

**THE CHANGE IN PERCEPTION OF  
SUBMITTING CHILDREN TO CHILD WELFARE  
INSTITUTIONS IN DENPASAR CITY**

**Dr. Rodney Westerlaken M.A., B.Ed  
Published by Yayasan Bali Bersih**



**THE CHANGE IN PERCEPTION OF  
SUBMITTING CHILDREN TO CHILD WELFARE  
INSTITUTIONS IN DENPASAR CITY**

**Summary of 5 year research in towards the  
role of Child Welfare Institutions in  
Denpasar city, Bali.**



The research of which you are reading a summary now has been executed to obtain a doctorate degree at [Udayana University](#) by the author.

This publication of these research results is made possible by the foundation of the author; [Westerlaken foundation](#). Westerlaken foundation is active in Bali, Indonesia under the name [Yayasan Bali Bersih](#).

One of the objectives of Westerlaken foundation (in line with the millennium goals of the United Nations) is to fight hunger and poverty and to protect human and children rights. This research is born out of an important need to seek clarity about the current situation in [Child Welfare Institutions](#) in Denpasar, and Bali as a whole, and the effects a crisis can have on the number of submittance of children to Child Welfare Institutions.

This report was written by Dr. Rodney Westerlaken M.A., B.Ed. after a period of 5 years of research. The names of Child Welfare Institutions (orphanages) and children involved in the research are coded or changed to respect confidentiality.

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## **FOREWORD**

### **FOUNDER WESTERLAKEN FOUNDATION**

Westerlaken foundation, in cooperation with Yayasan Bali Bersih, focuses on human and children rights since 2008. First the focus of the foundation laid on a sports and environmental education program for children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Bali, the popularly called orphanages. More and more the foundation's staff and I became aware of forms of abuse happening in Child Welfare Institutions, ranging from recruitment procedures, force of religion to mental, physical and sexual abuse.

When I decided to pursue a doctorate degree the choice to research the existence of Child Welfare Institutions, the processes, the children that live within and the way government deals with child care issues was natural. This report, a summary of a 399 pages thick dissertation, serves the role of spreading the findings of this doctorate research. With the findings we can enhance the safety and well-being of the children that live inside Child Welfare Institutions and hopefully one day make sure that Child Welfare Institutions are no longer needed.

We sincerely hope that the outcomes of this research will shift policies and processes on child welfare in Bali. The outcomes of this research clearly show that a substantial amount of issues need to be solved to operate according to the Indonesian Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011: National Standards of Care for Child Welfare Institutions.

Westerlaken foundation looks forward to dialogues, presentations, workshops and having a consultant role to solve issues in a spirit of cooperation with all GO's and NGO's involved.

Seminyak, June 2020

  
Dr. Rodney Westerlaken M.A., B.Ed  
Founder Westerlaken foundation



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## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

This report deals with the change in social cultural perception of submitting children to Child Welfare Institution after the Bali bombings in 2002 and 2005. To prove this change qualitative research has been undertaken with two samples:

1. 50 children currently living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city
2. Parents / familial caretakers of 16 of the 50 children in category one.

It turned out that from this sample 76 percent of the children researched still have both parents alive and another 16 percent of the children have one parent alive and known. Eight percent of the children did not have any parent alive or parents were unknown.

This dissertation focuses on the characteristics within Balinese kinship system in which the designation given by Geertz and Geertz (1975) is leading: 'the relevant ideas, beliefs, and values (within kinship on Bali) are those having to do with, for instance, the perceived nature of the connection between parent and child, or between deceased ancestors and living persons, or between individuals who share (or think they share) a common percentage or common ancestry' (Geertz & Geertz 1975, p. 2).

This study has investigated current practices of Child Welfare Institutions and seconded the findings with the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 and concluded that none of the Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city are obeying the decree and that more supervision by the Social Service, as implementing government body, is needed.

Statistics show that submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions actively happened in the aftermath of the second Bali bombing, all over Bali. Just after the second Bali bombing everyone was in the same position, everybody was coping with the aftermath. The structure of the *keluarga besar* (the extended family), in which usually everyone helps each other fell apart as one simply could not help the other as everyone was in the same situation. There are indications that this is the moment that Child Welfare Institutions started to recruit or intensified their recruitment process. The vast submittance to Child Welfare Institutions instigated a trend, which many followed seeing the financial benefits. A trend in the first years after the second Bali bombing slowly instigated a change in the social cultural structure on Bali.

The conclusions of this dissertation are dual. On one hand conclusions are drawn based on the position of children living in Child Welfare Institutions, their parents/ familial caretakers and the Child Welfare Institutions themselves. On

the other hand, conclusions are made based on the social cultural change in perception of submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions.

It is identified that parents and familial caretakers mainly have a short-term vision and suffer from the Ostrich Syndrome when submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions. They are not realizing, or not wanting to realize, that placement in Child Welfare Institutions is resulting in children experiencing psychological and emotional issues, is disturbing the sense of belonging to a nuclear family and therefore disturbing the kinship system and that children in Child Welfare Institutions are vulnerable for physical, psychological and sexual abuse.

It has been concluded that decreasing expenditures (the most executed coping mechanism after the second Bali bombing) is submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions. Parents / familial caretakers do not have to take care of tuition fees, costs for uniforms, books, stationary and daily costs as food, clothes and hygiene, as they are being covered by the Child Welfare Institutions.

## 1. BACKGROUND

The focus in this report is on the cultural perception, cultural effects and ethos of parents and / or familial caretakers who decide and still decide to surrender their children to a Child Welfare Institution. The focus of research is Denpasar city for a number of reasons. Denpasar city primarily is the region with the largest population equated to the other regencies, as well has the largest density per km<sup>2</sup> (Siregar 2015, p. 109). In Denpasar city, the most common sector to be employed in is the tourism sector, with an average of 39,9% of the people above 15 years old working in this sector between 2009-2014 (Suarta 2015, p. 54)

Denpasar city is situated besides the Badung regency where the majority of the tourism industry is located. The majority of the terroristic attacks were also in the Badung regency. Even though, the Badung regency is considered less significant to this research by the author. In 2014, on a population of 616.400 souls, there were eight registered Child Welfare Institutions of which one focusses on disabled children (*Yayasan Pembinaan Anak Cacat Bali*) and one focusses on incurable sick children (*Yayasan Anak Anak Bali*) (Siregar 2015, p. 103, Dinas Sosial Provinsi Bali 2015, p. 3). This makes the sample size only six, which is not considered to be representative for this study. The city of Denpasar is most dense, 6.759 souls per square kilometre, compared to an average of 700,6 souls per square kilometre in the eight other regencies in Bali (Suarta 2015, p. 40, Siregar 2015, p. 103).

Previous to the establishment of the Indonesian state in 1945 the role of the community and non-governmental institutions, among others religious organizations, has been to ensure social welfare among its people. This social welfare role has always been seen as critical. Indonesia is considered a welfare society (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 30, Sangadji, Kusdiyanti & Rosmawati 2014, p.1).

Informal care by direct or extended family is very common in Indonesia. It is mainly the first option if parents cannot take care of their children. The Indonesian government recognizes this in the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 (p. 21).

The national population survey 2015 stated that 70.839.916 children under the age of 15 years old are living in Indonesia. 1.141.980 of those children were not living with their direct family, in example their biological parents, stepparents or grandparents (Suryamin 2015, p. 6-14).

Research by Save the Children UK, DEPSOS and UNICEF within the period 2006-2007 in Aceh, West Kalimantan, Maluku, North Sulawesi, Central Java and Nusa Tenggara Barat (abbreviated as NTB) shows that almost 90% of the children living in Child Welfare Institutions included in this research had at least one parent still alive, where 56.4% of all children still had both parents alive (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 83).

The report by Save the Children UK, DEPSOS and UNICEF acknowledges that registration in Child Welfare Institutions is not always done accordingly:

'The data though, particularly in relation to parental status could be confusing as in many cases, the manager or staff that had admitted the child used terms to mean different things so that, for example, in cases where a child's parents may be divorced, the child may have been entered as 'fatherless' or 'motherless' in the register. Equally, many institutions referred to a child whose father had died as an orphan while the child's mother may be alive and still in contact with the child. The fact that these institutions define their role as 'caring for the 'orphans' as well as the fact that assistance is often geared towards 'orphans' meant that in cases where parental status was not clear, children tended to be entered as 'orphans' (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 79).

O'Kane researched the reasons for kinship caregivers to take care of children from their extended family. The following benefits and challenges for kinship care were identified.

1. Children are able to live with their extended family members who have attachment with the children.
2. Children and relatives can care for one another including children helping with chores.
3. Children have a home and do not need to constantly move.

4. Children can maintain same culture and religion.
  5. Children and relatives can eat together, take care of each other's health, and support children to study.
  6. Children get supervision from their relatives.
  7. Children feel safe and comfortable and do not have low self-esteem.
- (O'Kane 2016, p. 27).

It is significant to discuss the position of a child in the Indonesian and in the Balinese context. Indonesian culture places high importance on children respecting adults. Expressing thoughts, being critical and expressing opinions in front of adults can be considered inappropriate. Therefore involving children in decision-making, even about their own future, is often not considered (Martin 2013, p. 42).

Albert, Trommsdorff, Mayer and Schwarz describes Indonesian parent-children relations in 'Value of Children in Urban and Rural Indonesia: Socio-Demographic Indicators, Cultural Aspects and Empirical findings'. Albert et al. mainly harks back to research done by Mulder, who mainly studied Javanese culture in Yogyakarta. Albert et al. state that:

'in the framework of higher order, Javanese are obliged to perpetuate the continuity of life by marrying and having children. Parents are obliged to take care of their children and provide them with everything they need when they grow up' (Albert et al. 2005, p. 181).

Albert et al. also mentions the task of parents to raise their children

as human beings (*dadi wong*). Albert et al. marks an interesting distinction between children under the age of six which are not taught obedience yet (Javanese use the term *durung djawa* (not yet Javanese) or *durung ngerti* (not yet understanding)). After reaching the age of six years old the child is expected to be obedient polite and respectful to parents (Albert et al. 2005, p. 181).

Albert et al. describes how parents should be respected and honoured as they represent life and its order (Albert et al. 2005, p. 182). Albert et al. also mentions that both, children and parents have to fulfil their role obligations as part of their life cycle. Albert et al. does not go deeper on what those role obligations are, but one can assume that the role of children is to take care of their parents in reciprocity of their parents taking care of them when they were young.

Bulatao made a classification of perceived satisfaction and costs of children in his work 'On the nature of the transition in the value of children' (Bulatao 1979, p. 39). Even though his research is based on global satisfaction and costs of children it serves as a valuable framework to base other findings on. Bulatao describes reciprocity (help in old age) in his framework as one of the satisfactions of children.

Geertz and Geertz have done extensive field research on Bali. In 1957 and 1958 they conducted field research specifically focused on kinship on Bali. They conclude that:

'the relevant ideas, beliefs, and values (within kinship on Bali) are those having to do with, for instance, the perceived nature of the connection between parent and child, or between deceased ancestors and living persons, or between individuals who share (or think they share) a common percentage or common ancestry' (Geertz & Geertz 1975, p. 2).

In their book '*Kinship on Bali*' they describe the usual roles in the Balinese household where the women take care of the children and cook and where men are usually to be found to do the cooking for large ritual feasts. Geertz and Geertz describe that relationships within the nuclear family are close, even when children reach adulthood (Geertz & Geertz 1975, p. 56).

Geertz and Geertz describe subsequently that the personal relationships within the household and house yard are close, cooperative and solidary. Those ties are the basis for 'successive links of patrification father to son' (Geertz & Geertz 1975, p. 47). This conclusion of Geertz and Geertz shows the importance of having a son instead of a daughter. This importance is heavily felt in the continuation of the bloodline, and with that the continuation of the family temple. Geertz and Geertz describe that:

'the Balinese point of view is the temple that represents the spatial and genealogical point of origin, which forms the centre of the (kinship) system' (Geertz & Geertz, 1975, p. 59).

