7          |
| <b>Chapter 3 Research Methodology</b>   | <b>9</b>   |
| 3.1 Study Design  | 9          |
| 3.2 Data Sources  | 9          |
| 3.3 Data Management and Analysis  | 11         |
| 3.4 Conclusion  | 11         |
| <b>Chapter 4 The Roles of Social Accountability Mechanism in the Education System Indonesia</b>                                 | <b>12</b>  |
| 4.2 Strategy 1: Legal Arrangements  | 14         |
| 4.3 Strategy-2: Community Empowerment   | 20         |
| 4.4 Strategy-3: Pay for Performance   | 24         |
| 4.5 Conclusion  | 26         |
| <b>Chapter 5 Possibilities and Limitations of Social Accountability Mechanism in Improving Education System in Remote Areas</b> | <b>27</b>  |
| 5.1 Partially in Holding Teachers Accountable   | 27         |
| 5.2 Influencing Teachers to be Accountable  | 31         |
| 5.3 Continuation Depends on the Provision of Resources by the States  | 35         |
| 5.4 Conclusion  | 35         |
| <b>Chapter 6 Conclusion</b>   | <b>36</b>  |
| <i>Appendices</i>   | <i>37</i>  |
| <i>References</i>   | <i>38</i>  |

## List of Tables

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Table 1 Treatment and Assigned Schools                             | 2  |
| Table 2 Required Information                                       | 10 |
| Table 3 Qualitative Schools  | 10 |
| Table 4 Legal Arrangements on Social Accountability Mechanism      | 14 |
| Table 5 Existing Laws and Regulations                              | 15 |
| Table 6 Issued Relevant Regulations                                | 16 |
| Table 7 Payment Cut Formulation                                    | 17 |
| Table 8 Community Empowerment on Social Accountability Mechanism   | 20 |
| Table 9 Pay for Performance on the Social Accountability Mechanism | 25 |

## List of Charts

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Chart 1 Children's Expectation on Teachers' Competences                                   | 28 |
| Chart 2 Children's Expectation on Parents   | 28 |
| Chart 3 Community Score Cards: School Principals  | 29 |
| Chart 4 Community Score Cards: Teachers   | 30 |
| Chart 5 Perceptions on Teachers and Principals Fairness towards UC by (...)               | 30 |
| Chart 6 UCs' Perceptions on The Improvement of Education Service                          | 31 |
| Chart 7 Perception on UC's Fairness by (...) in Evaluating Teachers and School Principals | 33 |
| Chart 8 Teacher Performance Score based on the CSC 2016-2018                              | 34 |

## List of Figures

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Figure 1 Accountability Relationship Framework   | 5  |
| Figure 2 Social Accountability Mechanism in KIAT Guru Project                                | 12 |
| Figure 3 Stakeholder Relationship in Social Accountability in the Education System Indonesia | 13 |
| Figure 4 Details Activities on the Community Facilitations                                   | 23 |

## List of Maps

|                               |   |
|-------------------------------|---|
| Map 1 KIAT Guru Project Areas | 9 |
|-------------------------------|---|

## List of Appendices

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Appendix 1 Village Cadre and UC Profile        | 37 |
| Appendix 2 Community Monitoring and Evaluation | 37 |

## List of Acronyms

|           |   |
|-----------|---|
| APBD      | Local Government Budget   |
| APBN      | National Government Budget                                      |
| BAPPEDA   | District Planning and Development Agency                        |
| BAPPENAS  | National Planning and Development Agency                        |
| CSC       | Community Score Cards   |
| DCT       | District Coordination Team                                      |
| DoE       | District Education Office                                       |
| DoV       | District Office of Village and Community Empowerment            |
| DFAT      | Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade of Australia Government |
| FGD       | Focus Group Discussion  |
| ISS       | International Institute of Social Studies                       |
| KIAT Guru | Improving Teacher Performance and Accountability                |
| MoABR     | Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform              |
| MoEC      | Ministry of Education and Culture                               |
| MoF       | Ministry of Finance   |
| MoHA      | Ministry of Home Affairs  |
| MoV       | Ministry of Village Disadvantaged Areas and Transmigration      |
| MoU       | Memorandum of Understanding                                     |
| NCT       | National Coordination Team                                      |
| NUPTK     | Unique Number of Teacher and Educational Staff                  |
| OECD      | Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development           |
| PPM       | Pay for Performance Mechanism                                   |
| RCT       | Randomized Controlled Trials                                    |
| SA        | Service Agreement   |
| SAM       | Social Accountability Mechanism                                 |
| SMS       | Short Message Service   |
| TNP2K     | National Team for Acceleration of Poverty Reduction             |
| UC        | User Committee  |
| UNICEF    | United Nations International Children's Emergency Fund          |
| VC        | Village Cadre   |

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## **Abstract**

This research seeks to analyse the roles of social accountability in the success of KIAT Guru project as a case of an education project in remote areas, Indonesia. Integrating the strategical approach in social accountability by Fox, 2015 into the accountability relationship framework by Pritchett, 2015, this research shows four main things. First, KIAT Guru as an education project that fully implements social accountability mechanism. Second, social accountability enables the communities to be involved in the education system using three main strategies: legal arrangement, community empowerment, and pay for performance. Third, under these three strategies, the state-society synergy is important to implementing social accountability. Last, acknowledging the top-down participation as employed by KIAT Guru project, the current accountability framework by Pritchett, 2015, cannot fully depict the relationship between states and the communities. Thus, this research recommends adding one more wire from the states directly towards the communities in the accountability framework.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

Social accountability is essential to overcome governance challenges. It ensures the particular grounded user service's voice can directly be handed to the service providers and the government to create improvements. For decades, the education service delivery in Indonesia, particularly in remote areas, has not achieved its goal – the student learning outcomes. Therefore, the employment of social accountability is expected to address this issue.

## **Keywords**

Social Accountability; Accountability Relationship; State-Society Synergy; Remote Areas; Education System

# Chapter 1

## Introduction

This research paper starts from one imperative question: why the student learning outcomes – as the goal of the education system in Indonesia, remain low particularly in remote areas although the government has issued and implemented various of policies towards human resources and infrastructures? (Bah, Priebe and Susanti, 2019; Pritchett, 2015; OECD, 2019). Defining the education system as a set of relationships of accountability, the coherence between actors and relationships within the education system should be in place to achieve education goal (Pritchett, 2015). Four actors play important roles in the education system: teachers, organizational providers, policymakers, and communities. Therefore, should the incoherencies remain among the actors; those efforts seem ineffective (*Ibid*).

Teachers are the key actor whose roles highly the influence student learning performance. However, in fulfilling their responsibilities, incoherencies remain between teachers and other actors in the supply side, particularly in remote areas (UNICEF, 2012; Pritchett, 2015; Bah, Priebe and Susanti, 2019). One example is the incoherencies between teachers and school supervisors. Teachers are obligated to teach at school, but the school supervisors as the representative of organizational provider do not supervise them regularly. It is identified that the inadequate communication, road infrastructures, and insufficient budget to finance the visits cause the irregular supervisions (UNICEF, 2012; Werang, Betaubun and Pure, 2015; Bah, Priebe and Susanti, 2019). Therefore, being not supervised impacts on the low teachers' motivation then lead to high teacher absence in remote areas (Toyamah *et al.*, 2010; McKenzie *et al.*, 2014).

Another example is the incoherencies between policymakers and organizational provider. It is drawn by no specific regulations available to regulate positive incentives or negative sanctions towards teachers' attendance and performance in remote areas. Therefore, even though the teacher absenteeism was high in remote areas, no negative sanctions were given to the teachers (Toyamah *et al.*, 2010; McKenzie *et al.*, 2014).

In the education service delivery, the parental involvements also enhances the education outcomes (Mansuri and Rao, 2013). However, incoherencies remain between demand and supply sides. For example, parents entrust teachers to educate their children at the school. However, their cooperation and communication between teachers related to learning progress and outcomes are low. Several factors that engender this problem particularly in remote areas context. The factors are the values among communities that put teachers in a higher position, low awareness among communities about rights to demand better service quality, and communities' failures in recognizing student learning performances (Bah, Priebe and Susanti, 2019). Additionally, the parents are attributed with inadequate resources to politically voicing their experiences to the policymakers towards education service in their village. Therefore, the parents who know the teachers do not come to school and do not teach their children fail to report the states regarding the received services. Thus, these incoherencies may lead communities to have very few means to address the problems then lead to the high teacher absenteeism and low performances. (UNICEF, 2012; Werang, Betaubun and Pure, 2015; Bah, Priebe and Susanti, 2019).

To address these incoherencies, the National Team for Acceleration of Poverty Reduction (TNP2K) and Ministry of Education and Culture (MoEC), initiated a project called KIAT Guru (Improving Teacher Performance and Accountability) in 2016. Its objectives are to improve teacher presence, teacher service performance, and student learning outcomes (Bjork and Susanti, 2020). Following to its objectives, this project employs the Theory of



Change (ToC) as “when parents are engaged in improving learning, communities are committed to support and monitor education service delivery, and teacher allowance is tied with teacher performance, then student learning outcomes will improve” (Susanti, 2019). Therefore, concerning to its ToC, KIAT Guru employs two mechanisms, which are Social Accountability Mechanism (SAM) and Pay for Performance Mechanism (PPM) (Bjork and Susanti, 2020). The SAM endeavours the parts in improving parental involvement and empowering communities to support education service delivery. Meanwhile, the PPM undertakes the part in tying the teachers' remote allowance payment with the teacher performance based on the communities' evaluation results obtained at the village level. In achieving its objectives, KIAT Guru project also employs a randomised controlled trial (RCT) to test a combination of the employed mechanisms. There are three treatment groups and one control group. Table 1 shows the number of schools according to the assigned treatment and mechanism (Gaduh *et al.*, 2020).

**Table 1 Treatment and Assigned Schools**

| Mechanism         | Control Schools | Treatment Schools |                 |                      |
|-------------------|-----------------|-------------------|-----------------|----------------------|
|                   |                 | Group 1           | Group 2         | Group 3              |
| SAM               | No              | Yes               | Yes             | Yes                  |
| PPM               | No              | No                | Yes, attendance | Yes, service quality |
| Number of schools | 67              | 68                | 68              | 67                   |

Source: (Gaduh *et al.*, 2020)

According to the impact evaluation, the KIAT Guru project has succeeded to improve the student learning outcomes in language and mathematics. Involving the communities in education service delivery and tying the allowance with teachers' performance work best to accelerate the learning outcomes (Gaduh *et al.*, 2020). It also has succeeded to increase parental involvement, which then reduces the incoherencies among the important actors within the education system (*Ibid*). One of its success factors is the implementation of the social accountability mechanism (Bjork and Susanti, 2020). Therefore, should the national and local governments want to scale up the KIAT Guru project, the understanding of the success factors of KIAT Guru project is needed.

This research seeks to analyse the roles of social accountability in the success of KIAT Guru project as a case of an education project in remote areas, Indonesia. The focus of this research is to examine the role of social accountability mechanism of KIAT Guru project on the first phase at the village level in all treatment schools (203 schools) of during October 2016 to March 2018. The chosen period is to derive more comprehensive information on the implementation of SAM at the village level, where the data and information are also completely available.

## 1.1 Research Objective and Questions

The main objective of this research is to draw on the roles of social accountability mechanism of the education system in remote areas, using KIAT Guru as the study case. In achieving the main objective, the research question of this study would be **“What role does social accountability mechanism play (SAM) in improving the education system in remote areas?”**. Furthermore, there are three sub research questions which comprise:

1. What are the stakeholder relationships that needed to organise social accountability mechanism in the education system in remote areas?
2. What are the resources that national and local governments need to have in place in organising the social accountability mechanism in the education system in remote areas?
3. What are the possibilities and limitations of the social accountability mechanism of the education system in remote areas?

## 1.2 Societal Relevancies

The objective of this research will be mainly relevant to provide the national, districts, and village governments a more practical recommendation in developing and implementing the SAM based on the KIAT Guru experiences. The practical recommendations would be:

1. The imperative relationships between related stakeholders in organising the social accountability mechanism in the education system in remote areas
2. The needed resources that should be in place in organising the social accountability mechanism in the education system in remote areas
3. The connection between stakeholders and resources in implementing the social accountability in remote areas
4. The possibilities and limitations that may arise in empowering the communities to hold teachers accountable in remote areas

## 1.3 Positionality

The researcher was involved in the KIAT Guru project, particularly in monitoring and evaluation activities for about five years. It encompassed three main activities. First, the researcher was involved in the development of monitoring and evaluation instruments. These instruments, therefore, utilized by various stakeholders such as the village communities, district education officers, staffs in the Ministry of Education and Culture, as well as KIAT Guru's research counterparts. The development of the instrument included the instrument testing in collaboration with the KIAT Guru Design team and the survey firms. Second, researcher led the management of the collected primary data and secondary data from the village level up to the national level. It included the supervisions of the instruments' administrations from the village up to the national level. It also encompassed to lead a management data team in compiling and cleaning the collected data. The third was the analyses of the cleaned data. The analysed data were utilized to present the progress of KIAT Guru project to the further discussed in regular consultations, coordination meetings, and learning events with the relevant stakeholders from village to national level.

Therefore, prior knowledge from designing instruments to presenting the data as well as the first-hand experiences from the village up to the national level may fully influence the researcher in drawing and reflecting the findings. To avoid personal bias, the researcher navigates the findings carefully and remains critical by validating them through additional interviews and triangulating using different data sources.

## 1.4 Organization of the Paper

This paper is built into six chapters, which all pieces conclude on the arguments about the role of social accountability in the education system using KIAT Guru as the case study. Therefore, the organization of this paper as follows: Chapter 1 provides contextual background on the education system in Indonesia, research problems, objectives, questions, and its focus. Chapter 2 explains the concepts and practices of social accountability, including its relevancy to the education system. Chapter 3 explains the steps that are taken to achieve the research objectives. Furthermore, Chapter 4 and 5 explain the findings on the role of social accountability in improving education service delivery as well as explain the needed resources, stakeholder relationships, and limitations of the SAM practices. Finally, Chapter 6 summarizes the research findings and provides recommendations to further research.