Ni Komang Tri Aprini wrote an article named '*Nilai anak dalam kehidupan keluarga orang Bali*' for *Universitas Pendidikan Ganesha* in 2013 focussing on the role of the

children in Balinese families. Also, Aprini mentions the value of children in Balinese families relating to the patrilineal kinship system and the values of Hinduism. Aprini identifies four main factors of importance:

1. Religious; the child (mainly the boy) is seen as a saviour for ancestors to reach heaven and to be able to reincarnate.
2. Economical; the child is seen in its role of providing economic aid to the parents.
3. Social; the child is seen as successor of the lineage and inherited wealth and will be continuing the duty of the parents in the family and society.
4. Psychological; the child is seen either as a positive or psychological value.

Aprini also notes the importance of a son over a daughter, stating that boys are seen as more trustworthy and have more eternal life for both parents in the world and in the life thereafter. Aprini also mentions that according to the teaching of Hinduism (137 Bab IX kitab Manawa Dharmasastra) and the myth of Jaratkaru the marriage is meant to obtain a son (Apriani 2013, p. 2).

Belo confirms that any wife that is not unfaithful and who has borne a son is considered 'good'. She states that it is the son, in Balinese culture, which is of most importance socially and religiously (Belo 1936, p. 26).

Based on the framework of Bulatao, the work of Albert et al. and Aprini it should be concluded that mainly the instrumental assistance and physiological appreciation as mentioned by

Bulatao are represented in the work of Albert et al. and Aprini and can be counted as important Javanese/Balinese cultural values for having children. In the costs segment one main concern is not mentioned; having a daughter instead of a son. Overall the cost values seem to be of less importance than the satisfactions values of having children.

Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali gives yearly statistics on the number of Child Welfare Institutions and the number of children living in those Child Welfare Institutions. Field research has proven the numbers given by Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali, derived from *Dinas Sosial Provinsi Bali*, the Indonesian Governmental Social Service in Bali (hereafter referred to as Social Service or *Dinas Sosial*), were inconclusive. According to the Social Service (*Dinas Sosial Provinsi Bali* 2015, p. 1) 596 children lived in Child Welfare Institutions in 2015 in Denpasar city. Field research proved that out of 14 Child Welfare Institution listed, only ten are actual still active and indeed focusing on children. Subsequently 596 children are registered with the Social Service in 2015, but this number needs to be revised to 425. Field research has also shown that another nine Child Welfare Institutions are not registered with the Social Service, with a total number of 223 children inhabiting those Child Welfare Institutions. This makes a total number of 648 children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city in 2015.

The number of the children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city subsequently high after 2006. The number of children in Child Welfare Institutions in the whole of Bali decreases after the

culmination in 2008 (4078 children in Child Welfare Institutions in Bali) to the lowest point in 2014 (2719 children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Bali). The number of children in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city has its culmination also in 2008 (837 children in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city), has its lowest point in 2011 (559 children in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city) and increases with in 2012 a number of 778 children, 2013 a number of 650 children and 2014 a number of 694 children (Wisnu 2008, p. 117, Suarsa 2011, p. 154, Suarsa 2012, p. 138, Suarsa 2013, p. 138, Siregar 2014, p. 142). This research identifies that the reason for submittance are the social and cultural effects of the terroristic attacks in 2002 and 2005. As coping mechanism 93.6% of the households in Bali decreased expenditures according to research by UNDP, USAID and the World Bank (Mawdsley, Piza-Lopez & Kaiser 2004, p. 25).

Sending children to Child Welfare Institutions is mainly done for the sake of receiving education (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. VI)). With a high unemployment rate after the terroristic attacks the system of extended family became non-functional, due the fact that many Balinese families were suffering as an effect of the terroristic attacks (Gurtner 2004, p. 59, Pambudi, McCaughey & Smyth 2009, p. 233). A Child Welfare Institution is being seen as a way out for those suffering families with children. Coping mechanisms after the terroristic attacks changed the cultural perception of surrendering children to a Child Welfare Institution.

*Have you ever asked your parents to take you back home?*

*Yes, I asked them once, and I told them that I was not feeling comfortable staying here.*

*Did they offer you to go home?*

*No, they did not.*

Made, a 14 year old girl living in a Hindu Child Welfare Institution in Denpasar.



## 2. PRIOR RESEARCH

There has been little research completed on this topic and almost no data is available about residential care in Indonesia. Research on how Child Welfare Institutions work and long and short-term effects on children have been undertaken.

The little research that has been executed derives from the fields of social anthropology, paediatrics, psychiatry and social work with small sample sizes deriving from five to 40 children. None of the research done has been derived from the field of Cultural Studies. Even less has been written about the social and cultural impacts of the terroristic attacks on Bali. Research has been undertaken mainly on the economic impact of the terroristic attacks, not on a changed social cultural perception (Pambudi, et al. 2009, p. 232). Perception is the organization, identification and interpretation of a sensation in order to form a mental response (Schacter 2012, p. 133).

In this dissertation the term Child Welfare Institution is used. The term refers back to the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO30/HUK/2011, which states:

'The name used for childcare institutions (*panti asuhan*) was changed into Child Welfare Institutions (*Lembaga Kesejahteraan Sosial Anak - LSKA*). In the context of these standards, any institution or organization that provides care for children, whatever name it uses, is referred to as Child Welfare Institution (LKSA)' (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 6).

The Republic of Indonesia issued a manual on the standardization of institutions that provide social assistance. Nowadays eight residential institutions are recognized that are specifically targeted at children:

1. Institutions for underdeveloped children.
2. Institutions for the care of neglected children.
3. Institutions for naughty children.
4. Institutions for teenagers who have dropped out of school.
5. Institutions for children that are substance abusers.
6. Institutions for street children.
7. Institutions for child victims of trafficking and other abuse.
8. Social development centres for street children. (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 17)

Indonesia is currently making a shift in policy from providing financial and other support to institutions for orphaned, neglected or abandoned children to a policy that focuses on the aims to strengthen the capacities of the impoverished families to retain their children within the family situation rather than surrender them to residential Child Welfare Institutions (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 285).

The growth of the number of Child Welfare Institutions in the period before the policy change of the Indonesian government does not contribute in the explanation for the policy change. Babington mentions

that the increase in number of Child Welfare Institutions mainly resulted from individuals and organisations seeking to take financial advantage of easily obtained government subsidisations (Babington 2015, p. 158). Socio economic hardship among parents / familial caretakers are considered to be the main reason or push factor to place children in Child Welfare Institutions, even if they do not come from the poorest families (Irwanto & Kusumaningrum 2014, p. 29).

For Bali specifically, the fact that tourism is such an important factor of income, running a Child Welfare Institution to gain funding from tourists as an attractive business opportunity for own commercial purposes has become a possible scenario (Sudrajat [Save the Children Indonesia], 2017, personal communication). Butler describes in his podcast that generosity of holidaymakers intensifies the misery of vulnerable children and that funds are misused to let Child Welfare Institution owners own children study at international universities and to buy cars (Butler 2011). Babington narrates an interview with a government employee who states

'The problem is that many people abuse the *panti asuhan* for their own purposes, and it is also dangerous because we know that sometimes families bring their children to the Child Welfare Institutions and ask them for money (for the children). The families use the children... to get money' (Babington 2015, p. 172).

Another interviewee in Babington's research, a leading academic on child protection matters, stated

'Eventually, the *pantis* became a way of taking advantage of government money. Between 1998 and 2004, for example, there was what we called red-plate NGO's', that is government officials who saw that government was about to fund NGO's to run *pantis* or other programs so they established their own NGO's to take advantage. This continues to this day. Many *pantis* are selling poverty programs' (Babington 2015, p. 174).

A report drawn by SMERU research institute, BAPPENAS and UNICEF provides a clear figure about the several degrees within the childcare system in Indonesia (Isdijoso, 2015, p. 165). Every circle within the graph symbolizes one step further from the nuclear family (parents or guardian) who are seen by the government as the best option to provide care to children. Two arrows symbolize material deprivation and well-being as well as non-material well-being and deprivation, which decreases gradually when the child is taken care of by subsequently the extended family, the society and the state.

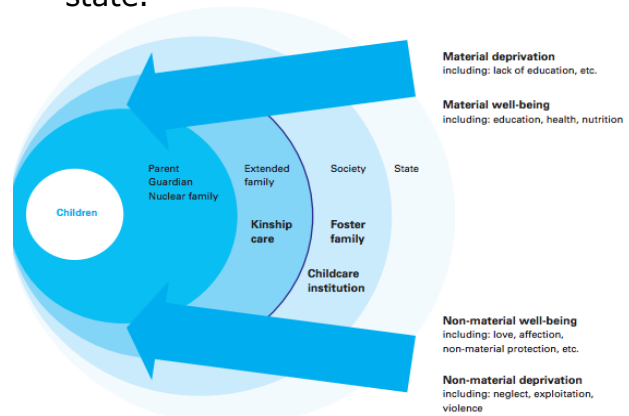


Figure 2.1: The childcare system in Indonesia (Isdijoso, 2015, p. 165)

It can clearly be seen that issues around material deprivation, material well-being and non-material well-being and non-material deprivation should be dealt with within parents, familial caretakers and the nuclear family primarily. If parents / familial caretakers are not in the position to solve the hardships the secondary step is the extended family. If the extended family is not able to help, the matter becomes a society issue in which in first instance a foster family helps, where the other option is a childcare institution. This policy is completely in line with the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011, the current guideline for childcare in Indonesia.

**Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011: National Standards of Care for Child Welfare Institutions.**

Save the Children argues that an effective child protection system does not wait for the child to be harmed to respond. It should identify, mobilize and strengthen resources available to children and their families at community level to reduce and mitigate risk factors (Martin, 2013, p. 129).

On March 18, 2011 the Minister of Social Affairs of the republic of Indonesia, Dr. Salim Segaf Al Jufri, signed a new decree dealing with national standards of care institutions. According to the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO30/HUK/2011 children are to be submitted to a Child Welfare Institution as a last alternative (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 52). The decree is within line of the

United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child which declares:

'Recognizing that the child, for the full and harmonious development of his or her personality, should grow up in a family environment, in an atmosphere of happiness, love and understanding' (United Nations Human Rights, office of the high commissioner, 1990, p. 1).

The United Nations Convention of the Rights of the Child has been ratified by Indonesia (with reservations) on January 26<sup>h</sup>, 1990 (Irwanto & Kusumaningrum 2014, p. 53, O'Kane, 2016, p. 36, Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 1, United Nations, 1994, p. 21). The 1945 Constitution of the Republic of Indonesia guarantees the fundamental rights of the child irrespective of its sex, ethnic origin or race. The Constitution prescribes those rights to be implemented by national laws and regulations. The ratification of the Convention on the Rights of the Child by the Republic of Indonesia does not imply the acceptance of obligations going beyond the constitutional limits nor the acceptance of any obligation to introduce any right beyond those prescribed under the Constitution. With reference to the provisions of articles 1, 14, 16, 17, 21, 22 and 29 of this Convention, the Government of the Republic of Indonesia declares that it will apply these articles in conformity with its Constitution (United Nations, 1994, p. 21).

The decree stipulates that an assessment of the child and his or her family must be carried out. The assessment should elaborate on the child's care situation by the parents and the family. The decree makes a special note on the effect on the child and the family in the specific cultural

context. (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 9). Submittance to a Child Welfare Institution should always be in the child's best interest.

The decree acknowledges that the child's family in most of the cases is in the best interest of the child. As family it understands:

'The smallest unit in society and shall consist of husband and wife, or husband, wife and child, or father and child, or mother and child, or a family consisting of blood relations in a straight line up to the third degree' (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 14).