## Chapter 2

### Literature Reviews

This chapter aims to present the general concept of social accountability as well as the concepts that help in drawing the roles of social accountability in the education system, particularly in remote areas. This chapter is built into three main sections. First, explaining the definition of social accountability and how it emerges. Second, explaining the relevancies of social accountability on the education system using a framework of accountability relationship by Pritchett, 2015. Third, providing practices of social accountability using two main approaches in social accountability to illustrate how it addresses the problem of public service delivery. This chapter concludes to use the integration between accountability framework and strategical approach as the tools to analyse the research findings.

#### 2.1 What is Social Accountability?

Traditionally, accountability is designed as a “top-down” approach, which is also known as an internal governmental affair (Ackerman, 2005). Therefore, accountability itself is more recognised in the bureaucratic situation where citizens as the rights holders or client have nothing to do upon it. However, the social accountability concept arises in responding to the lack of public service delivery by adding one more approach, which is the “bottom-up” approach (*Ibid*). Broadly, the scholars include all the form of citizen-engagement as a wide definition of social accountability (Joshi and Houtzager, 2012). Specifically, the social accountability is defined as “citizen-led action for demanding accountability of public service delivery from providers to promote the citizen voice to contribute in improving public service performance” (Friis-Hansen, 2014; Fox, 2015; Joshi and Houtzager, 2012).

Two different ideological roots constitute the concept of social accountability on public service delivery (Joshi and Houtzager, 2012). First, due to distrust to public officials, social accountability then arises as a form of confrontation between poor-performing public officials and service users. For example, the misbehave of public good providers persists; therefore, community monitoring is conducted. Second, a more trusting citizen; therefore, social accountability arises as a form of collective deliberation and joint problem-solving. For example, the community scorecards initiative is implemented to solve the lack of achievement of public service delivery.

Therefore, as stated by (O'Meally, 2013), in shaping the social accountability process, a theory of change of social accountability is understood as follows:

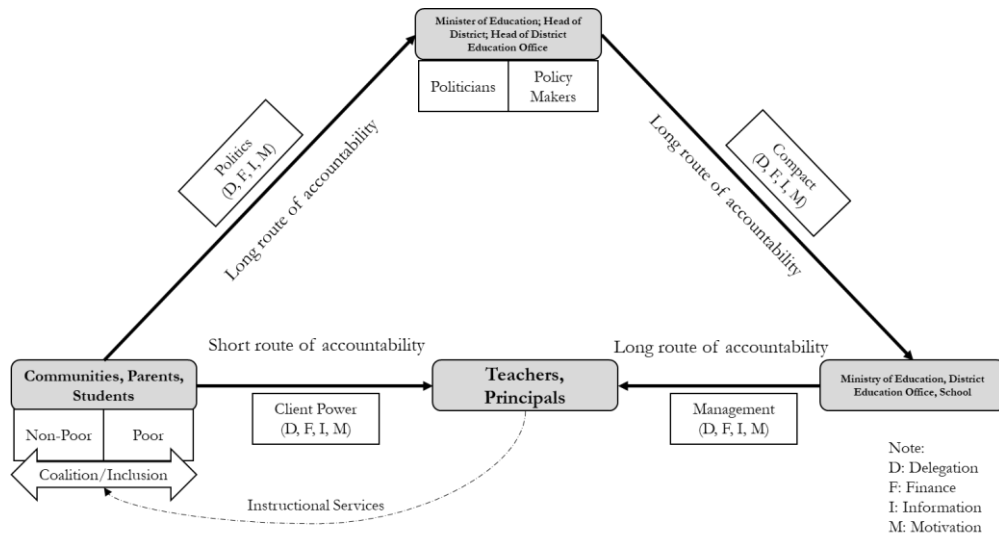
“IF pro-accountability and pro-poor networks in society are adequately resourced and build coalitions with pro-accountability networks in political society through rounds of state-society bargaining and interaction; AND these coalitions are able to: (1) negotiate changes with anti-change actors; (2) generate sufficient countervailing power to change governing elite incentives; and/or (3) activate legitimate accountability mechanisms; THEN this might result in: (1) coercion—a backlash from existing power-holders; (2) cooptation and collaboration—incremental improvements in accountability relations and developmental gains within the existing political settlement; and/or, (3) change—more fundamental change leading to the formation of a new political settlement or social contract.”

## 2.2 Underlying Framework of Social Accountability in Education System

“A system is a collection of elements or actors, each of which has its own objectives, and a collection of feedback loops connecting the elements/actors” (Pritchett, 2015). The feedback loops provide information to elements/actors, which can change their actions/behaviour (*Ibid*). In the system, there are four main actors, who are citizens, the executive apparatus of the state such as ministers and head of local governments, the organizational providers, and the frontline service providers. Furthermore, Pritchett adapts the principals-agents framework into the accountability relationship framework in education system combined with the four design elements of accountability which are *delegation, finance, information, and motivation*. It, therefore, affirms that the effectiveness in promoting learning requires coherencies of the education system, which include coherencies within a relationship across design elements, within a single element across different relationships, and coherence across all elements of two different relationships (*Ibid*). Figure 1 depicts the accountability relationship framework in the education system.

Contextualizing the four main actors into education system, the citizens are identified as community members, parents and students. They hold a position as the direct participants who control the sovereign and be the beneficiaries of education services and outcomes. Furthermore, the state means the policymakers and or politicians via executive decisions to control the adoption of laws, regulations, and policies and the budget allocation. Likewise, the organisational providers are those who provide schoolings in a large of bureaucratic structure such as the Ministry of Education, District Education Offices, and Schools. Last, the front-line providers are teachers and headmasters as the street level bureaucracies who produce and serve instructional education services (Pritchett, 2015).

**Figure 1 Accountability Relationship Framework**



Source: Pritchett, 2015 as adapted from Principal-Agent Framework in World Development Report, 2004

According to the accountability relationship framework, there are four relationships between four actors. The first one is the relationship between citizens and states, which is called *politics* (Ahmad *et al.*, 2003; Pritchett, 2015). In this relationship, citizens act as principal while states act as agent. The citizens authorize politicians their interests on the education service delivery through formal and informal processes. Their interests may also be the salient inputs for the politicians and policymakers to further in exerting their power in the education system. This relationship is also the most complex because the range can be varied from the

citizens' expression to citizens' influences (Ahmad *et al.*, 2003). Second, the *compact* wire draws the relationship between states and organizational providers in which the states explicitly delegate the verifiable contracts through laws and formal regulations. In this relationship, the states may also convey inputs on the education system that they receive from the citizens to the organizations. The third relationship is *management* relationship, which draws the connection between organizational providers and frontline service providers. The organizational providers translate the issued regulations into internal processes such as training, giving motivation, and evaluating the frontline providers' conducts in accomplishing their responsibilities. The last relationship is *client power*, which directly connects citizens and frontline service providers. In this relationship, the clients can express their demand for the given services (*Ibid*).

As mentioned above, each wire of the accountability relationship consists of four elements (Pritchett, 2015). The first element is *delegation*, which defined as objectives and or goals specified by the principal and be done by the agent. For example, on the management relationship, education district office as the organizational provider assigns civil servant teachers to teach in the remote elementary schools in certain grades or subjects. Second, is *finance*, which defined as the resources provided by principal to agent, to support the agents achieve the expected delegations. One of the examples is the education district office provides fixed wages to the civil servant teachers. Furthermore, *information* is a condition where the principal can specify and collect information on agents' performance. For instance, the district education office collects information on the teachers' attendance by assigning school supervisors to visit the schools. The fourth element is *motivation*, which is the agreement between principal and agent towards the achievements of agents on the expected delegations. For example, the district education office distributes the remote area allowance for the teachers who are teaching in remote schools. Figure 1 also depicts the accountability relationship in education system equipped by four elements of each relationship.

Along with the four relationships, there are two main routes of accountability, which are short route and long route of accountability (Ahmad *et al.*, 2003). These two routes depict how the citizens can voice their demand towards service providers. The short route of accountability depicts where the citizens can voice their demand directly to the service providers. Meanwhile, the long route depicts, where the communities should entrust their voice to the states (policymakers or politicians) in aspiring their demand. The states will proceed it indirectly to the service providers through the organizational providers.

This framework helps to understand why the particular efforts within the education system seem ineffective to achieve the education goal (Pritchett, 2015). There are three potential causes that influence the ineffectiveness. The first potential cause is the incoherencies within a relationship across design elements. For instance, in the *client power* relationship, parents entrust teachers to educate their children at school (*delegation*); however, parents often lack information on teacher's performance and their children's progress compared to other schools (*information*), which rooted by the inherited social structure that they have. The second potential cause is the incoherencies within a single element across different relationships. For example, in the *delegation* element, there are differences between what citizens aspire towards teachers via *politics* relationship and what the states delegate to teachers on the formal regulation via *compact* relationship. It happens where the citizens aspire their demand to have a more discipline teacher, but the states do not use their authoritative power to provide negative sanctions toward the absent teachers.

The third potential cause is the incoherencies across all elements of two different relationships. It often happens when there are two different relationships of accountability influence the same agents from different principals. For example, the *management* and *client power* relationships affect the same agent, which is the teacher. As the agents towards citizens,

teachers teach a number of students as obligated by parents, get the amount of money from parents, as well as give information on students' performance every six months. However, at the same time, the national curriculum often changes, they often lack the training to perform well, inadequate of class infrastructure, so that these incoherencies between what parents and ministry of education obligate, create the low performance of teachers (*Ibid*).

The accountability relationship framework also helps to recognize that the capital within the four elements is highly influenced by the diverse culture, politics, and social structure in the specific settings (Mansuri and Rao, 2013). It further affects the capability of each actor to interact with each other. It also affirms that the implementation of social accountability in remote areas is different from the one in urban areas. For example, in remote areas, communities are attributed to illiterate, geographically isolated, limited access to information, low economy, and least powerful (*Ibid*). Meanwhile, the first three attributes rarely happen in urban areas. Therefore, the analysis of the incoherencies within and between actors as well as elements might be different.

## 2.3 Social Accountability in Practices

Defining the local arena of social accountability as to where the citizens perform their actions, Fox, 2015 defined two approaches in implementing social accountability: tactical and strategical approach. The tactical approach refers to specific micro-level actions. It emphasizes that the provisions of information focus on the service delivery outcomes and resource allocation, which lay on the two assumptions. The first assumption is the citizens who are embedded with lack of voice and power perceive that the benefits of their vocal participation outweigh the costs. The second assumption is their collective action will be sufficient to influence the public services to improve their performances. Therefore, through these assumptions, the states are perceived as passive actors in the policy arena (*Ibid*).

Social accountability with tactical approach has been widely applied in many developing countries to address problems on service delivery (Fox, 2015). It also has shown positive impacts on development ends with the general agreement that social accountability plays an imperative role in improving service delivery, strengthens governance, reduces corruption, and empowers citizens (Joshi and Houtzager, 2012). For example, the participatory budgeting in the local government sector at Brazil (Gonçalves, 2014; Touchton and Wampler, 2014) successfully lowered the infant mortality. Meanwhile, in India (Besley, Pande and Rao, 2005; Heller, Harilal and Chaudhuri, 2007) it successfully created the participatory governance particularly in public budgeting. Another example is participatory monitoring in the education sector in Uganda (Barr *et al.*, 2012), it successfully improved the education outcomes. Furthermore, the dissemination of audits locally in the public works sector in Indonesia has successfully reduced leakage of road funds (Olken, 2007). Results from the randomised controlled trials in the school committee in Indonesia, shows that enhancing the community participation and engaging more powerful local groups are concurrently needed to improve learning outcomes (Pradhan *et al.*, 2014).

However, the evidence shows that employing tactical approach in social accountability mechanism is not enough (Fox, 2015). Fox argues that the positive responses and adequate supports from the state are also imperative to achieve optimum results of social accountability. Furthermore, the failures of social accountability are also rooted in formal and informal political and power dynamics (O'Meally, 2013). For example, an anti-corruption intervention in Indonesia has a preposition that the local oversight of public work can limit corruption (Olken, 2007). However, the results show that community monitoring has little impact on corruption because the skilled local authorities in hiding their corruption as well as lacked adequate project oversight capacity in doing community-based monitoring (*Ibid*).

The next example is a field experiment on the Village Education Committees (VEC) to improve school performance in Uttar Pradesh (Banerjee *et al.*, 2010). The intervention design was trying to test the assumption that providing information about schooling outcomes to parents can encourage them to involve in education then improve the school performance. The findings show that “the provision of information about education status and the institutions of participation alone is not adequate to encourage community participation in public schools” (*Ibid*). Furthermore, the findings also state that the VEC which composed school principal, head of village, and three parents chosen by local officials is not independent; therefore, by design, it hinders the community participation.

Another example is findings from the meta-analysis that reviews participatory development and local decentralization to address “the impact of large-scale, policy-driven efforts to induce participation” of almost 500 studies (Mansuri and Rao, 2013). The findings show that to have a more promising on accountability, efforts from citizens should be combined by the responsive state. Evidence also suggests that social accountability cannot work all by itself; it needs the presence of good governance reforms. In conclusion, “the success of the short route to accountability – where the communities hold the service providers accountable – depends on the more responsive long route” (Fox, 2015).

To have a more tangible development impacts, social accountability needs to have a strategic approach, which empowers coalitions between state and society (Fox, 2015; O’Meally, 2013). The strategical approach employs multiple coordinated tactics, which not only focus on the micro-level actions but also macro-level actions, which is beyond the local arena (*Ibid*). It disseminates the information that is perceived as actionable by citizens to actively enable collective actions, influence service provider incentives, and share power over resource allocation. This approach assumes that by managing the voice and collective action beyond the local arena and bolstering the states’ capacities to respond to the citizens’ voice are more promising to improve public service delivery. In this way, the states as the active actors in the policy arena (*Ibid*).

The notion of the coalition between state and society has been used in a different term, which is the state society synergy. According to Evans, 1996, the state society synergy is defined as active government and mobilized communities in enhancing the development ends. This mutually reinforcing relationship is emerged by the social, cultural, and political circumstances, which already been endowed in societies over a long period or can be constructed by problem reframing and or innovations (Evans, 1996).

The state society synergy, which is drawn in the strategical approach tries to facilitate the coalition between state and societies (Fox, 2015). It does not only give the space for citizens to voice their demand but also gives the state “teeth”, which refers to “*state capacity to respond to voice*” (*Ibid*). It benefits the state to have more capacities in applying positive incentives and negative sanctions towards organisations and frontline-providers as a response to the citizen’s voice. This idea includes bolstering the state capacity to follow citizen recommendations that emerge from participatory actions (*Ibid*).