The decree also clarifies the term substitute family:

'The substitute family that replaces the role of the nuclear family in providing care for children; consisting of kin, foster family, adoptive family and guardians' (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 14).

Parents should be responsible and accountable for:

1. Caring for, maintaining, educating and protecting children.
2. Ensuring the growth and development of children in accordance with his/her capabilities, talents and interests.
3. Preventing underage marriage.  
(Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 19).

It is expected from Child Welfare Institutions to carry out

social services for vulnerable children such as financial and psychological aid to prevent children being surrendered to Child Welfare Institutions due to economic reasons (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 20).

The Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO30/HUK/2011 stipulates when children need alternative care, such as placement in a Child Welfare Institution or a substitute family:

1. The family does not provide appropriate care even with adequate support, neglects, or overlooks their responsibility towards the child.
2. Children who have no family or the whereabouts of their family or relatives is not known.
3. Children who are victims of violence, abuse, neglect or exploitation in order to ensure their safety and well-being, where familial care is evidently against their best interest.
4. Children separated from their families due to disaster, either social or natural.  
(Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 20).

The Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO30/HUK/2011 refers back to the law on child protection NO23/2002, article 31 which states:

Individuals who conduct caregiving must have the same religion with that of the child to be cared for. Child Welfare Institutions are not allowed to change the child's identity, including name, religion and ethnicity.

(Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 61, Republik Indonesia, 2002, p. 8).

Out of four recommendations in the decree, two are significant in the extent for this report, namely that Child Welfare Institutions have to develop programs and policies to prevent the placement of children in institutions, inter alia by providing support and guidance to the most vulnerable families. Second applicable recommendation is that all Child Welfare Institutions take all the necessary measures to allow children who are placed in Child Welfare Institutions to return to their families whenever possible and to consider the placement of children in institutions as a measure of last resort (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 61, Republik Indonesia 2002, p. 3).

### Specific Problems for Children Living in Child Welfare Institutions or Leaving Child Welfare Institutions

The Centre on Child Protection of the University of Indonesia determines in her report that 42% of the children living in Child Welfare Institutions (the report calls the Child Welfare Institutions *panti*) have experienced physical violence and 44% of the children experienced verbal violence. According to the report parents are aware of 'bad situations', but many claimed to understand the violence (Irwanto & Kusumaningrum 2014, p. 38).

The Centre on Child Protection of the University of Indonesia did research among 426 children living in *panti*. The subject of research was the type of abuse occurring in Child Welfare Institutions, divided

<b>Form of abuse</b>	
<b>Physical</b>	
Boys	140
Girls	40
<b>Total</b>	42%
<b>Verbal</b>	
Boys	131
Girls	57
<b>Total</b>	44%
<b>Sexual</b>	
Boys	6
Girls	3
<b>Total</b>	2%

Table 2.1: Use of violence experienced by children in *panti* (Irwanto and Kusumaningrum 2014, p. 38)

in the abuse happening to boys and girls.

Children indicated that most sanctions in the Child Welfare Institutions in which they live regarded situations about:

1. Going in and out of the Child Welfare Institution, family visits, time to receive calls (83% answered yes) bed time, lunch dinner time, time for prayers (79% answered yes).
2. Dress code (64% answered yes).
3. Relationships with people inside of the *panti* (53% answered yes).
4. Relationships with people outside of the *panti* (50% answered yes).

(Irwanto & Kusumaningrum 2014, p. 38)

Research has shown that children leaving Child Welfare Institutions receive limited support for rehabilitation. There is a lack of

close relationships with the family, friends in the community and the institution itself after they leave the institution. This brings anxiety and confusion (Directorate General of Social Rehabilitation, Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011). The Centre on Child Protection of the University of Indonesia also mentions anxiety, sadness and loneliness as common problems within Child Welfare Institutions (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 61, Republik Indonesia 2002, p. 5).

Flagothier refers to adverse psychological problem's children face living in a Child Welfare Institution in Asia. A study in Nepal showed that children are suffering from depression, loss of concentration, stress, mental disturbances and deep sense of loss. Flagothier also mentions violence, abuse, exploitation and neglect as recurrently happening in Child Welfare Institutions in Indonesia (Flagothier 2016, p. 45).

To gain the status of foundation / Child Welfare Institution is not easy due to Indonesian regulations. Several regulations make the registration process difficult. The difficulty of registering a Child Welfare Institution is confirmed by the report by Save the Children UK, DEPSOS and UNICEF which notes that only 22 out of 28 researched private Child Welfare Institutions in their research had a legal status. The report claims that the government system to ensure the legal status of Child Welfare Institutions is not functioning properly (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 69). Not being registered as a Child Welfare Institution means no supervision nor inspections by

Social Service, so no follow up on any cases.

Save the Children states that there is a little awareness by governmental social workers of the potential negative effects when children live in a Child Welfare Institution. The governmental social workers saw institutionalization mainly as the best solution for families to be considered *tidak mampu*, in other words, families that are considered too poor and uneducated to provide proper care, guidance and discipline (Martin 2013, pp. 27-30). By law it is not allowed to employ children in hazardous jobs or worst forms of child labour, including practices similar to slavery and exploitation. It is prohibited to endanger the health, safety and morals (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 85).

According to Law 1/2002 on the ratification of International Labour Organization convention No.182 the worst forms of child labour are:

1. All forms of slavery or practices similar to slavery, such as the sale and trafficking of children, debt bondage and serfdom and forced or compulsory labour, including forced or compulsory recruitment of children for use in armed conflict.
2. The use, procuring or offering of a child for prostitution, for the production of pornography or for pornographic performances.
3. The use, procuring or offering of a child for illicit activities, in particular for

the production and trafficking of drugs as defined in the relevant international treaties.

4. Work which, by its nature or the circumstances in which it is carried out, is likely to harm the health, safety or morals of children.

(International Labour Office 1999, p. 2, Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 85).

Research by Save the Children UK, DEPSOS and UNICEF showed that in a number of institutions children's chores extended further to work that had to be carried out by children with the objective to contribute to the economy of the institution (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, pp. 197-202). Save the Children, UNICEF and DEPSOS conclude that this work is seen as exploitative and harmful by the law (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 197-202).

Richter and Norman describe orphanage tourism as a form of volunteer tourism characterized by short-term travel to residential care facilities to engage in every day caregiving or for a short leisure visit, where an emotional connection with needy young children is sold (Richter & Norman 2010, p. 224). Child Welfare Institutions exploits local poor families and well meaning foreigners. Poor families because they are enticed surrender their children to the Child Welfare Institution and well meaning foreigners as they think they can make a change in those children's lives while the main objective is to gain money (Mowforth 2016, p.

133). Save the Children is worried about the untrained and unskilled number of volunteers in Child Welfare Institutions and calls it a harmful practice of building and funding Child Welfare Institutions (Smith 2016).

### **Background of Children Living in Child Welfare Institutions, Admittance and Recruitment**

Research shows that many children cared for in Child Welfare Institutions are neither parentless nor abandoned by their families. The main reason for placement in a Child Welfare Institution is the economic situation of the parents on the desire for securing education (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 26, Martin 2013, p. 104, Butler 2011). Child Welfare Institutions actively recruit children to fulfil quotas, for example given by sponsors. For this recruitment Child Welfare Institutions mainly look at educational needs instead of care needs (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 107, Martin 2013, p. 119-123, O'Kane 2016, p. 19). Key criteria of most of the institutions researched by Save the Children, UNICEF and DEPSOS exposed that the child must be of school age, from a poor family, able to take care of oneself including washing, cooking and carrying out daily chores and willing to abide by the rules of the institutions.

The report by Save the Children, UNICEF and DEPSOS even questions whether institutions are run *by* children or *for* children as care for children is not prioritized and the ratio of staff per child is low. Generally, there is a lack of understanding of the importance of responsible adults providing individual care and attention to children. Life skills that are taught within the institution are in essence crucial to the actual running of the institution, such as cleaning, cooking

and washing (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 241). Babington notes that with shaping government policy the main focus went to economic, cultural and religious discourses, instead of the children's rights and wellbeing only (Babington 2015, p. 19).

The new policy on national child protection has identified nine major components for protection:

1. Children's voices and participation.
  2. Preventive and responsive services.
  3. A skilled child protection workforce.
  4. Meaningful coordination across government and between sectors at different levels.
  5. Effective regulation, minimum standards and oversight.
  6. Adequate funding.
  7. Child protection laws and policies, compliant with the Convention of the Rights of the Child and international standards and good practice.
  8. Knowledge and data on child protection issues and good practices.
  9. An aware and supportive public.
- (Martin 2013, p. 5).

The Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 is clear on the fact that economic reasons and poverty should not be the main reason for the separation of a child from its family, hence a submittance to a Child Welfare Institutions (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 20, Martin 2013, p. 75, Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 120). In contrast, access to education was named as primary aim for many

Child Welfare Institutions in the research done by Save the Children, UNICEF and DEPSOS (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. VI). As key conclusion Save the Children, UNICEF and DEPSOS note that children should not have to choose between education and family (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 86). SOS Children's Villages also acknowledges that parents who are unable to provide basic food, accommodation, education and healthcare for their children might seek institutional care for their children (Flagothier 2016, p. 18). A university professor acknowledged in an interview with O'Kane

'that many children are sent to child care institutions because of poverty and to gain a better education. While we know that child care institutions are not a place to educate children but a place to care for children in needs care (sic). This concept has been understood yet by the head of the community-based child care institutions. Their mindset is to help the poor children in need of education, rather than to help the children in need of care' (O'Kane 2016, p. 19).

When a child is to be submitted to a Child Welfare Institution, the institution is required to explore the availability and preparedness/capacity of the existing family to take care of the child, the so-called assessment.

The Child Welfare Institution must make sure there is no immediate family, extended family or substitute family that can take on the role of caregivers before taking a decision to take care of the child within the institution. Secondly the difficulties in caring for their children in the immediate family, extended family or substitute family need to be



explored, subsequently with the type of assistance to be provided or facilitated by the institution. This can be financial support and/or psychological support. Based on proper procedures the Child Welfare Institution identifies the appropriate organization and communicates accurate information to the caregivers (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 21). Most of the children have not been assessed according to the assessment criteria laid down in the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 120).

The child can be referred to a Child Welfare Institution by:

1. Referral from family and relatives.
  2. Referral from members of the community.
  3. Referral from the authorities.
  4. Referral from organizations that provide services to children such as Child Protection Committees (LPA), NGO's, schools and local health centres (*Posyandu*).
  5. Children and families themselves.
- (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 39)

Recruitment and admission needs to be closely supervised and incentives need to be put in place for institutions working to keep children within their families (Irwanto & Kusumaningrum 2014, p. 61). As stated above Child Welfare Institutions are not allowed to recruit proactively (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of

Indonesia 2011, p. 30). Butler proves in an interview with a mother of a child from North Bali who lived in a Child Welfare Institution in Denpasar that recruitment still actively happens (Butler 2011). Outreach activities are only allowed to identify children in need of alternative care.

A special provision in the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 is made relating to education. If the principal matter faced by the family is access to education, the Child Welfare Institutions are obliged to facilitate access to education by paying for tuition costs, school supplies and transportation costs. The Child Welfare Institutions are supposed to prevent the placement of children in their institutions based on the purpose of accessing education (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 33).

### **Denpasar City as Focus Area**

SMERU research institute, BAPPENAS and UNICEF compare numbers with every other *kabupaten* in Indonesia. From this information we can derive specific numbers for Denpasar city. SMERU research institute, BAPPENAS and UNICEF state that in 2009 the population of Denpasar city was 606.433 souls. Siregar (2015) mentions that in 2014 the population of Denpasar city grew to 616.400 souls.

Every registered Child Welfare Institution receives a small amount of money per child living in the Child Welfare Institution (SOSH or *satuan orang satu hari*) (Martin & Sudrajat 2007, p. 81), which invites to be given false numbers to receive more subsidisation from the government.

1. The population in 2009 consisted of 189.936 individuals younger than 18 (11.5%).
  2. 0.57% of the children were living below the provincial poverty line.
  3. 7.45% of the children were living below the International Poverty Line (IPL) of \$2, -.
  4. 9.97% of the children in Denpasar city lived without a proper toilet
  5. 16.98% without access to safe water.
  6. 44% of children aged 3-6 years were not enrolled in any early childhood education.
  7. 36.39 of children aged 7-17 were not enrolled in primary or secondary education.
  8. 6.63% of children were performing economic labour without attending school.
  9. 5.76% of children was performing economic labour and attending school.
- (Isdijoso, 2015, p. 236, 248, 260).

	<i>panti asuhan</i> amount of <i>panti asuhan</i>	<i>panti asuhan</i> amount of <i>penghuni</i>
2005	15	656
2006	15	592
2007	14	514
2008	15	837
2009	12	645
2010	12	645
2011	14	559
2012	15	778
2013	19	650
2014	13	694

Table 2.2: Amount of Child Welfare Institutions and amount of children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city  
(Wisnu 2006, p. 94, Wisnu 2007, p. 105, Wisnu 2008, p. 117, Wisnu 2009, p. 123, Wisnu 2010, p. 154, Suarsa 2011, p. 154, Suarsa 2012, p. 138, Suarsa 2013, p. 138, Siregar 2014, p. 142, Siregar 2015, p. 188)

It should be noted that these numbers include governmental *panti asuhan*. As can be seen in table 2.4, Panti Guna Dria Raba and SLB/C Kertha Wiweka (which are both governmental institutions according to information retrieved from Mrs. Sri Wahyuni (Dinas Sosial Provinsi Bali 2015)) are not Child Welfare Institutions as meant in this dissertation. Badan Pusat Statistik Kota Denpasar does not work according to the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 yet and still talks of *panti asuhan* in her yearly reports.

It is noteworthy to see that the trend for the total amount of children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Bali is declining, while the trend for the children living in Child Welfare Institutions Denpasar city is increasing.

The aftermath of the second terroristic attack related to children being submitted to Child Welfare Institutions has its peak in 2008, both in Bali as in Denpasar city and decreases sharply, 33,3%, but decreases only 10,8% in Denpasar city (2009 till 2014).

The current total number of children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city stretches till 648 children based on field research. Only 65,6% of the children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city are living in registered Child Welfare Institutions.

A registered Child Welfare Institution as above is registered with Social Service and has all documentation and registration with government bodies complete.

Badan Pusat Statistik Provinsi Bali measures poverty in Bali. The poverty line for urban areas in 2014 was 316.235 rupiah and for rural areas 279.140 rupiah (Siregar 2014, p. 180). The number of children living in Child Welfare Institutions and the number of Child Welfare Institutions itself against the percentage of people living in poverty in Bali is evaluated in the below figure.

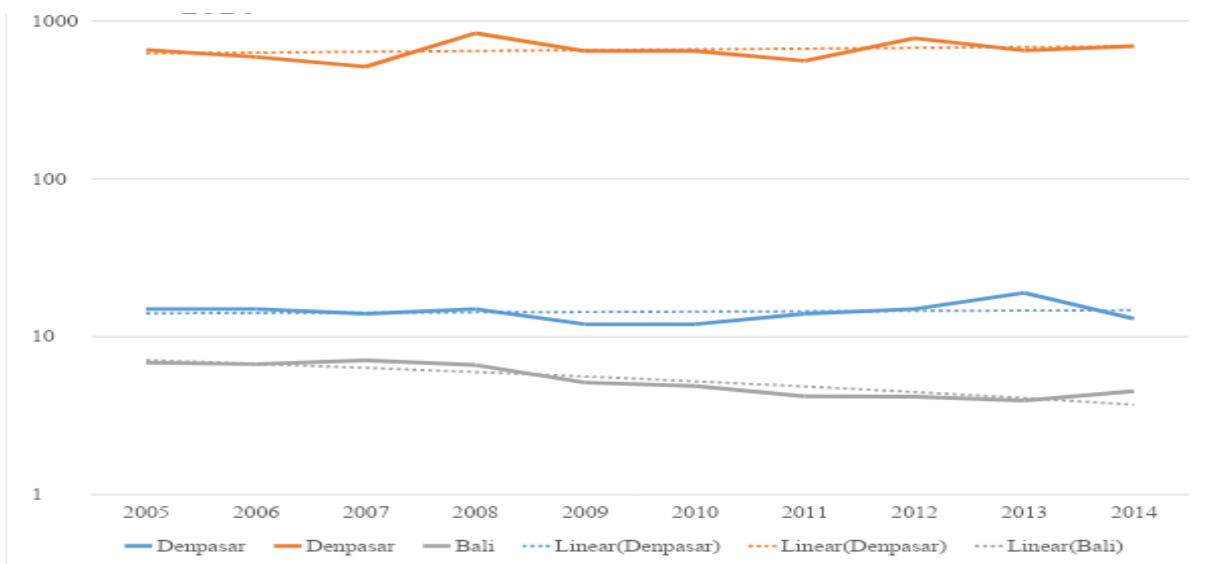


Figure 2.2: Number of Child Welfare Institutions / inhabitants in Denpasar related to people living in poverty in Bali, 2006-2014 (Siregar 2014, p. 180)

Looking at the numbers of the percentage of people living in poverty in Bali (those numbers are not available for the Denpasar city) it is remarkable to see that the percentage is in a downward trend till 2013 (3,95%). In 2015 the percentage of people living in Bali in poverty is 7,88%.

### Coping Mechanisms

None of the research executed after the first or second terroristic attack are concerning social cultural impact. The World Bank, together with UNDP and USAID has published a research report named Bali, Beyond the tragedy. This report was written after the first terroristic attack and focused on socio economic impacts (Mawdsley, Piza-Lopez & Kaiser 2003).

Prof. Dr. Made Suyana Utama in personal communication on 28/6/2018 has acknowledged that the data of the Udayana University key respondent survey is lost. Dr. Nick Mawdsley after personal contact on 16/8/2018 has sent the author the questionnaires and proposal used for the Udayana key respondent survey. The coping mechanisms are prescribed in the questionnaire, there was no room for other mechanisms.

There are four major coping mechanisms acknowledged by this research (>50%), decreased expenditures, delayed debt repayments, postpone decrease facilities/ infrastructure maintenance and pawning of assets. The report does not elaborate on what is understood by decreased expenditures, which has been used by 93,6% of the people asked as a coping mechanism.

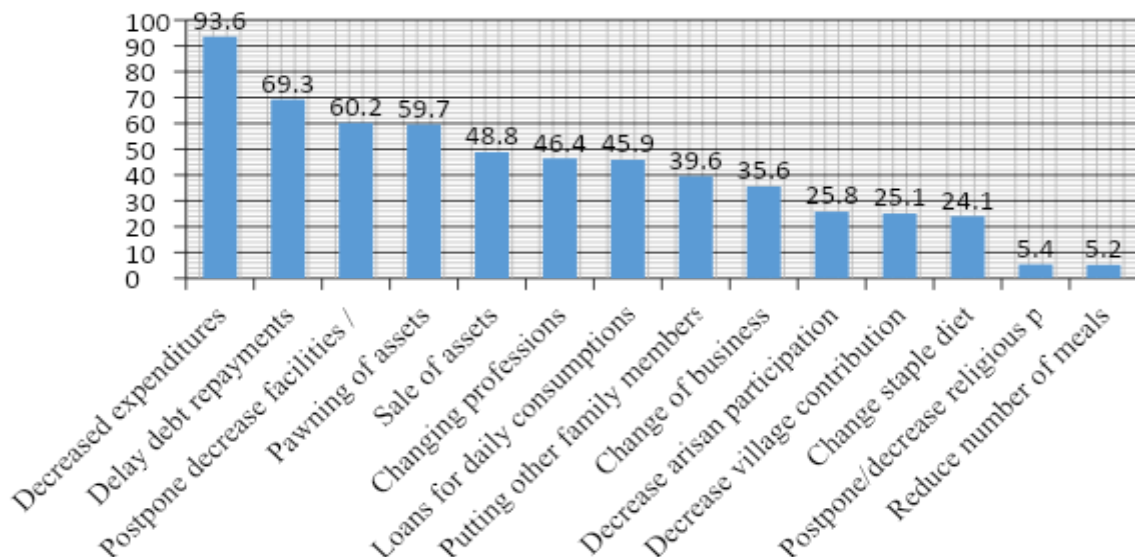


Figure 2.3: Coping mechanisms used within the community, by percentage (Udayana University key respondent survey, cited by Mawdsley et al. 2003, p. 24)

To send children to a Child Welfare Institution because it is financially impossible to provide proper education and provide food to them is a coping mechanism; it is decreasing expenditures. The numbers shown in several figures in this chapter also underline that submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions increased, especially after the second terroristic attack.

The report by UNDP (Mawdsley et al. 2003) also mentions school dropouts after the terroristic attacks as a measurement instrument. It could be categorized as decreasing

'Confronting crisis: Impacts & Response to the Bali tragedy' (Anon. 2003). This report gave more focus on regional coping mechanisms.

It is remarkable to see that closing shops is now integrated as a coping mechanism. Pawning assets is mostly done among inhabitants of Denpasar city. It is interesting to realize that the second attack resulted in higher dropout rates at school compared to the first attack in which nobody detached kids out of school. Another coping strategy discussed is the migration back to ancestral villages. According to The World Bank, Denpasar city faced a

No		Selling assets	Closing shops	Pawning assets	Send family members to work	Take kids out of school	Reduced participation in arisan
1	Denpasar	6%	6%	19%	0%	0%	6%
2	Gianyar	12%	39%	17%	15%	0%	15%
3	Bangli	36%	16%	28%	24%	0%	28%
4	Klungkung	13%	17%	13%	21%	4%	n/a
5	Karangasem	7%	20%	9%	4%	0%	13%
6	Buleleng	17%	12%	15%	13%	0%	19%
7	Jembrana	22%	0%	17%	9%	4%	4%
8	Tabanan	10%	10%	15%	10%	0%	3%
9	Badung	23%	3%	29%	20%	6%	3%
	Total	16%	15%	17%	13%	1%	13%

Source: Kecamatan Key Respondent Survey

Figure 2.5: Coping mechanisms in 'Confronting crisis: Impacts & Response to the Bali tragedy' (Anon 2003)

expenditures or under putting other family members to work. Based on the numbers in Bali dalam Angka the following graph could be made (Nugroho 2016, p. 169).

Other research considers socio-economic effects (Gurtner 2004, Hitchcock & Putra 2007), but never acknowledge socio-cultural effects.

In January 2003 the World Bank published a report named

9% outbound student migration and an 18% inbound student migration. This inbound migration is interesting, as it might have caused even more children being submitted to Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city (Anon 2003, p. 12).

Nanda and Hargreaves discuss social impacts of the terroristic attacks in their report Restructuring of post-crisis GPN's: tourism in Indonesia (Nanda & Hargreaves

2013). Even though the report is published in 2013, it mainly refers back to research done by Udayana University published in 2003, used in the report by UNDP, in cooperation with the World Bank and USAID.