The integration between accountability relationship framework by Pritchett, 2015 and the strategical approach as conceptualized by Fox, 2015 comprehends one grand design to implement the social accountability mechanism. It should empower the communities to hold teachers accountable (*client power* relationship) and voice their demand to the states (*politics* relationship), as well as bolster the capacity of the states to create the space to communities and respond the communities’ voice to the teachers through the formal arrangements (*compact* and *management* relationships). It affirms the researcher that the coherencies and the enabling environment – the states be the active actors in the community participation – which is drawn in the state-society synergy is important in implementing the social accountability. Therefore, this integration will be used further as the tool for analysing the research findings.

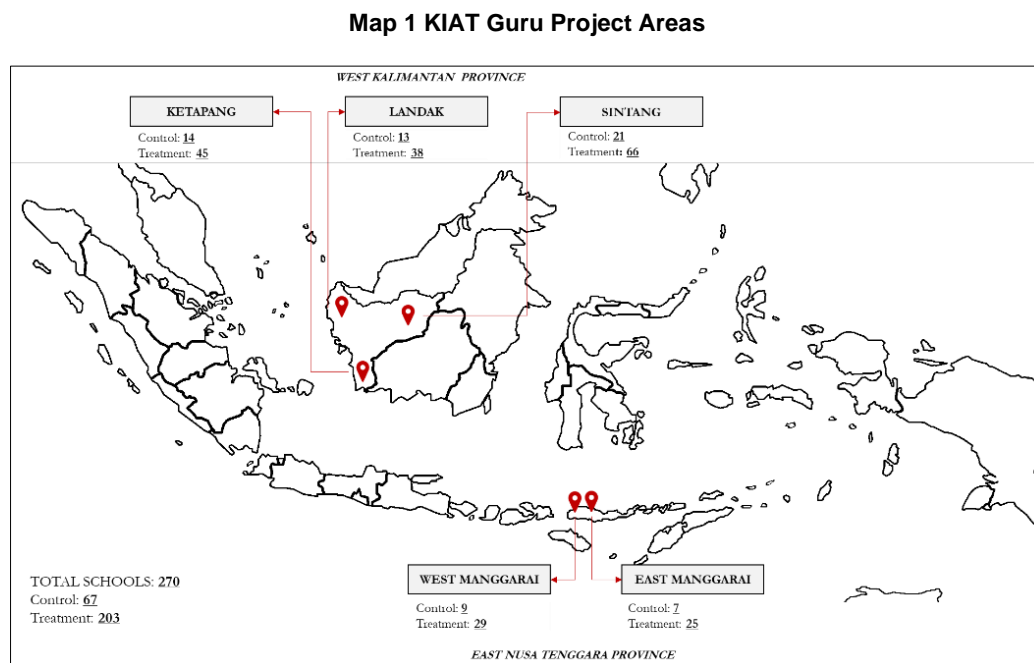
## Chapter 3

### Research Methodology

This chapter presents the steps taken to answer the research questions and research objectives. In doing so, this chapter comprises three sections, which are study design, data collection, and data analysis.

#### 3.1 Study Design

The design of this research employs a case study design and uses KIAT Guru Project as its case. KIAT Guru draws experiences in conducting social accountability mechanism that is implemented in 203 remote elementary schools across five disadvantaged districts located in two provinces, Indonesia (Map 1). The case study design, therefore, allows this research to focus on deepening the complex phenomena of the SAM's role in the education system in remote areas Indonesia. A case study design is appropriate to use when a research wants to cover the contextual conditions that are perceived by the researchers as the relevant phenomenon under the study (Baxter and Jack, 2008).



Source: Author Elaboration as adapted from Marliyanti, 2019

#### 3.2 Data Sources

There are two data sources of this research. The primary data source is the available KIAT Guru project data at the village level that have been collected between 2016 to 2018. It aims to mainly collect the required information such as village budget, infrastructure, access to public service, sociodemographic, and the implementation of SAM at the village level. The KIAT Guru project data include monitoring and evaluation data and encompass both quantitative and qualitative data. The monitoring data obtained from project monitoring documents, including the community facilitators' field notes. Meanwhile, the evaluation data,



including village quantitative survey and qualitative interviews transcripts to village and sub-district actors. The quantitative data represent 203 treatment schools, while the qualitative data represent the nine selected schools across treatment groups, located in three selected districts.

**Table 2 Required Information**

| Information/variables  | Data source  |
|--|--|
| Village budget on KIAT Guru  | Project monitoring documents   |
| Village infrastructures  | Village quantitative survey  |
| Village access to public service   | Village quantitative survey  |
| Village population size, age, gender, education                                    | Village quantitative survey  |
| Implementation on social accountability (relationships, resources, and challenges) | Village qualitative interviews; Village quantitative survey; Project monitoring documents; Additional interviews |
| Government structures and regulations  | Project monitoring documents; Desk Reviews; Additional interviews  |

Source: Author

Regarding the evaluation data, this research uses data of the village quantitative survey, which encompasses four respondents. They are school principals, teachers, user committees, and parents. Furthermore, related to the qualitative interviews data, there are two types of transcripts available, which are focus group discussions' (FGD) and in-depth interviews' transcripts. This research uses the FGDs' and in-depth interviews' transcripts obtained from ten types of respondents. They are teachers, school committees, user committees, parents, village apparatus, students, community facilitators, village cadres, school principals, and school supervisors/education official at sub-district level. In total, there are 132 transcripts, consisting of 51 FGDs transcripts and 81 interviews transcripts.

**Table 3 Qualitative Schools**

| District              | School                        | Village         | Treatment |
|-----------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------|-----------|
| <b>Ketapang</b>       | SD Usaba Sepotong Sungai Laur | Sepotong        | 2         |
|                       | SD Negeri 07 Simpang Dua      | Kampar Sebomban | 3         |
|                       | SD Negeri 18 Sungai Laur      | Sungai Daka     | 1         |
| <b>Landak</b>         | SD Negeri 10 Engkangin        | Engkangin       | 1         |
|                       | SD Negeri 11 Sampuraneh       | TA AS           | 2         |
|                       | SD Negeri 20 Sungai Keli      | Sungai Keli     | 3         |
| <b>West Manggarai</b> | SD Inpres Konang              | Watu Umpu       | 3         |
|                       | SD Khatolik Kondok            | Golo Wedong     | 2         |
|                       | SD Inpres Sangka              | Watu Manggar    | 1         |

Source: (Bjork and Susanti,2020)

However, by examining the whole interviews and transcripts of UCs and Village Cadre in nine villages, researcher achieved the data saturation after reading closely three villages. Therefore, the researcher reduces the number of transcripts into three villages. To keep the generalizations into nine villages in three different treatments, researcher randomly selects the three villages in different treatment located in different districts on one particular type of respondents. In sum, there is a total of 54 used transcripts, both FGDs and interviews, which encompass ten types of respondents.

Furthermore, this research also collects the additional sources obtained from desk review and additional interviews. The collected data obtained from these sources aim to validate the main findings obtained from the main source. The additional sources obtained from

desk review encompass the secondary data related to government structures, regulations, and education achievements. Moreover, researcher conducts the additional interviews to the KIAT Guru personnel that are acting as a Technical Program Coordinator, a Senior Public Finance Management Specialist and a Community Development Analyst. Researcher perceives these three personnel have the competent position to explain the detail implementation both short route and long route of accountability.

### **3.3 Data Management and Analysis**

This research performs a mixed-method analysis. Prior to analysis, this research also performs data management on each type of analysis. For the quantitative data, the data management and analysis use STATA 16 and Ms. Excel 365 as the statistical tools. The data management includes data cleaning and coding if applicable. Furthermore, in terms of analysis, this research performs descriptive analyses, such as average and percentage on the obtained variables then put the results into tables or graphs.

For the qualitative data, the data management and analysis use ATLAS.ti8 as the tool. In general, the qualitative analysis using the content analysis method which employs the manifest analysis to describe the findings in the concrete structure. In the manifest analysis “researcher describes that the informants actually say, stays very close to the text, uses the words themselves, and describes the visible and obvious in the text” (Bengtsson, 2016). Therefore, data management and analysis are built into four following stages. The first stage is the de-contextualization. During this step, closely transcript reading is conducted then deductively coding the meaning unit based on the social accountability concepts and the conceptual framework. Additionally, open coding is also conducted to accommodate the meaning unit. After coding the meaning unit, the second stage is the recontextualization. In this stage, the researcher rechecks whether all aspects have been covered in relation to the research questions. Furthermore, in the third stage, categorization is implemented to reach reasonable explanations. However, as this research employs the manifest analysis; therefore, in this stage, the codes are the same as the meaning units. The last stage is the compilation. In this stage, by choosing the appropriate meaning units, the researcher presents the respondents’ words to explain the findings as quotations.

Researcher admits that the researcher’s knowledge about the actual implementations at the village level as well as legal arrangements at the district and national level are limited to what have been reported and observed. Therefore, after obtaining the findings, researcher confirms the interpretations to the three respondents, who are perceived by the researcher as the persons who are expert about the actual details. It aims to strengthen the research analyses.

### **3.4 Conclusion**

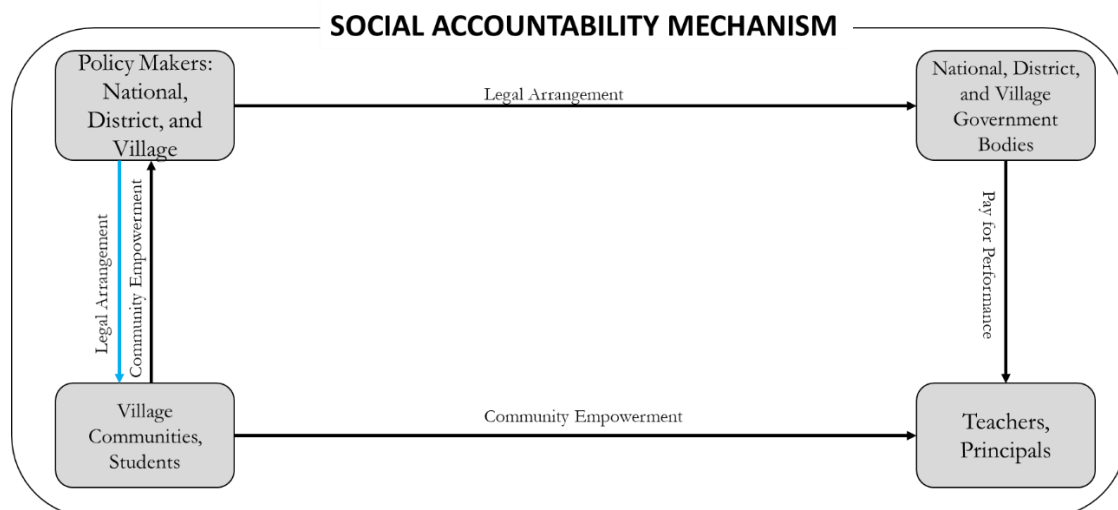
This research uses the case study as the research design using KIAT Guru as the case to cover the implementation of SAM in the education system in remote areas. To answer the research questions, the researcher performs three main steps. Firstly, collecting the required information from KIAT Guru Project data, secondary government data, and additional interviews. Secondly, analysing the data using quantitative and qualitative analysis. Lastly, admitting the knowledge limitation that researcher has, therefore, to strengthen the analyses, researcher confirms the obtained findings to the additional three respondents.

## Chapter 4

# The Roles of Social Accountability Mechanism in the Education System Indonesia

The analyses of this research using the integration between the strategical approach as conceptualized by Fox, 2015 into the accountability relationship framework as conceptualized by Pritchett, 2015. Thus, this research brings out KIAT Guru as the case to show that social accountability mechanism plays the roles in enabling the communities to be involved in the education system in remote areas Indonesia. Furthermore, by employing the integration between two concepts, it reframes the KIAT Guru Project as an education policy project that fully implements the social accountability mechanism with three main strategies (Figure 2). The strategies encompass legal arrangement, community empowerment, and pay for performance. Through the case, it shows that to have a more tangible impact in development, the states should be the active actors in the social accountability instead of being the passive ones as it is usually recognized in other SAM practices (Fox, 2015).

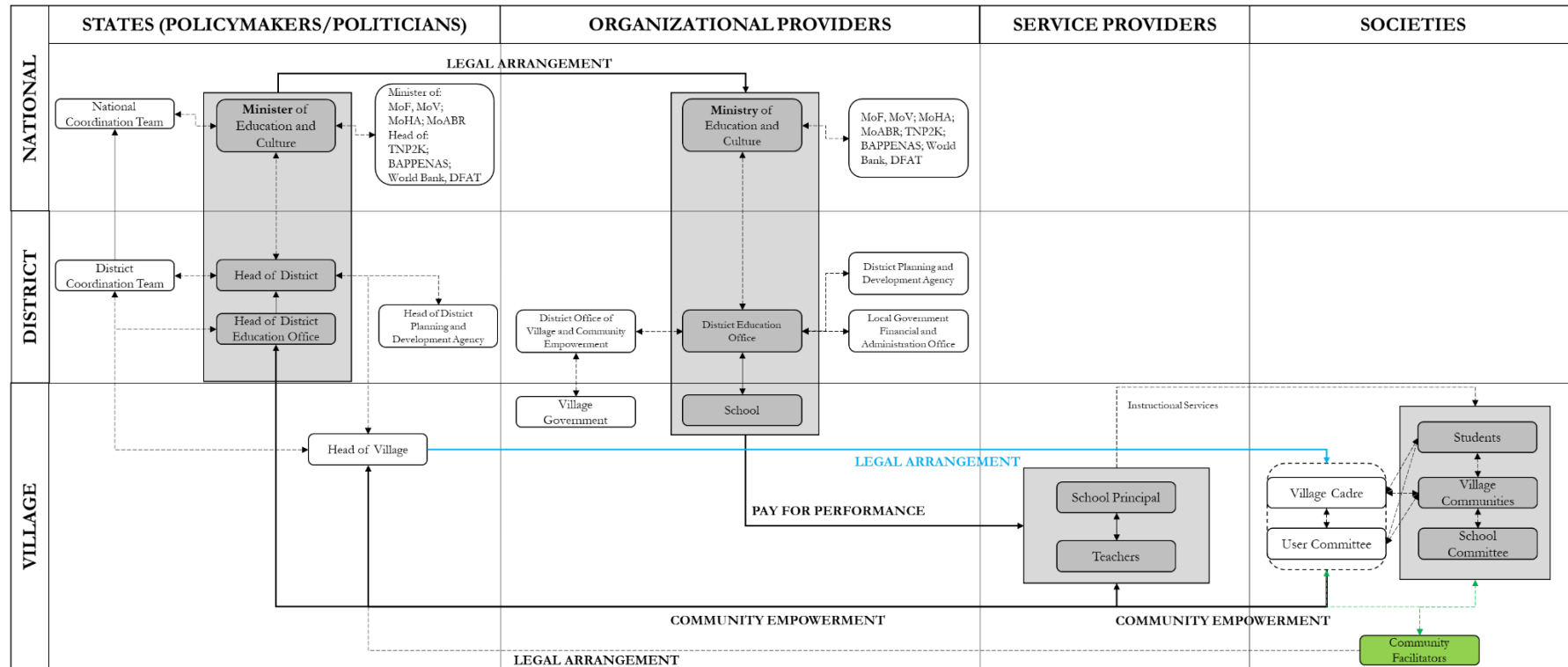
**Figure 2 Social Accountability Mechanism in KIAT Guru Project**



Source: Author

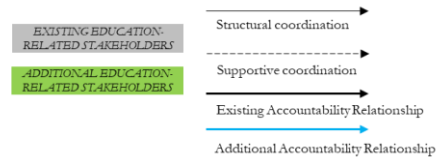
This chapter scrutinizes the different kinds of stakeholders and resources needed to implement the SAM using the three strategies. Hence, this chapter is built into four sections. First, analysing the legal arrangement strategy to show how the stakeholders and resources are organized in enabling the environment for the implementation of social accountability. Second, analysing the community empowerment strategy to show how the stakeholders and resources are organized in enabling the communities to hold teachers accountable. Third, analysing the pay for performance strategy to show how stakeholders and resources are organized to respond to the communities' voice. Lastly, generate the conclusions of the discussions toward stakeholder and resources needed in organizing the social accountability mechanism. See Figure 3 to get a detail visualization on how the four main stakeholders at the national level to the village level interact with each other in implementing social accountability mechanism in education system using KIAT Guru project design.