The report also refers to a research done by Strategic Asia in the context of the second terroristic attack. 21 labourers were interviewed in this survey. The report admits that the sample size was small and not necessarily reflects the total labour force. The 21 labourers suggest that the impact of the second attack was less severe. The report also focuses on the poverty line and makes an interesting conclusion:

“For the 2002 bombings, there was an approximately 6.5 percent increase in the percentage of the total population below the poverty line between 2002 and 2003; after the 2005 bombings, there was an approximately five percent increase in the percentage of the population below the poverty line during the year 2005/06. However, one nuance to be noted is that, after the 2005 bombings, although urban poverty increased, rural poverty declined by approximately half a percentage point. This could suggest that the impact of the bombing did not have a significant impact on the rural areas of Bali” (Nanda & Hargreaves 2013, p. 17).

In the book *Tourism, Development and Terrorism in Bali* Hitchcock and Putra discuss the impact of terrorism on Bali (Hitchcock & Putra 2007), but mainly in economic terms. The

authors have used the Bali dalam Angka reports as well, by lack of other reliable statistics (see also: Hitchcock & Putra 2006). A few cultural aspects of the terroristic attacks are discussed but none of them relate to decreasing expenditures or children being submitted to Child Welfare Institutions.

In their book ‘The Balinese People’, Jensen and Suryani (Jensen & Suryani 1992, p. 142) note another interesting fact that has not been recognized in coping mechanisms:

‘Other means for coping with anger utilize Hindu mechanisms: trust or faith that God will handle the problem; belief in reincarnation, leading to a resigned acceptance of mistakes...’.

This fact should not be forgotten in investigating the social cultural impact of the terroristic attacks.



*Obviously, in my heart there's a feeling of guilt over the circumstances. If... If we take them home and they don't get to school... That makes me feel more guilty. But it is an advantage for them in the future, because of these circumstances. If they don't get to school it will be troublesome for them in the future, and I will feel more guilty and have regret.*

Gede, the father of a 15 year old boy living in a Hindu Child Welfare Institution in Denpasar.



### 3. RESEARCH FINDINGS: CHILDREN IN CHILD WELFARE INSTITUTIONS IN DENPASAR AND THEIR PARENTS / FAMILIAL CARETAKERS

The sample group for this quantitative research was defined based on research done by Save the Children (Martin & Sudrajat 2007). A sample group has been defined based on the percentage of boys (54,8%) and girls (45,2%) as outlined as outcome within the research by Save the Children and is further defined by age group and restricted by being submitted to the Child Welfare Institution after October 2002, being indigenous Balinese and based on a variety of religious background of the Child Welfare Institutions.

A complete picture of the actual number of children in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city was sketched by preliminary research. Based on the quantity of children in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city a defensible corpus for qualitative research was defined, based on the earlier mentioned set of restrictions. The qualitative research is executed by in-depth interviews with children and parents / familial caretakers. In total nine Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar gave consent to research within the vicinity of their Institution.

Field research has shown that currently out of 648 children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city 225 children classify as indigenous Balinese. To qualify to be interviewed a child had to be at least in the age group of five to nine years old.

The UN declares: "Indigenous communities, peoples and nations are those which, having a historical continuity with pre-invasion and pre-colonial societies that developed on their territories, consider themselves

distinct from other sectors of the societies now prevailing on those territories, or parts of them" (United Nations 2008). Criteria for an indigenous Balinese in this dissertation are:

1. bearing a name fitting in the Balinese system of name giving within all *kasta*
2. born in Bali

Indigenous Balinese children are likely victimized by the social cultural effects of the terroristic attacks. Therefore, the research focused on those classified as indigenous Balinese. Besides that, the focus was on children submitted to a Child Welfare Institution after October 2002. The selected 225 children live in Child Welfare Institutions with multi-religious background (2), a Hindu background (3), a Christian background (4) and a Muslim background (3).

The qualitative research focused on the reason for children to be submitted to a Child Welfare Institution. The qualitative research will not only focus on the children but also involved parents / familial caretakers.

#### Demographics Sample 50 Children

In this subchapter a quantitative approach towards the sample can be found. In total ten children living in Christian Child Welfare Institutions, 29 children in Hindu Child Welfare Institutions, eight children living in multi religious Child Welfare Institutions and three children living in a Muslim Child Welfare Institution have been interviewed. Subsequently parents of 16 children mentioned above were interviewed.

In total nine Child Welfare Institutions gave permission for conducting research, representing a Hindu, Christian, Muslim and a multi-religious background. Percentages of participation, names of Child Welfare Institution and religious background can be found in figure 3.1: researched Child Welfare Institutions.

Only children with a Balinese background were classified to be a participant in the research. An inventory has been made on the *kabupaten* where children were born. The result can be seen in Figure 5.2, Geographical backgrounds of children in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar.

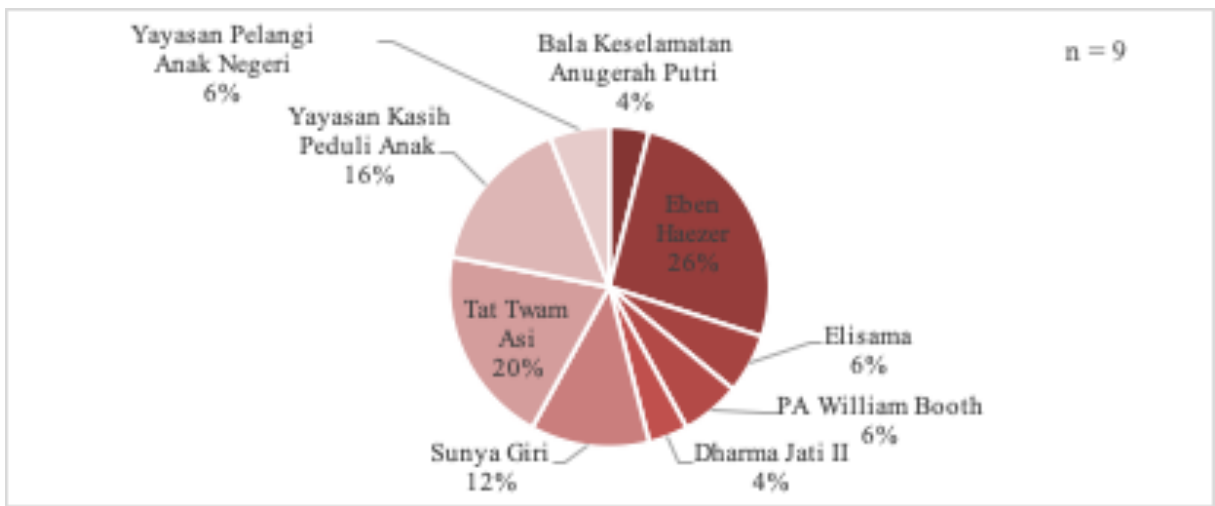


Figure 3.1: Researched Child Welfare Institutions

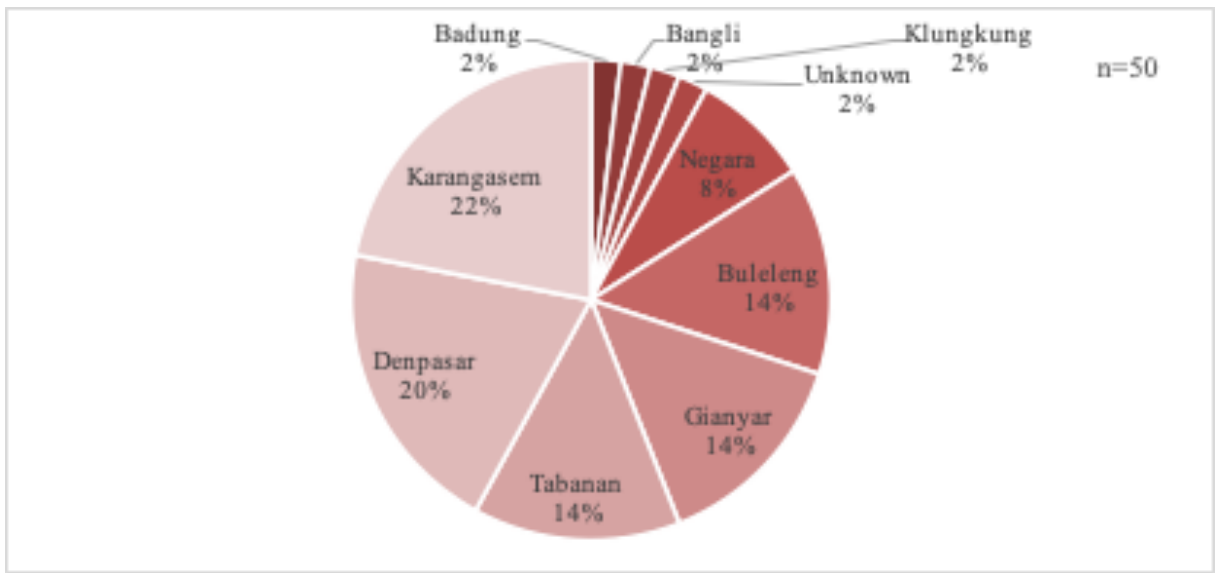


Figure 3.2: Geographical backgrounds of children in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar

An inventory has been made based on the age of interviewed children per religious background of the

Child Welfare Institution. The outcomes have been presented in below pie charts.