Figure 3 Stakeholder Relationship in Social Accountability in the Education System Indonesia



Source: Author

**Note**



## 4.2 Strategy 1: Legal Arrangements

Under the legal arrangements, the policymakers at the national, district, and village level create the enabling factors for the implementation of social accountability (Table 4). The main activities encompass the establishment of the coordination team and policy discussions. To achieve particular objectives, they use existing laws and regulations as their instruments/material resources. Regarding the stakeholder relationships, the activities under this strategy comprises two different relationships, which are states-organizational providers and states-community relationships. The following sub-sections explain the stakeholder relationships and resources needed on each government level.

**Table 4 Legal Arrangements on Social Accountability Mechanism**

| Level           | Stakeholders   | Resources   | Activities                                      | Outputs   |
|-----------------|--|---|---|---|
| <b>National</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Key:</b> TNP2K and MoEC officials</li> <li>• <b>Supporting:</b> MoF, MoV, BAPPENAS, MoHA, MoABR officials, the Head of District Governments</li> </ul>         | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Existing Laws and Regulations</li> <li>• National Government Budget (APBN)</li> <li>• KIAT Guru Project Budget</li> </ul>  | Establishing the National Coordination Team     | National Coordination Team (NCT) established  |
|                 |  |   | Discussing the policy design and implementation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• MoU and Relevant regulations at the National level are issued (Table 6)</li> </ul>   |
| <b>District</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Key:</b> Head of District Government; Head of District Education Office (DoE)</li> <li>• <b>Supporting:</b> BAPPEDA, DoV, MoEC, and TNP2K officials</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Issued relevant regulations at the National level regarding social accountability</li> <li>• Local Government Budget (APBD)</li> <li>• KIAT Guru Project Budget</li> </ul> | Establishing the district coordination team     | District Coordination Team (DCT) are established  |
|                 |  |   | Discussing the policy design and implementation | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant regulations at the District level are issued (Table 6)</li> </ul>   |
| <b>Village</b>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Key:</b> Community Facilitators; Head of Village Government</li> <li>• <b>Supporting:</b> BAPPEDA, DoV, MoEC, and TNP2K officials</li> </ul>                   | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Issued regulations at the National and District level regarding social accountability</li> <li>• KIAT Guru Project Budget</li> </ul>                                       | Discussing the policy design                    | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Relevant regulations at the Village level are issued (Table 6)</li> <li>• Village fund allocation for the for social accountability</li> </ul> |

Source: Author

### 4.2.1 National Level

#### *Stakeholder Relationship*

At the national level, there are two main stakeholders in leading the implementation of social accountability under this strategy. They are the MoEC officials and TNP2K officials, which including the KIAT Guru team. They establish a coordination team at the national level (NCT) as supported by other policymakers and the politicians at the national level whose main responsibilities intersect with social accountability. The policymakers and politicians are under the Ministry of Finance (MoF), Ministry of Village Disadvantaged Areas and Transmigration (MoV), the Ministry of Home Affairs (MoHA), and the Ministry of Administrative and Bureaucratic Reform (MoABR), and National Planning and Development Agency (BAPPENAS). Furthermore, they also conduct policy design and implementation

discussions to issue relevant regulations in enabling the SAM implementation. During the discussions, the MoEC and TNP2K officials are supported by the National Coordination Team and the head of district government in five districts. Furthermore, the activities at the national level under this relationship use the national government budget allocated on the MoEC and KIAT Guru budget. Likewise, the existing laws and regulations are used as the main instrument to establish the relevant regulations.

The NCT comprises of two main committees, which are steering and implementation committee. The steering committee consists policymakers at MoEC, TNP2K including KIAT Guru team at the national level, BAPPENAS, MoF, MoV, MoHA, MoABR, the World Bank, and the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade (DFAT) of Australia Government. Its main roles are to ratify the relevant policies, provide guidelines and directions to the organizational providers, and monitor and evaluate the project implementation from the national to the village level. Likewise, the implementation committee consists of the policy implementors at the Ministry of Education and Culture, the World Bank, and DFAT. Its main roles of the implementation committee are to coordinate the SAM implementation, collect and analyse the project implementation, design the project, prepare the relevant instruments, as well as monitor, evaluate, report, and publish the implementation of SAM to the relevant stakeholders.

#### *Resources Arrangement*

Regarding the material resources, Indonesia has five existing legal issues as the instruments to develop a more specific policy towards social accountability in the education system (Table 5). They are human rights, children's rights, education service, professional teachers, and community empowerment. Laws on the human rights-based approach can be one of the departure points to show that communities have rights to be involved in education service. Additionally, under the village laws, the village government should support community involvement. Another point of departures is that under the laws of children's rights, the high quality of education from the teachers are obligatory. Several laws and regulations in education service delivery also standardize the minimum service as well as teachers' rights and responsibilities. However, the existing laws and regulations are currently standing by itself. Therefore, the employment of social accountability in the education system integrates them all to be more coherent.

**Table 5 Existing Laws and Regulations**

| <b>Legal Issue</b>    | <b>Laws or Regulations</b>   |
|-----------------------|--|
| Human Rights          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The 1945 Constitution article 28 C; 28 E concerning on Human Rights</li> <li>- The 1945 Constitution article 31 concerning on the Right of Education</li> <li>- Law 39/1999 concerning on Human Rights</li> </ul>   |
| Children's Rights     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- The 1945 Constitution article 28 B concerning on Children's Rights</li> <li>- Law 23/2002 concerning on Child Protection</li> <li>- Law 35/2014 concerning on Child Protection as the amendment on 23/2002</li> </ul>   |
| Education Service     | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Law 20/2003 concerning on the National Education System</li> <li>- Law 25/2009 concerning on the Public Service Delivery</li> <li>- Law 32/2004 concerning on the Authority of District Government in Public Service, particularly in Administering Education Service</li> <li>- Ministerial Regulation 23/2013 concerning on Minimum Education Service Standard under the Ministry of Education and Culture</li> <li>- Head of State Personnel Agency Decree 12/2016 concerning on Granting and Terminating of Performance Allowance for civil servants under the State Personnel Agency</li> <li>- Ministerial Regulation 48/2009 concerning on the study leave for the civil servants under the Ministry of Education and Culture</li> </ul> |
| Professional Teachers | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>- Law 14/2005 concerning on Teachers and Lecturers</li> <li>- Law 5/2014 concerning on the State Civil Apparatus</li> <li>- Government Regulation 19/2017 concerning on the teachers' workload as the amendment on 74/2008</li> </ul>   |

| Legal Issue                | Laws or Regulations   |
|----------------------------|---|
|                            | - Government Regulation 41/2009 concerning on the Professional and Remote Allowance for Teachers and Lectures; and Professors' Honorarium |
| Community Em-<br>powerment | - Law 6/2014 concerning on Village Law<br>- Government Regulation 43/2014 concerning on the Implementation of the Village Law             |

Source: (Marliyanti, 2016)

Under the legal arrangement strategy, there is one imperative issued regulation as the main umbrella of the KIAT Guru project. It is the Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) between the TNP2K, MoEC, and five districts government. The MoU regulates the cooperation between three parties to implement the KIAT Guru project, particularly to enable the community involvement and the teacher allowance payment-based performance.

By referring the existing laws and regulations, the policy discussions under the states-community relationship focus more to issue regulations that support the community empowerment strategy. One of them is the Ministerial Regulation concerning the KIAT Guru as the national education program priority as issued under the MoEC. It acts as the umbrella regulation, which further will be translated at the district and village level to regulate the community involvement in the education sector.

**Table 6 Issued Relevant Regulations**

| Level           | Issued Regulations  |
|-----------------|---|
| <b>National</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Memorandum of Understanding between TNP2K, MoEC, and five districts government (Keta-pang, Landak, Sintang, West Manggarai, East Manggarai)</li> <li>• Ministerial Regulation: Professional &amp; Special Allowance and Additional Income</li> <li>• Ministerial Decrees: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) Remote Area Allowance Disbursement</li> <li>b) National Education Program Priority</li> </ul> </li> <li>• Head of General Directorate of Teachers and Educational Staff Decree: National Coordination Team</li> <li>• Head of General Directorate of Teachers and Educational Staff Regulation: KIAT Guru Technical Guideline</li> </ul> |
| <b>District</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Memorandum of Understanding between TNP2K, MoEC, and five districts government (Keta-pang, Landak, Sintang, West Manggarai, East Manggarai)</li> <li>• Head of District Government Regulation: Implementation of KIAT Guru Project</li> <li>• Head of District Government Decrees: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>a) District Coordination Team</li> <li>b) School and Teacher Participant</li> <li>c) Evaluation and Reporting Procedures</li> <li>d) Remote Area Allowance Disbursement</li> </ul> </li> </ul>   |
| <b>Village</b>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Head of Village Decrees: User Committee and Village Cadre</li> </ul>   |

Source: (Chandra and Jasape, 2018)

Meanwhile, the policy design and implementation discussions under the states-organizational providers' relationship are focus to issue regulations that support the pay for performance strategy. The regulations are also issued under the MoEC. They are the Ministerial Decrees and the Head of General Directorate of Teachers and Educational Staff Decrees related to the technical guidelines on teacher remote allowance provisions and disbursements.

There are three main things that should be emphasized on the applicable provision of remote allowance according to the existing regulations. First, not all the teachers receive the remote area allowance. The general requirement is that the teachers either a civil servant or non-civil servants should have a unique number/id, that is given by the Ministry of Education and Culture, to show that the teachers have been formally registered – hereafter NUPTK (Unique Number of Teacher and Educational Staff). However, not all teachers already have

NUPTK. Therefore, there will probably be in one remote area school; none of the teachers are eligible and or not all the teachers to receive the remote area allowance.

Second, the provision of remote area allowance based on the quota. Therefore, the number of recipients depends on the ministerial decree that is yearly updated, which related to the available national budget. Third, there are differences on the payment mechanism between the civil servant and non-civil servant teachers due to the source of budget. The civil-servant teachers will be paid directly by the district government through the district education office treasurer. Meanwhile, for the non-civil servant teachers, the payment will be made by the Ministry of Education and Culture through the General Directorate of the Teachers and Educational Staff.

Regarding the payment cut formulation, there are different definitions on the teachers' performance between treatment 2 and treatment 3 schools. Teachers' performance in the treatment 2 schools is defined as teachers' attendance which is obtained from the tamperproof camera and verified by the communities during monthly evaluation. Meanwhile, for the treatment 3 schools is defined as teachers' service quality, which is based on the score as calculated from the Community Score Cards. The MoEC, therefore, makes the allowance payment formulation between the two treatments is different. Details on the cut formulation on the teacher remote allowance based on the specific treatment are depicted in Table 7 (Hidayat, 2019).

**Table 7 Payment Cut Formulation**

| Category  |                              | Formulation                       | Note  |
|-----------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| <b>A.</b> | <b>Attendance (Group-2)</b>  |                                   |   |
|           | 1.                           | Absence                           | Per day   |
|           |                              | a. With excuse letter             | 2%  |
|           |                              | b. Without excuse letter          | 5%  |
|           | 2.                           | Taking leave or medical treatment | 0% - 5%   |
|           | 3.                           | Coming late                       | 0.5% - 1%   |
|           | <b>FINAL CALCULATION</b>     |                                   | <b>Sum of 1 to 3</b>  |
|           |                              |                                   | <b>Threshold: If final calculation below 85%, then allowance would be IDR 0</b> |
| <b>B.</b> | <b>Performance (Group-3)</b> |                                   |   |
|           | 1.                           | Weighted service quality score    | 0% - 100%   |
|           |                              |                                   | Calculated based on the community score card                                    |
|           | <b>FINAL CALCULATION</b>     |                                   | <b>Sum of 1</b>   |
|           |                              |                                   | <b>Threshold: No</b>  |

Source: Author Elaboration as adapted from Hidayat, 2019

#### **4.2.2 District Level**

##### *Stakeholders Relationship*

As Indonesia employs the decentralization as the governance system, the implementation of education has been delegated to the district government (Slamet, 2014). Technically, the relationship between national and district government limited to supportive coordination, not as structural coordination. Therefore, at the national level, as the leader of the education system, the Minister of Education and Culture establishes the macro-level regulations. However, the final decision, whether the policies issued at the national level will be adopted at the district level is highly dependent on the Head of District Government. The considerations include the political-economic situation and its resources.



At the district level, the District Education Office as the organization of education provider implements the policies as regulated by the Head of District Education Office. In implementing issued regulations of social accountability, the District Education Office coordinates with the District Office of Village and Community Empowerment (DoV), Local Government Financial and Administration Office, and the District Planning and Development Agency (BAPPEDA).

The District Education Office also has authority to directly govern the school as the organizational provider at the village level drawn by the *Management* relationship. Likewise, the schools also have responsibilities to report the learning activities to the District Education Office every month. Another form of *Management* relationship is the existence of the school supervisor. According to the joint regulation between the Minister of National Education 01/III/PB/2011 and the Head of National Civil Service Agency 6/2011 the school supervisors work under the District Education Office. They are obligated to do academic and managerial supervision towards schools once in a month. However, due to the remoteness, in 2016, it was reported that across 203 treatment schools, there were 12% of schools which have never been visited by the school supervisor. Furthermore, among the schools where the school supervisors have visited, 62% of them rarely visited once in a month.

At the district level, there are two main stakeholders in leading the implementation of social accountability under this strategy (Table 4). They are the Head of District Government and Head of District Education Office. Supporting by the policymakers and the politicians under the BAPPEDA, DoV, MoEC, and TNP2K officials including KIAT Guru team they establish a coordination team at the district level (DCT). Furthermore, they also conduct policy design and implementation discussions to issue relevant regulations in enabling the SAM implementation. In general, the activities at the district level use the local government budget allocated under the District Education Office and KIAT Guru budget. Likewise, the issued relevant regulations at the national level also are the main instrument to establish the relevant regulations at the district level.

Similar to the national level, each district should establish a District Coordination Team (DCT) and conduct policy design and implementation discussions under two different relationships. The DCT aims to coordinate the KIAT Guru implementation at the district to the village level. Each district may have a different structure according to their own available government structures. However, the general idea is to have a team which comprises the steering and implementation committee.

Generally, the main roles of the steering committee are to provide guidelines, monitor and supervise the implementation progress, and provide solutions as relevant. This committee may encompass the Head of District, the Vice Head of District, and the Head of The District People's Representative Council. Furthermore, the implementation committee has general roles in preparing the legal arrangement, collect relevant information, as well as plan, implement, supervise, and evaluate the SAM implementation. This committee consists of the policymakers and bureaucrats at the government bodies at the district level. They are District Education Office, the District Office of Village and Community Empowerment, Local Government Financial and Administration Office, and the District Planning Agency, as well as KIAT Guru team at the district level.

#### *Resources Arrangement*

The policy design and implementation discussions under the states-organizational provider's relationship focus to issue the regulations that support the pay for performance strategy. The Head of District Government translates the issued regulations at the national level to issue the decree related to the technical guidelines on teacher remote allowance disbursement. This regulation is further used by the organizational providers to pay the teacher remote allowance based on the performance.

Furthermore, the policy design and implementation discussions under the states-communities relationship are to support the community empowerment strategy. The head of districts translates the issued regulations concerning the community involvement at the national level into four main regulations at the district level. The first one is the decree of implementation of KIAT Guru. This regulation acts as the main umbrella of all the social accountability activities at the district and village level.

The second one is the decree on technical guidance on evaluating and reporting the teachers' performances. It regulates the monthly procedures on how to do community monitoring and evaluation as well as the teachers' performance reporting procedure to the District Education Office. The results that obtained from the monthly evaluation, would be verified at the district level then be the primary data for the remote allowance payment (as relevant). Likewise, the teachers' performance scores are also used by the school supervisors and or the other policymakers at the district level in doing monitoring and supervisions to the schools. The third regulation is the instruction letter to the head of the village concerning the support to the village cadre and user committee. The decree and the instruction, therefore, be the reference for the head of village in issuing the head of village decree.

The fourth one is the decree on complaint and handling procedure. This is as a tool to tackle the weak accountability of the provider such as teacher absenteeism and services that do not meet performance standards, such as low student learning outcomes (Ringold *et al.*, 2012). This procedure then regulates how to complain or provide the state inputs directly about the education service in general. It may also include mal-administration as well as fraud and nepotism. Therefore, both communities and teachers can utilize this platform.

The complaints can be delivered through SMS (Short Messages Service) or by hardcopy letter. The complains that provided through SMS will be pooled at the national level then passed to the district level. Meanwhile, the complaints through the letter will be addressed directly to the district level. The complaints will be sorted by the district complaint-handling unit and distributed to the relevant stakeholders that have authorities to handle the arose problems.

### **4.2.3 Village Level**

#### *Stakeholder Relationship*

At the village level, the community facilitators and the head of village government act as the main stakeholder in doing the activities under this strategy (Table 4). In general, the activities are focus more to issue relevant regulations that support the community empowerment strategy. Therefore, the activities only encompass the policy design and implementation discussions. Supporting by BAPPEDA, DoV, MoEC and TNP2K officials, the head of village establishes two village decrees related to the user committee and village cadre.

#### *Resources Arrangement*

In establishing the decrees, the head of village using the issued relevant regulations at the national and district level as the main legal instruments, where the advocacy activities by the community facilitators are financed using KIAT Guru budget. The decrees then enable the user committees and village cadres to monitor and evaluate teachers' performances. Both decrees also finance the community monitoring and evaluation activities, as well as the incentives to user committee and village cadre. The source of money using the village budget allocation. In total, during 2017 and 2018, the village government allocated their budget around USD 202,717 million for the implementation of community involvement at the village level (Susanti, 2019).

#### 4.2.4 Conclusion

The legal arrangement aims to embed the specific roles with the national and local policy-makers and bureaucrats to coordinate the SAM implementation from the national to the village level. It also aims to integrate and translate the existing laws and regulations into relevant regulations on social accountability in the education system. This strategy, therefore, strengthens the relationships among the states, between states and organizational providers, as well as between the states and communities.

Furthermore, under the states- communities relationship, this strategy also means that the states delegate their power to the communities to control the teachers and school principal. Through the legal arrangements of the top-down participation initiative, the states exercise their authority by giving power to communities and creating space for them in holding teacher accountable. In another meaning, the states exert their control to teachers through the community platform instead of through the organizational providers one.

### 4.3 Strategy-2: Community Empowerment

The community empowerment strategy aims to enhance the communities' willingness and capacity to hold teachers accountable. It is drawn by two relationships. First, directly to the teachers, which is drawn by the communities – teachers relationship. Second, indirectly to the states, which is drawn by the communities – states relationship, where the states will then proceed it to the teachers through the organizational providers.

To achieve the particular objectives, the states employ the community facilitators at the village level as the main stakeholders in leading the implementation of this strategy (Table 8). The provisions of community facilitators are arranged by TNP2K, and the money resources are using KIAT Guru budget. Each community facilitator is assigned to facilitate around 4 – 6 different schools. Thus, the activities under this strategy are fully implemented by the village stakeholders at the village level.

**Table 8 Community Empowerment on Social Accountability Mechanism**

| Level   | Stakeholders   | Resources  | Activities  | Outputs   |
|---------|--|--|---|---|
| Village | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Key:</b> Community Facilitators</li> <li>• <b>Supporting:</b> Village communities; parents; students; teachers; head of village</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Issued regulations at the district level</li> <li>• Manual Guideline for Community Facilitators</li> <li>• KIAT Guru Project Budget</li> </ul>  | Community facilitation: Initial Stage             | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Village Cadres appointed</li> <li>• User Committee (UC) established</li> <li>• Service Agreements (SA) established</li> <li>• Community Score Cards (CSC) developed</li> </ul>   |
|         |  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Manual Guideline for Community Facilitators</li> <li>• Issued regulations at the district level</li> <li>• KIAT Guru Project Budget</li> <li>• Village fund allocation for the for the social accountability</li> </ul> | Community facilitation: Implementation Stage      | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Regular monitoring and monthly evaluation administered</li> </ul>  |
|         |  |  | Community facilitation: Evaluation Stage          | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• CSC and UC re-established (if relevant)</li> </ul>   |
|         |  |  | Capacity building: the instruments administration | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Monitoring instruments used:<br/><i>All treatments:</i> Community Score Cards<br/><i>Treatment-2 only:</i> Verification Attendance Form, and KIAT Kamera</li> <li>• Evaluation instruments used:<br/><i>All treatments:</i> student learning assessment</li> </ul> |

| Level | Stakeholders | Resources   | Activities   | Outputs   |
|-------|--------------|---|--|---|
|       |              | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Manual Guideline for Community Facilitators</li> <li>Issued regulations at the district level</li> <li>KIAT Guru Project Budget</li> </ul> | Capacity building: evaluating and reporting teacher performances procedures<br>Capacity building: complaint handling procedure | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>Teachers' performance evaluations are timely reported to the district level</li> <li>Complaint and handling procedure are used by the community members</li> </ul> |

Source: Author

### 4.3.1 Village Level

#### *Initial Conditions*

The definition of the village community that is used in this research is those who are living either permanently or temporarily in a particular village. It also includes local leaders, parents, and other village members. According to the KIAT Guru baseline survey in 2016, on average, the population size on each village was around 1464, who 51% male and 49%, female. Regarding the average number of people with school-age (kinder garden – university level), there were 434 people per village on average. It means about 30% of the total population were in the school age. However, it was reported that almost a third of the total population was illiterate. Furthermore, regarding the economic condition, most of the village communities (88%) perceived their level of wealthiness as poor and very poor.

The treatment schools are located in the very remote villages across five districts. In average, the distance from the village to sub-district is about 54 km with the average travel time around 1,5 hours. Meanwhile, the average distance from the village to the district is about 260 km, with the average travel time is about 6 hours. Regarding the electricity grid, in 2016, most of the villages (70%) had no access to the state-owned electrical grid. Therefore, most of the villages (91%) used the generator as the grid of electricity. Both electricity sources were reported in bad quality. This condition was similar to the internet access; it was reported that only 16% of villages had access to the internet, where 82% for those who can access it, reported that the quality was also bad.

Across the 203 treatment schools, at the beginning of the KIAT Guru implementation, there were around 1,666 teachers, and school principals deliver education service to the 29,127 students. They consisted of 49% of civil servant teachers and 51% non-civil servant teachers. During that period, in total there were only 33% of teachers who already had NUPTK. Furthermore, regarding the received services, the teacher absenteeism rate from school was about 23%. It then resulted in the low of student learning outcomes, where the assessment showed the average student learning outcomes were about 37 out of 100 in Reading and Math.

Related to the parental engagement, the Minister of National Education Decree 04/U/22 obligates each school to establish the school committee. This committee aims to facilitate the communication between communities and school and promote community involvement in education service. Across 203 treatment schools, in 2016, it was reported that there are 94% of schools have an active school committee. However, this platform was rarely used optimally both by parents and by school principals. The school principal reported that only 28% of parents expressed their opinion through the school committee. It made most of the schools (53%) also reported that the given responses were also provided directly to parents or discussed it during the internal meeting with parents (29%), instead of using the school committee platform. The non-optimal utilization of school committee was caused by the design itself. The composition of the school committee includes not only the parents but

also teachers. Therefore, by design, it creates low power to the parents and hinders the participation (Pradhan et al., 2014).

#### *Stakeholders Relationship*

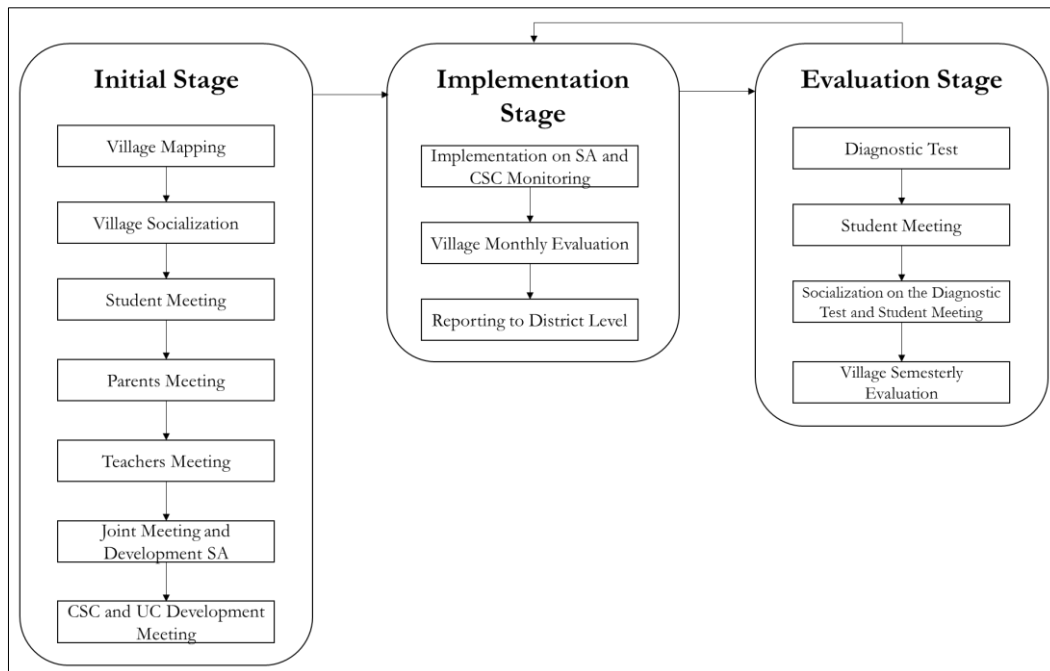
The community facilitators are the interlocutors between village communities with teachers at the village level and the policymakers at the district level. In general, activities under this strategy are focus on the community facilitation and capacity buildings. The general aims are to improve the communities' willingness and capacity to be involved in the education system. They facilitate the village communities, parents, and students to in three main stages, which are the initial stage, implementation stage, and evaluation stage. They also provide capacity buildings to the community members, parents, and teachers to be able to conduct the implementation and evaluation stage.

#### *Resources Arrangement*

The initial stage comprises seven village meetings. They are village mapping, village socialization, student meeting, parents meeting, teachers meeting, joint meeting and development of service agreement, and community score cards and user committee development meeting (Figure 4). During this stage, the community facilitators translate the issued relevant regulations as well as the manual facilitations into tangible information that enhance the willingness of communities to be involved in the education service. The provision information encompasses student learning outcomes, teacher absenteeism rate, minimum standard education service, children rights, and right to speak (Marliyanti, 2019). The community facilitations at this stage also focus more on establishing the platform and instruments where the communities can create a more credible input to hold teachers accountable. The platform and instruments, therefore, will be used at the implementation stage in monitoring and evaluating teachers' performances.