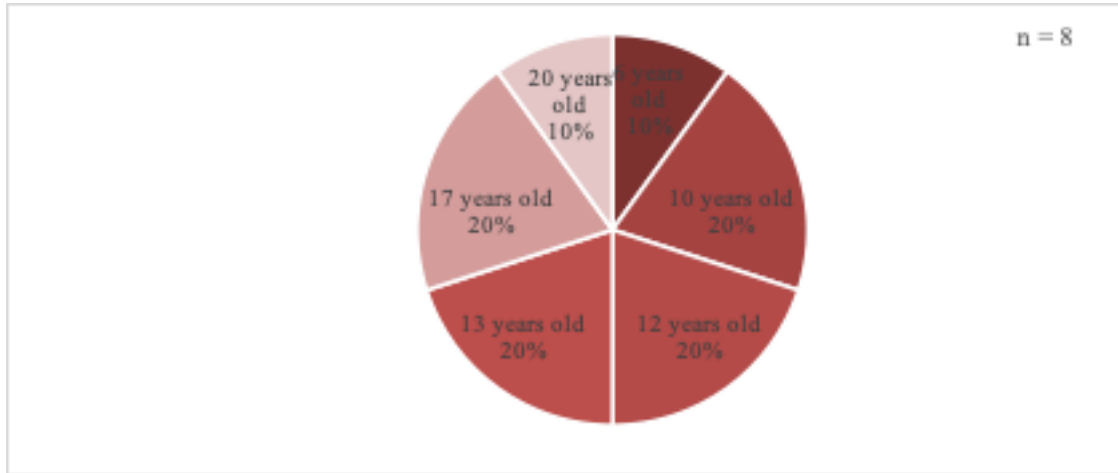


Figure 3.3: Age of interviewed children in Christian Child Welfare Institutions

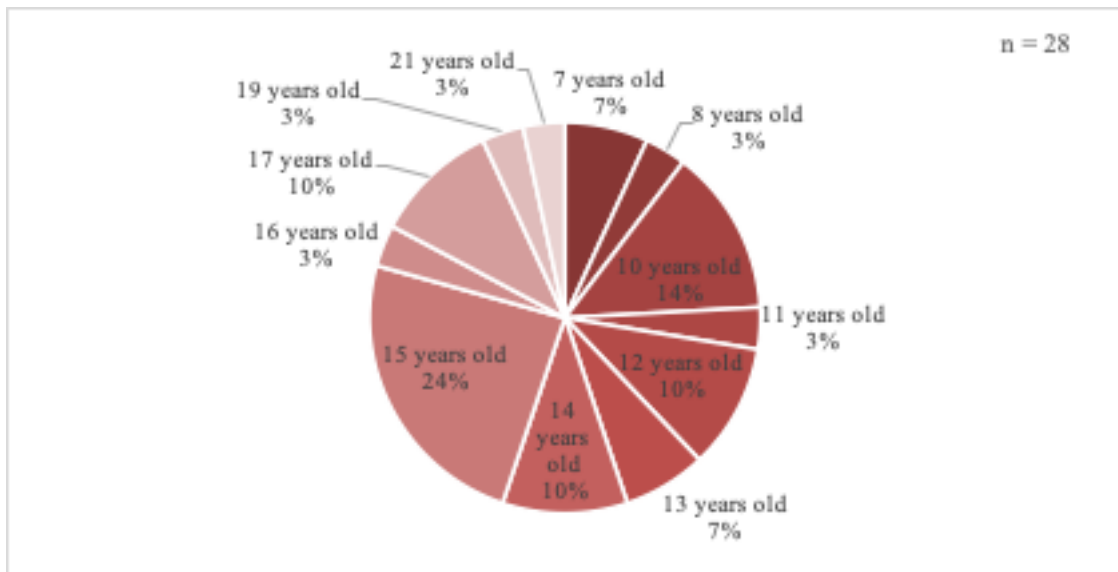


Figure 3.4: Age of interviewed children in Hindu Child Welfare Institutions

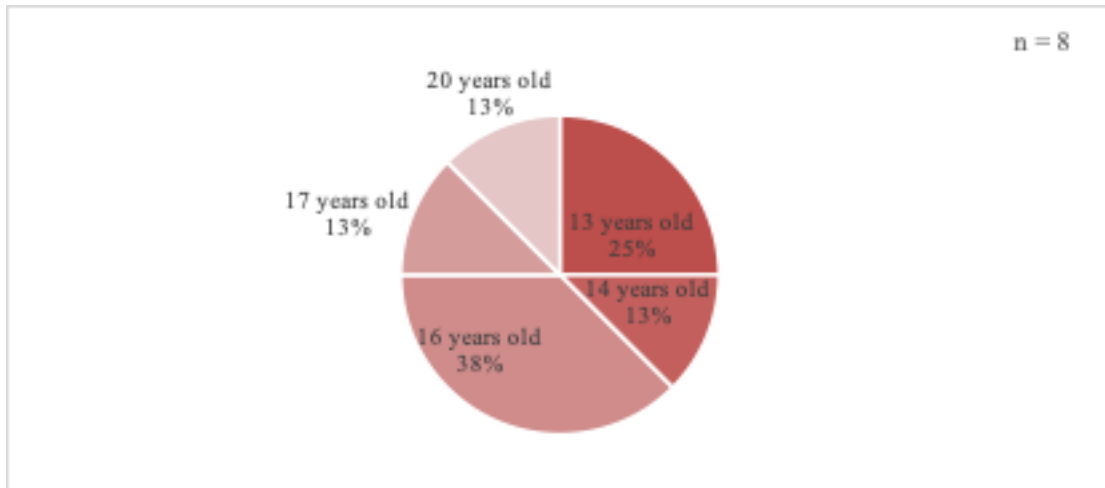


Figure 3.5: Age of interviewed children in Multi-religious Child Welfare Institutions

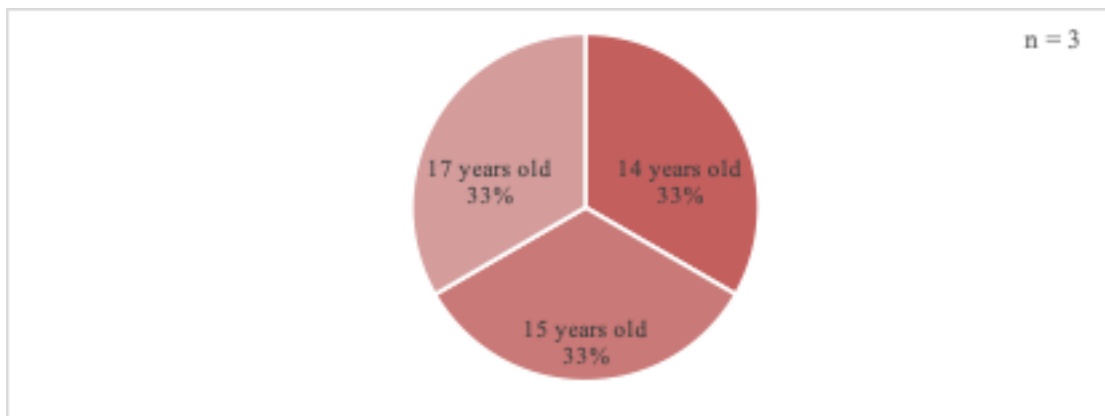


Figure 3.6: Age of interviewed children in Muslim Child Welfare Institutions

To understand the familial background all children were asked whether their parents were known and alive. This helped in understanding the concept of 'orphan' and 'orphanage' in the Indonesian context. 76 percent of the children researched still have

both parents alive and another 16 percent of the children have one parent alive and known. In figure 5.7: Status parents an overview is given of the status of the parents of the children researched.

Subsequently; ten children noted that their parents divorced.

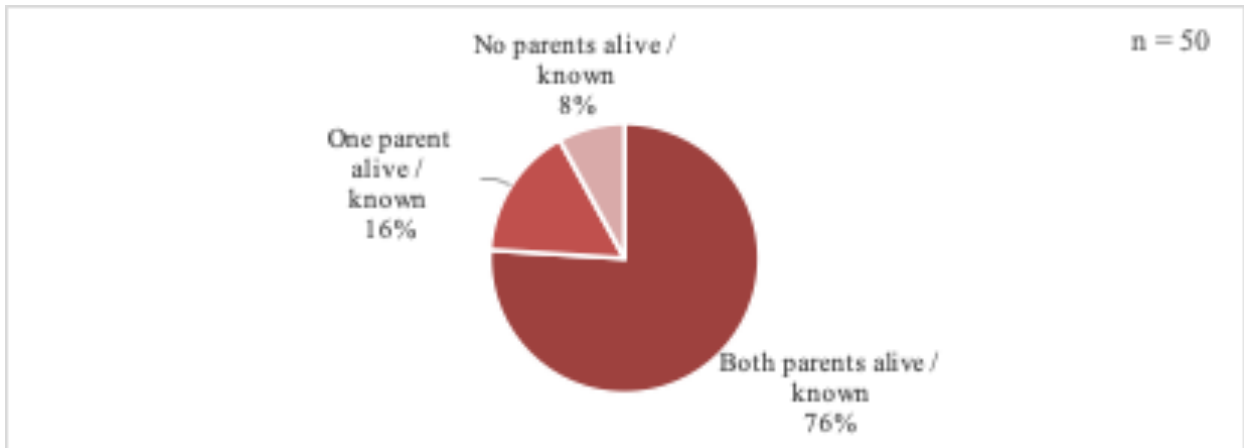


Figure 3.7: Status parents

### Way of submittance

It is striking that in fact a number of children have chosen themselves to go and live in the Child Welfare Institution, where other children have been sent to the Child Welfare Institutions by parents / familial caretakers.

It should be remarked that many familial caretakers have heard about the Child Welfare Institutions from friends, family, villagers or even schoolteachers, but that also cases are identified where Child Welfare Institutions recruited children in underprivileged villages directly.

Recruitment is prohibited under the decree of the Minister of Social Affairs:

Child Welfare Institutions should receive referrals for children in need of alternative care but should not proactively recruit children in communities that do not require alternative care. (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 30).

An interesting narrative is shared by Wayan, a 17 year old boy from Buleleng. At the moment of the interview he lived for three years in the Child Welfare

Institution now. His father passed away after an accident.

### Who recommended you to stay here?

It was Ms. ..., one of the caretakers here. I lived close to her house in Buleleng. She went to her home in Buleleng every six months during *Galungan*. At that time, she met me and asked whether I wanted to stay in the orphanage or not. Because of the financial condition of my family, I said 'yes'.

### Did she talk to you directly at that time?

Hmm, she talked to my mother.

### Was your mother unable to pay for your school at that time?

Yes, because my father passed away and my mother had a difficult time to pay my school.

### Wayan's mother has been interviewed. She contributes:

### How about the process when surrendering him to the orphanage?

The owner of the orphanage came here and my neighbour introduced me to her. Miss ... and Miss ... came and stay overnight here and they suggested that if we can't send our child to school, we can go to the

orphanage and then the orphanage will send them to school.

Putu is a 20 year old girl from Karangasem. She lives for six years in a Child Welfare Institution. She narrates:

**Did your parents allow you to stay here?**

Hmm, in the beginning, they said no.

**Why?**

They said, it would be better if I move to ... a few years later since my junior high school was free and I got a scholarship there.

Hmm, when ... picked me up, my parents weren't at home.

An interview was conducted with the parents of Putu as well. It is interesting to see the different perception of the chronology seen from the eyes of the parents.

**Where did you get the information on the orphanage?**

Told by...

There was a liaison. There is a foundation here too...

**Oh a foundation, here?**

Yes, there is. There's a friend that was working in that foundation that told me.

**Did he work for the foundation here? Why did you not place her in the orphanage here if that was nearer?**

She was too old.

**At that time, what is your reason for surrendering your daughter to the orphanage?**

Because we have less than fortunate economic condition.

If we thought that we could school her here, then we didn't have to bring her there, right?

Yes. Better for her to live with her family, right?

**First, you got the information from your friend, right? Then she was**

**being brought right away or register first?**

She was being brought right away.

Then she was being brought right away, being accepted, and lived there... Just like that?

Yes.

**So, that day she went was also the day she got accepted?**

Yes.

**About your friend, did he really know about the orphanage in Denpasar?**

He knew.

**Oh he knew so he recommend it to you?**

Yes.

**At first, why did he suggest it to you? You asked him first?**

No. He... He was... Maybe, he asked my child before what about her being schooled in the orphanage? She was being asked and when she came home from school she told me : 'Dad, I've been asked if I want to be schooled in Denpasar and live in the orphanage?'. I let her make the decision, if she want it, if she can stand it... Then do as you want, right? I told her. Then she said that she wanted to go, and he brought her there. So... So... That is what she wanted, that's it.

Maybe he already knew about my situation here. For example, he told us about things, if I want my child to be schooled... There is a way, he said. If she lived here maybe she won't continue to high school, I am being honest with you. I am not ashamed, the circumstance is like this, right? I am poor, my child wanted to continue her schooling, moreover if I am didn't let her... I can't do that for her. So I let her decide...

**So that's why you let her choose?**

Yes, let her decide.

An interesting chronology is shared by Ketut from Negara. His parents are divorced and Ketut ended up living in a Child

Welfare Institution. Ketut has three sisters of whom two are already married and one sister who still lives with his mother.

**Do you know why your father asked you to stay here?**

Because he could not afford my school.

**Who asked you to stay here?**

My mother *<annoyed face>* asked me to stay here, but my father was the one who brought me here.

**Did you cry when your father brought you here?**

Yes.

**Did you feel sad?**

Yes.

**Why?**

I don't know *<soft voice>*.

**If you can choose, do you prefer to stay with your father or your mother?**

I prefer to stay with my mother.

**Do you have any relatives who have stayed here as well?**

No.

**Have you ever been mad at your parents because they asked you to stay here?**

No, never.

**In which grade are you now?**

I am still in the first grade of junior high school; package B.

**Did your mother ask your opinion before telling you to stay here?**

Yes, she did.

**What did you say?**

I said 'yes I want to stay there' because I didn't know anything at that time.

**How did your father know about this orphanage?**

He knew it from one of our neighbours.

Primary reason to be submitted to a Child Welfare Institution for Ketut are financial struggles, probably caused by the mentioned divorce,

which secondarily led to austerity on education. The Child Welfare Institution has been chosen to fill in the gap of a lack of funding for Ketut's education. The Child Welfare Institution was chosen upon a referral from neighbours.

Another interesting chronology is shared by Ayu: She is a 14 year old girl from Tabanan, living in the Child Welfare Institution for one year. She has one younger brother.