The platform means the appointment of Village Cadre (VC) and the User Committee (UC). The VCs as the stakeholder who will lead the continuation of communities' activities after the deployment of community facilitator from the village (Marliyanti, 2019). Meanwhile, the UCs are the village community representatives in education service. The minimum number of UC members is nine persons, which a half of them are female, should represent parents on each grade, community leaders (including religious leaders and customary leaders), and community members. To avoid the political bias, several actors are not allowed to be UC members. They are head of village or village apparatus, teachers and school principals, nuclear family of teachers and school principals, and school supervisors or district education officer.

**Figure 4 Details Activities on the Community Facilitations**



Source: Author Elaboration as adapted from Marliyanti, 2019

According to the monitoring data between 2016 to 2018, the VC and UC profiles are drawn as follow. In average, each village has a minimum one VC. Most of VCs were male, they represented the community leaders in the societies; their main occupation was being peasants. However, most of them had completed senior high school. Meanwhile, each village had the total members of UCs were nine persons. Most of UCs were male, they represented parents, their main occupation was being peasant, and most of them had a low level of education (Appendix 1).

Furthermore, the establishment of instruments means the communities and teachers are empowered to have the Service Agreement (SA) and the Community Score Cards (CSC). The SA is the list of agreed actions that rules parents, teachers, and principal to play in the process to create a positive learning environment which then can improve the student learning outcomes (Marliyanti, 2019). Likewise, the SA is also the reference for communities to develop the CSC. It consists of five to eight indicators, which will comply by teachers as proof to their accountability and performance and will be monitored by the UC on each month. Acknowledging that there are significant differences in the rules between school principal and teachers, therefore, the UC divides the types of CSC into minimum two. They are CSC for teachers and CSC for school principals.

At the implementation stage, the community facilitators focus more to facilitate the communities, particularly the VCs and UCs, to conduct monitoring on the SA and CSC, as well as to administer the monthly evaluation meeting. They use manual guidelines and the issued regulations at the district level as their material resources. In terms of money resources, the sources are from the KIAT Guru Project budget and village fund as allocated by the Head of Village. However, during this stage, the involvement of community facilitators was limited to attend a maximum of six evaluation meetings. Thus, the rest implementation of monitoring and evaluation of teachers' performance is mainly led by the VCs and UCs.

In monitoring SA and CSC, the UCs are empowered to perform several methods, which directly observe teachers' presence and activities at school, interview the students, and check document administration, such as excuse letter. At the end of each month, the UC administer a village monthly evaluation, which also invites teachers and village government

representatives to discuss the SA implementation and evaluate the teachers' CSC according to the results of their monitoring. The head of village and the school principal sign the teachers' performance score to further reported to the district education office. The scores are also published in the village public areas to inform all communities members regarding the teachers' performances.

During the implementation stage, the community facilitators also conduct the capacity building to the VCs, UCs, and teachers, including school principals regarding the monitoring instruments and the relevant procedures as regulated by the district government. The monitoring instruments include the CSC for all treatments, and the Verification Attendance Form and KIAT Kamera for treatment 2 schools only. Likewise, the capacity building on the relevant procedures is to enable the communities to provide inputs to the states in holding teachers accountable. The relevant procedures include the evaluating and reporting procedure as well as the complaint handling procedure.

At the evaluation stage, each village conducts the semesterly evaluation meeting. In this stage, the community facilitations focus more to facilitate the VCs and UCs to perform the evaluation on the CSC and UC's performance. They use manual guidelines and the issued regulations at the district level as their material resources. In terms of money resources, the sources are only from the KIAT Guru Project budget. Similar to the implementation stage, the involvement of community facilitators is also limited to facilitate the evaluation meeting by maximum one meeting. Furthermore, during this stage, the community facilitators also provide the capacity building for the parents, VCs, and UCs to be able to administer the student learning assessment as the evaluation instrument to measure the students' learning progress. The output of this stage may result in some revisions on the SA, CSC, as well as the restructuring of UC members.

#### **4.3.2 Conclusion**

In enabling the communities to exercise the power that the states delegate to them, the roles of the community facilitators are imperative. They perform community facilitation and capacity building to the village actors. However, currently, their existences are ad-hoc at the education system and being organized by KIAT Guru project. Thus, in organizing the SAM in other places, this ad-hoc condition creates complexity, as the other local government need to find similar human resources and allocate the budget. The employment of community facilitators also shows that besides delegating their power to the communities, the states also provide assistance to enhance the communities' willingness and capacities. It shows that the states as the active actors in the provision of social accountability mechanism.

### **4.4 Strategy-3: Pay for Performance**

The pay for performance strategy aims to enable the policy implementers at the national and district level to administer the issued regulations as a form of responding to the communities' voice. It is drawn on the *management* relationships. To achieve the particular objectives, they use the issued regulations at the national and district level as their instruments/ material resources (Table 9). Meanwhile, in terms of money resources, they use the budget as allocated by the national and district government. The national and district stakeholders fully implement the activities under this strategy.

**Table 9 Pay for Performance on the Social Accountability Mechanism**

| Level           | Stakeholders   | Resources  | Activities                                  | Outputs                                      |
|-----------------|--|--|---|--|
| <b>National</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Key:</b> the National Co-ordination Team</li> <li>• <b>Supporting:</b> TNP2K and MoEC officials</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The issued relevant regulations at the national level</li> <li>• National Government Budget (APBN)</li> </ul>                                       | Performance-based teacher allowance payment | Payment to Non-Civil Servant Teachers issued |
| <b>District</b> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Key:</b> the District Coordination Team</li> <li>• <b>Supporting:</b> TNP2K and MoEC officials</li> </ul>  | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• The issued relevant regulations at the national and district level</li> <li>• Local Government Budget (APBD)</li> <li>• KIAT Guru Budget</li> </ul> | Teachers' performance score verification    | Teachers' performance score ratified         |
|                 |  |  | Performance-based teacher allowance payment | Payment to Civil Servant Teachers issued     |
|                 |  |  | Monitoring and supervisions to schools      | Schools are monitored regularly              |

Source: Author

#### **4.4.1 National Level**

##### *Stakeholder Relationship*

At the national level, the National Coordination Team, particularly the policy implementors at the sub-implementation committee, be the main stakeholders in leading the implementation of social accountability under this strategy. Supporting by the TNP2K and the MoEC officials, they conduct performance-based teacher allowance payment for the non-civil servant teachers quarterly.

##### *Resources Arrangement*

Two things should be noted here. First, while the payment formulation is following the issued relevant regulations under the legal arrangement strategy, the payment procedures are still following the existing regulations. Second, the provision of remote area allowance also using the existing regulations under the MoEC. However, the issued relevant regulations at the national level create discretion. Therefore, all the NUPTK teachers across treatment schools get the remote area allowance, while the existing regulation also considers the provision based on quota to other remote area schools.

#### **4.4.2 District Level**

##### *Stakeholder Relationship*

At the district level, the District Coordination Team (DCT), particularly the policy implementors at the sub-implementation committee be the main stakeholders in leading the implementation of social accountability under this strategy. Supporting by the TNP2K and the MoEC officials, they perform the teachers' performance verification, performance-based teacher allowance, as well as the monitoring and supervisions to schools. These activities as the follow-up of the given inputs by the communities. They follow the issued regulations at the national and district level to implement the activities.

##### *Resources Arrangement*

Teachers' performance verification aims to ensure the results of teachers' performance evaluation as reported by the communities are valid and reliable. The activities encompass administrative document verification and confirmation with the school principals/representatives regarding the scores and the proof of excuse absence. The verification is conducted



quarterly. Furthermore, the results of verification activity are ratified by the head of the education office to further followed up by the sub-implementation committee of DCT to conduct performance-based allowance and school monitoring and supervision.

Similar to the national level, payment-based teacher performance is conducted quarterly. However, at the district level, the DCT administer the payment for the civil-servant teachers. The payment formulation is based on the issued regulations at the national level. Furthermore, the monitoring and supervisions aim to follow-up the verification results to the teachers by visiting the schools that have lower performance teachers. This activity also as the follow-up of the received complaints (if relevant) that are reported through the complaint handling procedure.

#### **4.4.3 Conclusion**

As the communities have been empowered to hold teachers accountable, this strategy enables the policy implementors to respond to the communities' voice directly to the schools. Therefore, this strategy as a form of citizen's voice coordinated with the governmental reform (Fox, 2015). The main stakeholders under this strategy are policy implementors that embodied in the sub-implementation committee on the NCT and DCT. They use their authoritative power to provide relevant incentives or sanctions to the teachers and schools (*management* relationship). It encompasses the payment cut towards the low-performance teachers as well as the supervisions to the schools.

### **4.5 Conclusion**

Through the KIAT Guru project as the case study, this chapter explains that there are various involved stakeholders from the national level to the village level in implementing the social accountability in the education system in remote areas. They are not only stakeholders that have main duties and responsibilities in the education system, but also those who have intersections with the community development and the payment allowance. Through the case, this research also shows that the existing regulations and the issued regulations at the national to village level be the material resources in implementing social accountability. Likewise, the SAM implementation also use the money resources at the government budget as well as KIAT Guru budget.

The legal arrangement strategy is the first strategy that should be implemented by the states at all level. The outputs under this strategy are the resources (input) for the other two strategies. Likewise, the community empowerment strategy is the second strategy that should be implemented, and the outputs under this strategy are the resources (input) for the pay for performance strategy. Further research may want to explore on the extent of outputs from the community empowerment and pay for performance strategies become the input for the legal arrangement strategy.

Furthermore, through the legal arrangement strategy, it shows that the community involvement in the education system happens where the governments create the space for them. Therefore, reflecting on the current accountability relationship framework, it cannot fully depict the relationship between communities and the states if the initiation of the participation is induced by the government (top-down participation). Thus, this research recommends adding one more direct line from the states towards communities on the current framework (see picture 2, with the blue line). It aims to depict better that in the context of the remote area, the communities are attributed as socially powerless; therefore, the states delegate their power to the communities in holding teachers accountable and voicing their demand. It concludes that by employing three strategies, the states are now becoming the active actors, instead of being the passive ones as other SAM practices show.

## Chapter 5

# Possibilities and Limitations of Social Accountability Mechanism in Improving Education System in Remote Areas

This chapter analyses the possibilities and limitations of the SAM in the education system in remote areas. However, this research admits that the available data and the obtained findings spark more on the community empowerment strategy, which is drawn in the *client power* and *politics* relationships. Therefore, the analyses under this chapter are limited to these two relationships.

Using the tactical approach in framing the social accountability ended by only having the community empowerment strategy as the only strategy to implement social accountability. However, according to Fox, 2015, it is not enough to have a more development impact. Integrating the strategical approach and accountability framework, this research brings out the KIAT Guru project shows the employment of community empowerment strategy is not enough in conducting social accountability.

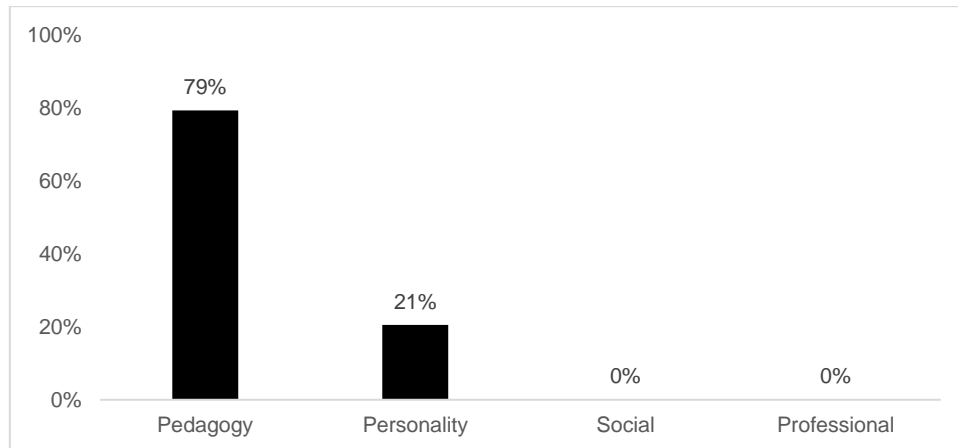
To explain the findings, this chapter is divided into four sections. First, analyses on how the delegated power from the state to communities only works as influencing power in holding teachers accountable. Second, analyses on how the influencing power that is exercised by communities only can hold teachers accountable in partial parts. Third, analyses on the extent of their continuations are highly depended on the resources as provided by the states. Last, generate the conclusion that the states-society synergy is important to implement social accountability (Fox, 2015; Gaventa and Barrett, 2012).

### 5.1 Partially in Holding Teachers Accountable

The states employed the community facilitators at the village level as the brokers between the communities, teachers, and the head of village as the form of top-down empowerment. The community facilitators provided the required information through village meetings, which were perceived by the states as important information to increase their willingness to be involved in the education service (Marliyanti, 2019). The information included student learning outcomes, teacher absenteeism rate, minimum standard education service, children rights, and right to speak. The provision of information, therefore, enabled them to express their expectations and provide a clear delegation to teachers.

Furthermore, to enhance the communities' willingness to be involved, the community facilitators collected information related to the children's expectations. Community facilitators asked children about things that can increase their motivation to study at school and at home.

**Chart 1 Children's Expectation on Teachers' Competences**



Source: Author

Chart 1 shows that most of the children's expectation wish for better pedagogy competence (79%). The most common expectation related to the pedagogy competence was the students wish to have teachers who provide positive discipline without physical and verbal violence.

"I wish teachers are not easily getting angry to us if we provide the wrong answer" (a children's expectation in Watu Manggar Village, West Manggarai District, East Nusa Tenggara Province)

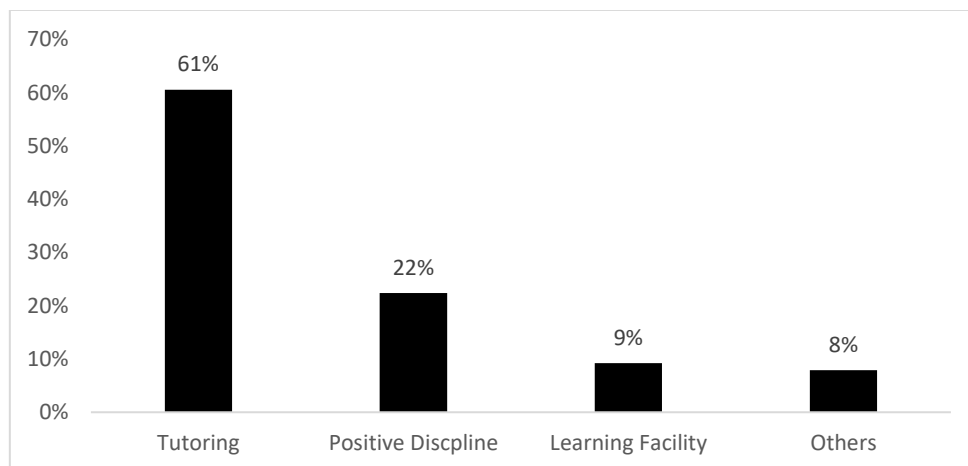
Related to personality competence, the most common expectation was the children wish teachers to come to school and teach them in class.

"I wish my teacher stays in the classroom while we are studying" (a children's expectation in Engkangin Village, Landak District, West Kalimantan Province)

Regarding teachers' expectations towards parents were related to tutoring and positive discipline (Chart 2). Regarding the tutoring, children wish that their parents helped them in doing their homework. Meanwhile, related to the positive discipline, they wish their parents did not scold them using verbal and physical violence.

"I wish my parents accompany me while I am working on my homework" (a children's expectation in Kampar Sebomban Village, Ketapang District, West Kalimantan Province)

**Chart 2 Children's Expectation on Parents**



Source: Author

It is identified that the provided information improved the communities' knowledge then motivate them to define what constitutes a quality of education and specify what the expected services that they wanted. The communities, therefore, enthusiast to build a more doable and clearer service agreement together with teachers and school principal.

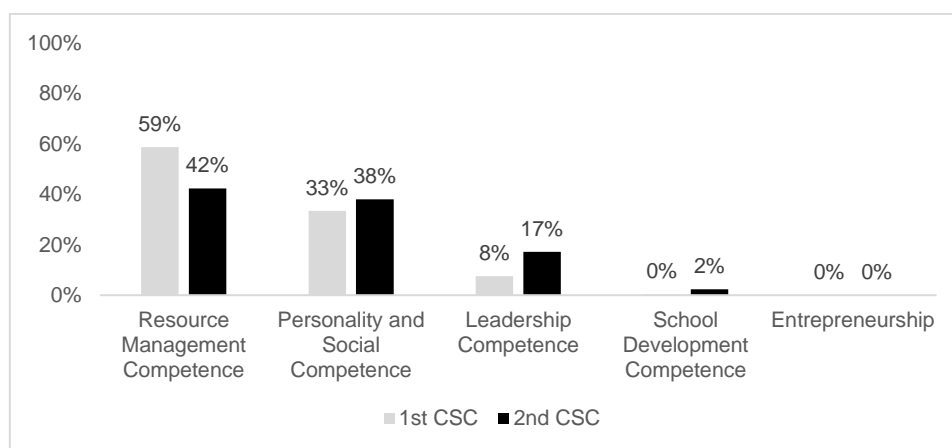
“... we recognize that in our village, children's ability in learning is different one to another. Therefore, on the service agreement, we (village cadre, parents, teachers, and school principal) agreed that teachers will daily give additional class, special students who have lower ability for about fifteen minutes after the class ends” (a village cadre in Golo Wedong Village, West Manggarai District, East Nusa Tenggara Province)

Communities were also motivated to select the list of service agreement that they perceived be the most important services to be administered by teachers and school principals.

“... because we, user committee, can assess teacher performances, we choose no violence towards children as a performance indicator in the community score card. We can monitor it on each month to diminish the punishments either physically or verbally, that teachers usually do towards our students” (a member of user committee in Engkangin Village, Landak District, West Kalimantan Province)

Across 203 schools, the UCs perceived the most important competencies that should be delivered by school principals were the resource management competence and personality and social competence (Chart 3). These two competencies are related to leadership and managerial ability which have a positive impact on improving teachers' competencies and increasing students' learning performance (Listyasari, 2012; Iskandar, 2013).

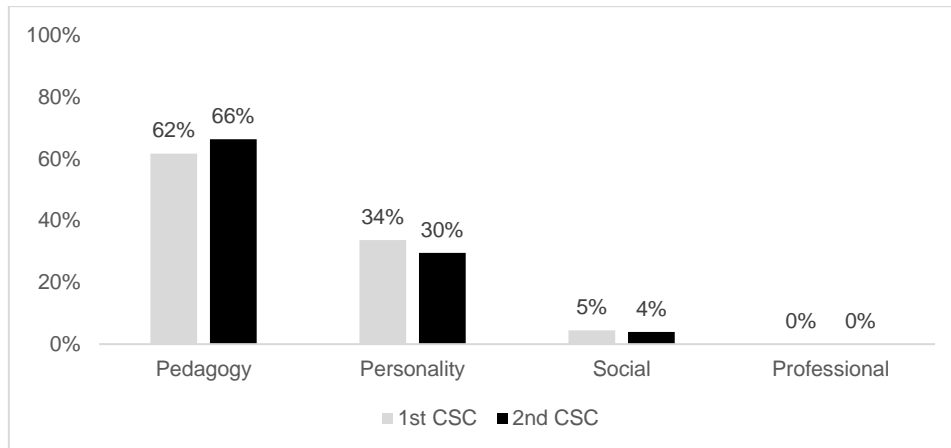
**Chart 3 Community Score Cards: School Principals**



Source: Author

Furthermore, according to Chart 4, the UCs perceived that pedagogy competence was the most important service that should be delivered by teachers. According to the Government Regulation 19/2005 on the National Education Standards, article 3, the pedagogy competence is related to the ability of teachers in managing the learning activities, including the students' understanding on the subjects, planning and implementation on the learning activities, evaluation of the learning outcomes, and development of the students' ability in exploring their potencies. This competency has a strong impact on increasing students' learning motivation and performance (Masruro, 2012; Saggaf *et al.*, 2017; Santika, Darmawiguna and Santyadiputra, 2018)

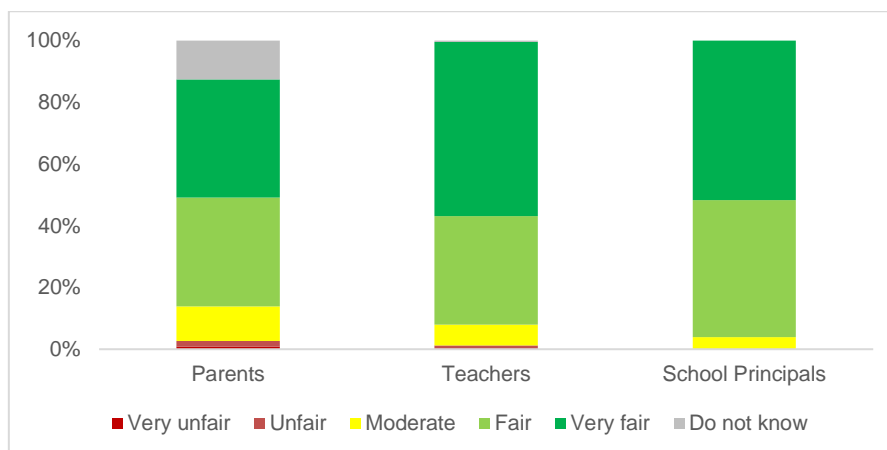
**Chart 4 Community Score Cards: Teachers**



Source: Author

In general, parents, teachers, and school principals perceived that the service providers did justice towards UC, where the physical and verbal pressures towards UCs were very rare to happen (Chart 5). Therefore, it made most of UCs (94%) also perceived that they were able to openly present the results of the monthly evaluation to teachers, while 6% of them perceived that they were not able to do it.

**Chart 5 Perceptions on Teachers and Principals Fairness towards UC by (...)**



Source: Author

Unfortunately, all the efforts made by the communities are seemed partial. To achieve a high quality of student learning outcomes, a teacher should acquire a good quality of pedagogy and professional competences (Revina, 2019). As analysed by the researcher, the data on national teachers' competence test showed that in 2019, across five districts in KIAT Guru project, the average results on pedagogy and professional competences were very low and below the national average. They were 48.31 for pedagogy and 53.03 for professional competences (PASKA, 2019).

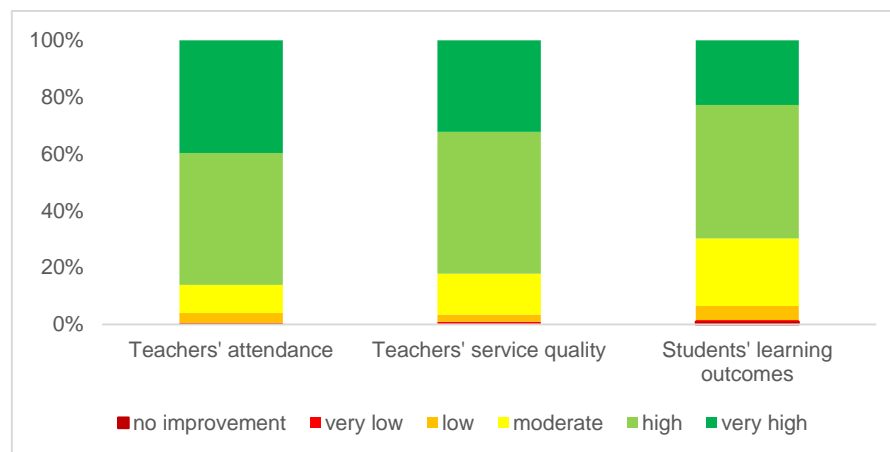
However, as depicted in Chart 1, 3, and 4, the professional part was perceived neither by the communities or children as the imperative indicator that should be delivered by teachers. Here, two reasons follow. First, communities were more focus on the competencies that directly influence the learning process and outcome of their children, which is personality and pedagogy. Second, considering their availability time, knowledge limitation, and eligibility, the communities only could assess the observable indicators. Meanwhile, to assess professional competence, it needs the ability to understand the applied curriculum, substantial derived knowledge, and the structure and methodology of learning (Rudianto, 2019).

Therefore, the only education authorities are the ones who have capacities to assess and evaluate it.

Though the community assessment did not comprehensively oversee the teachers competences, they still perceived teachers' attendance, teachers' service quality, and student learning outcomes had been improved as the impact of their involvement (Chart 6).

“since the community monitoring and evaluation have been conducting, teachers are becoming more diligent and discipline, so do students... especially for students on the lower grades. Initially, most of them could not read and write. Now, their abilities are gradually improved” (a UC member in Taas Village, Landak District, West Kalimantan Province)

**Chart 6 UCs' Perceptions on The Improvement of Education Service**



Source: Author

In conclusion, through the provision of information which perceived as important by the states, the willingness of communities to hold teachers accountable had increased. However, the communities ended up by only can partially cover on what constitute as competent teachers. The states and organizational providers should fill the other parts. It concludes that the *client power* relationship is not a short route and direct relationship as it was initiated. Because its success also depends on the more responsive long route, where the policymakers and the organizational providers act toward teacher accountability. In other words, the state-society synergy is important in implementing social accountability (Fox, 2015; Gaventa and Barrett, 2012).

## 5.2 Influencing Teachers to be Accountable

Through the employment of community empowerment strategy, the community facilitators also provide capacity buildings to user committees and village cadres in monitoring and evaluating teachers' performances. The capacity buildings also include the training to use the equipped instruments. These activities further increase the coherency on the *client power* relationship under the *information* element in two ways.

First, the monitoring activities enable the communities to collect information on teachers' performance. Every month, the UCs and village cadres spend their time to do scheduled monitoring and monthly evaluation meeting towards teacher service performance as written in the community score cards. In average, during 2016 to 2018, every month they spent time around 120 minutes or 2 hours in doing the community monitoring, including the preparation for a monthly evaluation meeting. Likewise, around 7 to 8 user committee members actively conducted monitoring teacher performances by several methods. The most common

way were interviews or discussions, either with children, parents, teachers, school principals, and or head of village (Appendix 2).

“... the UC also gather information by asking students about their learning activity in school and home, for example, “how was the group discussion going?” or “what did your parents do to supervise your learning at home?” or “how was the teachers at school? Did they attend school? Who did not attend the school today?” “Did teachers hit or punch to educate the students?” so on” (a village cadre in Golo Wedong Village, West Manggarai District, East Nusa Tenggara Province)

Because of the most method to collect teachers’ performance were the interviews or discussions; therefore, teachers perceived that this method was not enough to assess their performance. Teachers required the UCs to conduct more other methods such as direct observation during learning activities and conduct document checking.

“... they (UC) only give the scores to teachers, but we (teachers) do not know how they generate the scores. We hope that in scoring, they not only do interviews to parents or students but also can directly visit this school so that they can observe closely on how we deliver our performance” (a teacher Sungai Daka Village, Ketapang District, West Kalimantan Province)

According to teachers, several UCs misused the given power. One example they acted superior towards teachers. Teachers reported that the UCs act as “investigator” while inspecting the teachers’ activities, which somehow created another inconvenient feeling on the teachers’ side.

“... Whereas the UCs are rarely come to school, they observe us from a faraway place... they seem like an investigator.” (a teacher in Sungai Daka Village, Ketapang District, West Kalimantan Province)

“... they (UC) perform their main duties well, but I suggest them to not being very strict which bring over control towards teachers as if they dictate teachers” (a village apparatus in Sepotong Village, Landak District)

During the monitoring activities, communities faced challenges, particularly due to time constraints and their wealthiness level. Communities preferred to spend the time that would produce money for them. It is understandable where most of them are peasants, where 88% of parents perceive their wealthiness level as poor and very poor.

“... these activities (community monitoring and evaluation) are very time consuming ... we have to sacrifice our personal interests for common interests. It is not as we do not want to do these activities, yet, we are human, need money to eat” (a user community member, Taas Village, Landak District, West Kalimantan Province)

However, the main reason to keep them being involved in the education service was to have a better education in their village. Other UCs perceived that time management may reduce problems regarding the time consuming and lack of money.

“... it is hard for sure to have double responsibilities, being a UC member and a housewife at the same time. Therefore, for me, it is obligated to have good time management. Because, if it is not us (doing community monitoring and evaluation), who else will do it? is there any parents who does not want to have a good education quality?” (a user community member, Engkangin Village, Landak District, West Kalimantan Province)

Second, the equipped instruments enable them to interpret the collected information easily. User committees in all treatment schools administered two main equipped instruments: the community score cards and the student diagnostic tests. Additionally, for treatment 2 schools only, in calculating the teachers’ attendance, the UCs used attendance verification form.