**Who told your parents about this orphanage?**

My aunt *<glassy eyes>*

**Who told your aunt about this orphanage?**

My aunt is working in SMA ..., and one of her students is staying in this orphanage.

**Why don't you stay with your aunt?**

No.

**But, did your parents agree to put you here?**

Yes. *<she avoids eye contact with the researcher, was holding back her tears>*

**But, did they force you to come here?**

No, they asked my opinion first.

**What did you say at that time?**

I said yes at that time. I thought it was going to be easy for me to go home whenever I want it *<holding back her tears>*.

**Do you feel mad at your parents?**

Yes, I do feel that...but *<holding back her tears again>*

**With your brother?**

*<She is crying>*

**Do you know why your parents ask you to stay here?**

They said the social environment in Tabanan is not good for me. They wanted me to have a better future as well as to be an independent woman.

**Did you feel mad because you need to stay here while your brother stayed at home?**

*<nodding her head while wiping her tears>*

**If you can choose, do you prefer to stay here or with your parents?**

With my parents.

**Have you ever asked your parents to take you back home?**

Yes, I asked them once, and I told them that I was not feeling comfortable staying here.

**Did they offer you to go home?**

No, they did not.

**Do you know until when did your parents want you to stay here?**

They wish until I finish my university.

The referral to the Child Welfare Institution has been made by an aunt of Ayu who works at a high school. The decree of the Minister of Social Affairs stipulates referrals in practice:

The Child Welfare Institution receives referrals by the Social Authorities, the Child Protection agencies, Non-Governmental Organizations or other parties that deem a child needs to be placed in the institution for their best interest (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 30).

In this case the aunt, in her role as educator, should have reached out to the Child Welfare Institution and make a referral to her niece.

After the interview <IHG14B>: mentioned that she feels that her parents love her younger brother more than they love <IHG14B>: This may be caused by the successive links of patrification from father to son as described by Geertz in their book Kinship on Bali (Geertz & Geertz 1975, p. 47).

In the case of <IHG15C> the choice for a Child Welfare Institution was also based on the religion practiced within the Child

Welfare Institution. Putu, a 17 year old girl from Tabanan, narrates the following based upon the question why she wasn't submitted to a Child Welfare Institution in Tabanan:

**Aren't there any orphanages in Tabanan?**

I think there are some, but I was looking for a Hindu orphanage.

**Why don't you stay there?**

One of my neighbours stayed there, and they asked him/her to convert her/his religion to being Christian.

Wayan is a 15 year old boy from Klungkung. His parents passed away (even though his story is not clear on the actual passing of his mother, he is told she passed away). His aunt made the decision to submit Wayan to a Child Welfare Institution, apparently without informing her brothers and sisters.

**Who brought you here?**

My aunties child.

**Where did you live before?**

Before I was living with my aunt in Negara. But I could not go to school, so I was brought here so I could get education.

**How did you, or your aunt, know that you could get free education here?**

I just heard it. There are two orphanages, one in Klungkung and one in Denpasar. They said to just go here with Pak Komang.

**Why not in Klungkung, but here?**

I don't know..

**Was it chosen for you?**

Yes.

**But did they not ask whether you would like to live in an orphanage?**

No.

**What did they say?**

Come here, we buy clothes, because you go to school, and then I was brought here.

**Did they know that you were sent here at the time?**



First they didn't know and they were looking for me. Just one knew, my brother. Later when I met them again, they knew that I am living here.

So, from the family in Klungkung, nobody asked if you want to stay with them?

Yes, they did. But my aunt did not allow.

The Child Welfare Institution where Wayan was submitted to has two locations, one in Denpasar and one in Klungkung. Many Balinese children from different areas than Denpasar are submitted in Denpasar. Even though not clearly stated by parents or children an assumption can be that there are some feelings of shame and guilt towards other villagers to submit your child to a Child Welfare Institution in your own region.

In Figure 5.2: Geographical backgrounds of children in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar it can be seen that many children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar are actually coming from different regions.

It can be concluded that some Child Welfare Institutions actively recruit children in underprivileged villages and in families with poor financial conditions. Some children also chose themselves to live in a Child Welfare Institution. Main reason for living in a Child Welfare Institution is the possibility to follow education, other reasons are economic hardship, family situation / sickness, neglected children and 'to be independent'. By 10% of the interviewed children the reason was unknown. These were mainly young children.

Some children are referred to Child Welfare Institutions by government employees, such as teachers, social service employees and village heads. The decree of the Minister of Social Affairs stipulates referrals in practice (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 30) but the decree is not followed.

Another argument mentioned for placing children in certain Child Welfare Institutions is religion. Some familial caretakers prefer a Child Welfare Institution with the same religion as themselves.

Finally, there is a suspicion that children might be placed in Child Welfare Institutions far away from their hometown to avoid feelings of guilt and shame. This hypothesis is however not proven by research.

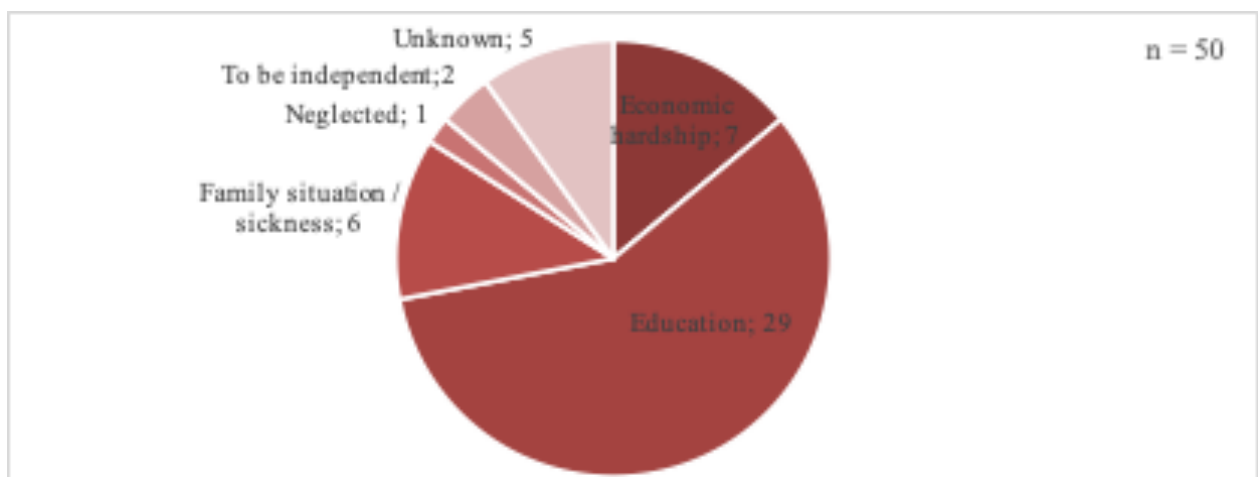


Figure 3.8: Reason of submittance to a Child Welfare Institution

### Feelings of parents

The most striking answer on the question about feelings came from the parents of Gede, a 15 year old boy. In his answer he talks about guilt and regret.

Obviously, in my heart there's a feeling of guilt over the circumstances. If... If we take them home and they don't get to school... That makes me feel more guilty. But it is an advantage for them in the future, because of these circumstances. If they don't get to school it will be troublesome for them in the future, and I will feel more guilty and have regret. You can think of it like we have failed them, but not really because there is still a way. A way over. Even if sometimes there are people who talk and ask 'how come your children are schooled at an orphanage'. They don't know how the environment of the orphanage is. 'how can you entrust your children to the foundation', they don't know about it but they are prejudiced. 'Ah don't put your child in the orphanage', just because they don't know. That's why I never recommend. Even if they have the same situation as me, and also have children.

They will know after they put their children there, who knows if their children can settle to the environment or not. Maybe I will have more children or nephew/niece who can't get education just because of their family situation, then they can go to the orphanage.

Also the parents of Ayu talk about sorrow, but also education as motivator for letting her daughter go to a Child Welfare Institution.

In my heart, I will always feel sorrow. Why? Because of my circumstances I can't send her to school by myself.

Because she wanted to continue school, you know?

She only wanted to continue her education, that's it.

All we can do is support her.

The most important thing is for her to get an education, right?

If she stayed here, she would drop out of school.

The reactions of parents involved in the research were diverse. A possible reason for the diversity in answers are shame and guilt regarding the situation towards the researchers. Results regarding reactions of parents are inconclusive, but do help to understand the familial atmosphere of submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions.

### Reactions

In the previous chapter some parents talk about guilt, regret and sorrow, but when asked about the responses from family only the sister of Dewa who is assisting her father in this interview, tells that the family did not completely agree:

**How about the family response about surrendering a child to an orphanage?**

Many of them said Dewa is staying there? That means she is rarely coming home' or 'the orphanage is bad'. Some even said 'why your child has to go to school there? don't you miss her?'

**So, there are also many who disagree?**

Yes. They said 'it is bad there, you can't meet your child'

Many other parents confirmed that there was no issue within the family that children were being sent to a Child Welfare Institution.

As seen in the identified reactions from family mainly the extended family does not mind that one of the

children is surrendered to a Child Welfare Institution.

This is in line with earlier findings where it was determined that in several cases, it was actually the nuclear family (in many cases brothers or sisters of the parents) referred to the Child Welfare Institution.

### **Reaction child according to the familial caretaker**

Three narratives are adding up to the overall understanding of the submittance of children to Child Welfare Institutions. Consecutively the narratives the brother in law of Kadek, the mother of Komang and the parents of Wayan will be shared.

Kadek is a child from a broken home. He admitted that he felt sad and cried after being submitted to the Child Welfare Institution.

**Did you know about Kadek's feeling when he first stayed in the orphanage?**

At first, of course. But after a while I saw the changes, I feel grateful. Very grateful, because the changes are quite far. He also understood with the condition.

**How about Kadek's reaction when first he was told to live in the orphanage?**

At the first, he asked a lot, but over time he feels comfortable.

Komang is a 14 year old Hindu girl from Tabanan.

**How about Komang's first reaction when she stayed in the orphanage? She often cried, or?**

No, she never cried. It was her choice, to stay in the orphanage.

Interestingly Komang shared a quite opposite story of her first period in the Child Welfare Institution:

**Did you feel sad the first time you stayed here?**

Yes, I was crying and feeling sad.

**But now, do you feel comfortable?**

Yes, as soon as the school started, I was fine.

Wayan is another 14 year old Hindu girl, also from Tabanan.

**Is there any change in Wayan's behaviour before she went to the orphanage and after? Maybe more disciplined, or?**

There is, she is more interested in studying. Before, on her first days there, she was often crying asking to go home.

**She wanted to go home?**

She doesn't feel at home there. But now she's comfortable living there.

**What about Wayan's feeling when she first came there, when she did not feel at home?**

Yes, she didn't feel at home there.

**Did she cry? Asking to go home?**

She did cry, and wanted to go home. She even got sick.

Even though Wayan's parents consider her to be comfortable living in the Child Welfare Institution, Wayan share quite a different opinion:

**What makes you not feel comfortable here?**

Hmmm...

**Is it because you don't have freedom here? Or do you feel there are too many regulations here?**

Yes <crying>. It just too much, especially when guests are coming, I cannot have a good rest. For example, I just went back from school, and guests are coming late, and I don't have time to finish my school assignments.

It can be concluded that having a child living in a Child Welfare Institution disrupts family relations. Usually children can only go 'home' with Balinese holidays such as Galungan and Kuningan. Some children are being visited in the Child Welfare Institution, some only have contact by phone. Above examples show that familial caretakers do not know what the child is experiencing psychologically and emotionally. This statement is in line with the findings of Kaur, Vinnakota, Panigrahi and Manasa (2018), who state 'Orphans and other vulnerable children and adolescents living in institutional homes are more prone to behavioural and emotional problems than others as they are deprived of a family's love and care' (p.1).