“I saw the User Committee was conducting teacher monitoring by using Community Score Cards. They checked the teacher attendance by reviewing administration document. (...) They also administered the student diagnostic test. Now I acknowledge that there is an improvement on student learning abilities in reading and math” (a school supervisor in Welak Sub-District, West Manggarai District, East Nusa Tenggara Province).

Through the equipped instruments, communities possessed a more reliable tools to assess whether the teachers met the agreed delivery services. For example, through administering the student diagnostic test, the communities could understand that their children’s learning abilities had been improved.

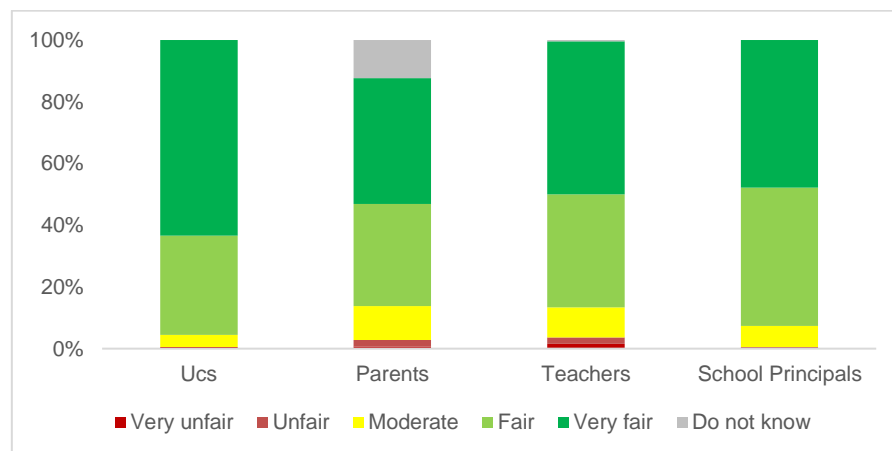
“We have administered the student diagnostic test to assess our children’s learning development. The results that we obtained from this test, showed that the reading ability of our children has improved after KIAT Guru has been implemented” (a village cadre in Taas Village, Landak District, West Kalimantan Province)

Another example is the utilization of attendance verification form enables the communities to know how long the teachers’ working hours and the absence reasons.

“They (UC) use their instrument to calculate how many days we attend the school, how many working hours that we spend in one month according to our attendance data as recorded daily in camera and attendance form” (a teacher in Taas Village, Landak District, West Kalimantan Province)

Through the equipped instruments, other village actors perceived that UCs were doing fair in evaluating teachers’ performance (Chart 7).

**Chart 7 Perception on UC's Fairness by (...) in Evaluating Teachers and School Principals**



Source: Author

However, UCs experienced several challenges in using the equipped instruments, particularly due to their low abilities in reading and calculating. It made several teachers perceived that UCs were not fair to them.

“... some of them (UC) still have lack understanding in doing teacher’s evaluation, even some of them fail to understand words. It affects miscalculation on the teacher’s score. For example, I supposed to get 90, however, because they do not know how to calculate; thus they give the arbitrary scores” (a teacher in Taas Village, Landak District, West Kalimantan Province)

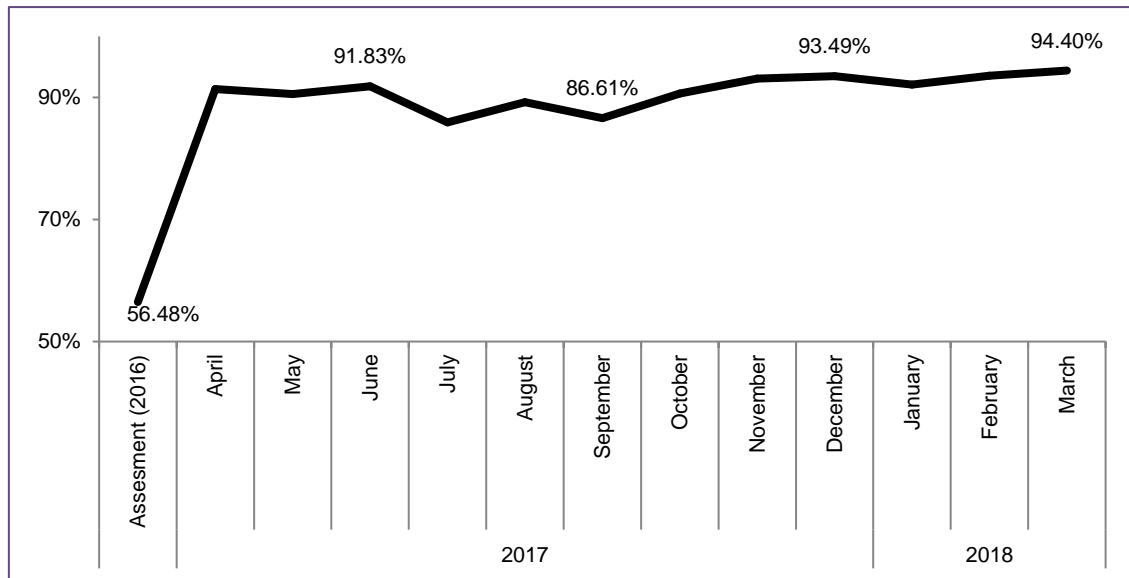
Even though most of the teachers were open to be evaluated, there were also tensions between communities and teachers related to the scoring. Several teachers were angry if their performances’ score were low, even though according to UCs they did not perform well. This condition increased UCs’ hesitation to evaluate teachers’ performance.



“ a member of UC had said to me that a teacher was very angry to UC when he got the low score from UC because he usually comes late to school.. it then deters the UC to evaluate him” (a community facilitator in Ketapang District, West Kalimantan)

After all the efforts, their improved capacities to hold teachers accountable limited to influence the teachers to improve their performances. It shown by Chart 8 below.

**Chart 8 Teacher Performance Score based on the CSC 2016-2018**



Source: Monitoring data analysis by KIAT Guru team, 2019

However, the improved performance did not necessarily imply teachers gave legitimation to communities to provide them motivation. The impact evaluation found that the non-recipient teachers put fewer efforts in attending the school and teaching at class compared to the recipient teachers (Gaduh, *et al.*, 2020). The below perception from the UC also showed that teachers paid more attention to the policymakers and the organizational providers as the actors that legitimate to exercise the authoritative power.

“The performance evaluation is related to the teacher allowance payment. It means that the teachers (on treatment-1) know that if their low-performance scores do not influence their allowance, because payment-based performance does not apply for them. However, they feel ashamed because their performances’ scores are reported to the Education District Office. If their scores keep getting lower, then the education authorities will question them. That is how the performance evaluations affect them” (a user community member, Engkangin Village, Landak District, West Kalimantan Province)

It can be understood as the relevant regulations at the district level which regulate that the evaluation scores should be monthly reported to the District Education Office (DoE). Furthermore, the DoE performs the verification and ratification to control the teachers’ motivation under the *management* relationship. In another meaning, the performances’ evaluation should be reported to the district level (*delegation* under the *politics* relationship) to affect the teachers.

In sum, the improved capacities that the communities receive from the states seems only works as influencing power to hold teachers accountable. The influencing power further dilutes the original definition of delegation, which represent authoritative power. Therefore, the success of this strategy also depends on how the pay for performance strategy performs. In other words, the roles of states and organizational providers are important to have a more impactful treatment to teachers.

### 5.3 Continuation Depends on the Provision of Resources by the States

Each school is empowered by a community facilitator to appoint the village cadre(s) and establish a user committee. These ‘new’ actors are then legalized through the head of village decrees, which also provide the financial supports for them using the village fund. Furthermore, the head of village through its apparatus also provide supervision to UCs by attending the village meetings. These all enable the communities to monitor and evaluate teachers’ performance.

The User Committees and Village Cadres use the allocated budget for them to buy stationaries, to serve meals during the meeting, and to provide them with financial incentives. However, the user committees and village cadres reported that there is a problem with the financial disbursement. This problem reduces their motivation to continue their activities. As identified before, that communities are living in the remote areas and they perceive their wealthiness level is low. Therefore, having activities that produce money are necessary for them.

“... I will resign from this membership (UC) if there is no incentive for us ... we evaluate teachers who get money from the government... Yes, initially, we can make the KIAT Guru activities as voluntary. However, we go back to the reality, most of us work as daily workers. Thus, if today there is an opportunity for us to work on the field, which we will get IDR 40,000 (USD 3) a day, we will take it, instead of evaluating teachers’ performance with 0 amount for us” (a user community member, Sungai Keli Village, Landak District, West Kalimantan Province)

In sum, this experience should be a notification for the states about the continuation of this project in specific, and the top-down participation in general. This experience shows that community participation under this case, the states actively shape and condition it (Mansuri and Rao, 2013). In other words, does it something that shows the communities are empowered to be involved in the pseudo participation? this is tickling researcher, but the researcher still in the early stage to respond it deeper.

### 5.4 Conclusion

Through KIAT Guru case, this research shows that employing the community empowerment in social accountability improves their willingness and capabilities to be involved in education service. Communities can provide clear delegation through the CSC, obtain clear information through the monitoring of teachers’ attendance and performance, as well as provide teachers motivation through the performances’ evaluation. Through the evaluation and reporting procedure, the communities also can provide a more tangible input as a form of clear delegation to the States towards the delivered education service.

However, using the integration of the strategical approach and accountability framework, this research shows that employing community empowerment only in social accountability is not sufficient to have a more development impact. Acknowledging that KIAT Guru project as the top-down participation, the communities end up by only capable of influencing the teachers’ accountability in partial parts. Meanwhile, their continuations are highly dependent to the resources as provided by the states. It shows the involvement of the states that previously be neglected in the social accountability realm, now emerge to the centre as the essential active actors in administering social accountability. This chapter concludes that the state-society synergy is important in implementing social accountability (Fox, 2015; Gaventa and Barret, 2012).

## Chapter 6

### Conclusion

This research seeks to analyse the roles of social accountability mechanism in improving the education system in remote areas Indonesia. Underlying the low student learning performance as the main problem in the education system in remote areas Indonesia, the KIAT Guru project shows that by involving the communities in education service delivery and tying the allowance with teachers' performance work best to accelerate the learning outcomes. By using KIAT Guru project as the case, social accountability enables the communities to be involved in the education system using three main strategies. They are legal arrangement, community empowerment, and pay for performance.

This research shows that in implementing social accountability using three main strategies, there are various stakeholders at the national to the village level that need to be involved. The involved stakeholders are not limited to those whose main responsibilities are in the education system—instead, those who have intersections with the community development and payment allowance. The case also brings out the resources needed to organize social accountability into material and money resources. The material resources encompass existing regulations and issued regulations at the national to the village level. Meanwhile, the money resources obtain from the government budget and KIAT Guru budget as funded by the World Bank.

Furthermore, under these three strategies, this case shows that the current accountability framework by Pritchett, 2015, cannot fully depict the relationship between states and the communities. Therefore, this research recommends adding one more wire from the states directly towards the communities. In one meaning, the direct line shows that the states give power to the communities that are perceived as powerless to voice their demand. Nevertheless, in another meaning, the additional wire also depicts that the states create a new control through communities in exerting their authority to the service providers.

This research also delves about possibilities and limitations under the community empowerment strategy. This strategy enhances the willingness and capacity of communities to hold teachers accountable. However, as the tactical approach frames the community empowerment as the essential strategy to administer social accountability, this research argues it is not sufficient. Through the case, the communities end up by only capable of influencing the teachers' accountability in partial parts; meanwhile, their continuations highly depend on the resources as provided by the states. Therefore, to have a more development impact, community involvement highly depends on the states and the organizational providers. This research then affirms that state-society synergy is important to implementing social accountability (Fox, 2015; Gaventa and Barrett, 2012).

This research concludes by giving recommendations to further analyses. First, analyses on the extent of community empowerment and pay for performance strategies be the resources for the legal arrangement strategy. Second, analyses the possibilities and limitations under the legal arrangements and pay for performance strategies. These analyses aim to complete the arguments on the roles of social accountability in improving the education system in remote areas of Indonesia. These are useful for the national and local government to broaden the benefits of the implementation of social accountability in remote areas of Indonesia.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1 Village Cadre and UC Profile

|                                    | Village Cadre<br>(n=203) | User Committee<br>(n=1843) |
|------------------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------|
| by gender                          |                          |                            |
| Male                               | 74.4%                    | 54.9%                      |
| Female                             | 25.6%                    | 45.1%                      |
| by education level                 |                          |                            |
| Not graduated at elementary school |                          | 4.6%                       |
| Elementary school                  | 12.3%                    | 36.2%                      |
| Junior high school                 | 17.7%                    | 30.0%                      |
| Senior high school                 | 55.7%                    | 26.8%                      |
| Diploma/bachelor                   | 14.3%                    | 2.5%                       |
| by occupation                      |                          |                            |
| Peasants                           | 44.8%                    | 59.6%                      |
| Village Apparatus                  | 16.3%                    | 7.7%                       |
| Employees                          | 11.3%                    | 7.8%                       |
| Housewife                          | 5.9%                     | 11.8%                      |
| Entrepreneur                       | 5.4%                     | 5.4%                       |
| Religion-work related              | 3.0%                     | 0%                         |
| Health-related job                 | 3.0%                     | 1.2%                       |
| Teachers                           | 2.0%                     | 1.1%                       |
| Fisherman                          | 1.0%                     | 1.6%                       |
| Others                             | 4.9%                     | 2.9%                       |
| No Job                             | 2.5%                     | 1.0%                       |
| by composition                     |                          |                            |
| Parents                            | 25.6%                    | 63.0%                      |
| Community Leaders                  | 60.1%                    | 30.0%                      |
| Community Members                  | 2.0%                     | 1.4%                       |
| Teachers                           | 0.0%                     | 0.2%                       |
| Village Apparatus                  | 12.3%                    | 5.5%                       |

## Appendix 2 Community Monitoring and Evaluation

### Monitoring data collection methods

|                              |       |
|------------------------------|-------|
| Check Document               | 21.5% |
| Direct observation           | 22.3% |
| Direct interview/ discussion | 55.3% |
| Other                        | 0.8%  |

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