### **Reason**

The main reason that children live in Child Welfare Institutions is explored in interviews with parents / familial caretakers as well as children. A difference in responses can be seen when the age of children is being taken into consideration, some smaller children had difficulties answering questions about the intention of living in the Child Welfare Institution.

An interesting narrative is shared by Nengah, a 12 year old girl, living in a Hindu orphanage.

**Do you know why your parents asked you to stay here?**

Because we have a financial problem; they couldn't afford my school.

**What made you want to stay here then?**

I realized that my parents wouldn't be able to afford my school.

**But shouldn't your father be able to pay for your school?**

Hmm, I don't think so. Before, it was quite challenging for him to pay for my sisters' school. Also, he didn't know about this orphanage before.

**Do you have any plans to continue your study to senior high school?**

Yes. I am also planning to stay in this orphanage until I finish my senior high school.

When asked upon her parents efforts to make a livelihood, and with that possibly not having to send their daughter to a Child Welfare Institution, the answer is striking:

**Does your father have a rice field?**

Yes, but somebody else is taking care of it. If the harvest time comes, they will divide the yields. Usually, if they get seven sacks of rice, my father will get three sacks.

**Does your father usually sell those sacks?**

No, we cook it for a daily food.

**Has your father ever sold those rice sacks?**

Yes, when he doesn't have money left. For example, when I needed money for school recreation, he sold one of his pigs.

**Pigs? Does he have pigs at home?**

Yes, he has four pigs and he sells the *babi guling* from his pigs.

Susi, a 12 year old girl in a Christian orphanage who had stayed in the Child Welfare Institution prior to her (re)submission narrates:

**But why did you parents choose this place? Where did they get the information from?**

Because I had stayed here before when I was small.

**And then?**

They asked me again to stay here last year because they thought it would benefit my future.

**Did they force you to come here?**

No, I asked them to bring me back to this orphanage.

**Are there any other reasons why your parents allow you to stay here?**

I think; it is because they don't have enough money to pay my school.

Subsequently, Kadek a 17 year old boy in a Christian orphanage points out that the practice of receiving education in a Child Welfare Institution is common in his family. My father has ten other siblings who lived in this orphanage as well. For me to be able to go to school, my parents asked me to stay here.

Problems in the family, many times related to sickness or death, create economic hardship and result in drop outs at school. Gede, a ten year old boy in a Hindu orphanage narrates:

**Did your parents ask you to stay here?**

Yes.

**Why?**

Because we couldn't find a school.

**What do you mean?**

Because I had to drop out of my previous elementary school. When I was about to continue my study, some of the schools required me to have my score details of the prior school, but I don't have it. In the end, my parents found this school and they asked me to move here. They forced me to stay here.

Kadek, also a 12 year old boy in a Hindu orphanage narrates the following (striking is the self-sufficing of a 12 year old):

**Is it also because your parents are not capable of paying your school fees ?**

Yes.

**Did you do this to help your parents?**

Yes.

**Why did you drop out of school?**

Because my younger brother was hospitalized and my parents didn't have enough money at that time. He had pneumonia since he was six months and when he was about to enter the age of five years old, he got severe symptoms, which caused that he needed to be hospitalized again.

Other children point out other family problems, such as a Putu, a 16 year old boy in a multi religious Child Welfare Institution:

Hmm, it is because my stepmother doesn't care about me.

Wayan, A 16 year old girl in a multi religious Child Welfare Institution points out the birth of a new sibling being the reason for economic hardship:

**Did your parents pay for your elementary and senior high school before?**

Yes, they did pay our (her older sibling and herself) elementary and junior high school. But because we have a new sibling, they couldn't afford to pay our school anymore.

Agung, a 17 year old boy in a multi religious Child Welfare Institution points out the fact that his father passed away as reason for economic hardship:

**Was your mother unable to pay for your school at that time?**

Yes, because my father passed away and my mother had a difficult time to pay my school.

Putu, a 12 year old boy in a Hindu orphanage points out free education:

My neighbour is also studying in this school, but he finished school already. His family told my father that there is an orphanage who provide free education.

Made, a 14 year old girl in a Hindu orphanage who is pointing out debt with a bank is the primary reason for her to not be able to go to school:

**Does your father have any debt, which makes him unable to pay for your school?**

Yes, he has debts with a bank.

**Do you know whether he has a mortgage or not?**

Hmm, the rice field was bought by my grandfather, and when he passed away he gave the rice fields to his five sons but then they (her father's brothers) gave one uncertified rice field to my dad. And now he is trying to make a certificate for that rice field.

My grandfather bought the rice field from the previous landlord, but now he is trying to get that rice field back. My father needs to go to a court and pay the lawyer. It costs a lot of money, and he needs to borrow it from the bank.

Made, another 16 year old girl in a Hindu orphanage points out her priorities. This statement also points out possible results of separation between child and parents.

**Are you still in contact with your parents?**

Not really.

**Why?**

I am here for study, and my parents are my second priority.

The father of Wayan, a 14 year old girl from Singaraja notes his economic hardship:

You can see it by yourself, my situation at home, I was given a place here by my parents. My house was just from bedeg, it was just last year I got help on renovating the house.

Bagus, a 17 year old boy in a Christian orphanage points out that he is submitted to the Child Welfare Institution based on his social environment in his hometown:

**But, why did you choose to stay here instead of staying with your other family?**

Because if I stayed with them, there is no guarantee for my life.

**Why did you think so?**

Because of the community around me.

**What's wrong with the community?**

If I stayed with my family, they might allow me to go out in the evening.

The father of Komang, a 15 year old Hindu boy reasons about the need for education, which he cannot provide:

Our reason at that time, they want to go to school... I wish for my children to get the education they deserve and we don't have the money for it. Because for day to day needs like rice, the money to buy rice for tomorrow is what we gained by today's work. If we are not working a day, then we don't have any income, that is the reason, so they understand. You know, the first two weeks he was still adapting to the environment of the orphanage. Even if there's a problem, even if they didn't feel at ease there... All I said to them was: 'If you want to go home, it is fine. But Bapak can't pay for your school's tuition fee, you want to drop out of school?'. I only wish for them to graduate from high school at least... Sometimes, about a month if they are not on break, they have too much on their hands. Sometimes if its *Kajeng Kliwon*, when it is *Purnama*... The orphanage has an event from Wedakarna's Puri for Bhagavad Gita, things like that. It means discipline, I hope that from those kind of events there is a discipline for religion, at least for Hindu people there's more learning process and

Children give two main reasons for being submitted to the Child Welfare Institutions, namely education and economic hardship (or a combination of both, or financial hardship resulting in no opportunities for education). This is in line with the findings of Martin and Sudrajat (2007, p. 282).

The Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 stipulates:

Children living in the Child Welfare Institution solely in order to access educational and as a result of the family's limited financial capacity should be returned as soon as possible to the family environment (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 96).

Any decision related to alternative care must consider fully the principle that a child should be placed as close as possible to his/her home environment/ community to enable the continuation of relationships and the possibility of reunification with his/her family as well as to minimize disruptions of his/her educational and socio-cultural life (Ministry of Social Affairs of

Denpasar consists of Child Welfare Institutions of the Hindu, Muslim and Christian faith. Two Child Welfare Institutions are multi religious.

Finally the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 stipulates clearly how the response to financial and educational needs should be from the Child Welfare Institutions:

Responding to economic needs:

Where the primary issue faced by the family is financial inability, the Child Welfare Institutions should provide support for the child in the family through financial assistance or economic empowerment of the family, or support the family in accessing existing social aid programs (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 33).

Responding to educational needs:

a. If the primary issue faced by the family is access to education, Child Welfare Institutions should facilitate access to education through providing support for tuition costs, school supplies, and transportation.

b. Child Welfare Institutions must prevent the placement of children in their Institutions for the purpose of accessing education (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 33).

## **Religion**

There are fears that some faiths use the cover of Child Welfare Institutions to spread their religion. All though there is no proof in prior research that some faiths actually

use this practice, children have been asked whether they were asked to change their religion, or if they happily converted themselves.

Denpasar consists of Child Welfare Institutions of the Hindu, Muslim and Christian faith. Two Child Welfare Institutions are multi religious.

Wayan is a 17 year old boy, living in a Christian Child Welfare Institution. He lives here with his younger brother Made. He lives in the Child Welfare Institution since he was 7.

Before you came to this orphanage, did you know that this place taught a different religion with yours?

Yes, I did know about it.

So, what about your worship? Do you pray here?

Yes, we are.

Do you know how to do it?

Yes, I do. They taught me from the very first beginning I came to this orphanage.

Are you also doing Hindu worship?

Yes, I am.

Did you ever feel confused about your religion? What about your parents? Do they tell you not to follow Christian worship?

Not really but they always say 'We only have one God, but the way we pray makes it different'.

What about your preference, do you want to follow the Hindu or Christian believe?

I am not sure yet <smiling>.

When his younger brother is asked about his faith and going to a Child Welfare Institution of another faith he replies:

It is quite confusing since there are a lot of Hindu orphanages. But why did they choose Christian orphanage?

I am not really sure about it <soft voice, while smiling and looking down>.

Kadek is a 15 year old Hindu boy. He lives together with his brother in a Hindu Child Welfare Institution, but has lived in a Christian Child Welfare Institution prior to moving to the Hindu Child Welfare Institution. His mentally ill father is searching for his sons, which made them needing to move to another Child Welfare Institution. Kadek reflects on his time in the Christian Child Welfare Institution.

How long have you stayed at the former orphanage?

Until I was in the second grade of junior high school.

Did they teach you how to pray as a Christian?

Yes.

Did they teach you how to read the bible?

<Nodding his head>.

What did you feel about it? It was a Christian Orphanage, and it required you to learn how to be a Christian.

It is totally fine.

Did you like it to be there?

Yes <soft voice>.

Why did you like it?

Because I had a lot of friends there.

Do you know that your first religion was Hindu?

Yes.

Who told you?

My aunt. She usually comes and pick my brother and me up to Padang Sambian during Galungan holiday.

But do you regularly pray in the church?

Yes.

Don't you feel confused with your religion?

No, I want to follow it first.

Did your aunt ever ban you to learn Christian worship?

No. She asked me to follow the worship.

Which one do you prefer?

I prefer Hindu.



Gede is a 17 year old boy from Buleleng, living in a multi religious Child Welfare Institution. Upon the question why he doesn't live in a Child Welfare Institution in the North of Bali he replies:

Because they asked me to convert my religion to Christianity.

One Muslim Child Welfare Institution had children in her care that were Balinese and Hindu before being submitted to the Child Welfare Institution. A 17 year old girl replied the following:

So, after two weeks living in here, I was converting to Islam, my father asked me to did that, as he was converting to Islam before me, so I followed him.

But would you like to live with your parents again?

Yes, but I cannot, because my father is still Hindu and I am Muslim.

O, you became Muslim?

I am afraid too, as my father is not sure of his faith.

Can I ask you how it is possible you became Muslim?

Well, first my brother became Muslim. When I came to the kos, I saw he did sholat. I asked him why he did that and he answered that he became Muslim but that our father was not accepting it. From that moment on I felt safe here.

When talking 'off the record' to random Balinese people it is commonly mentioned that Christian Child Welfare Institutions, and to some extent Muslim Child Welfare Institutions, are founded to change religion of Hindu children. Examples are given of poor families receiving aid with the condition that religion is converted and children will go to the Christian Child Welfare Institution. Proof for this practice, based on the executed interviews, is not present.

Putu Setia (2006) is the only author daring to talk about the conversion of religion (mengganti agama) in Christian panti asuhan. Also he says this practice is commonly known, though no other available sources mention this practice. The answer of <IMB17> also points at this direction. Strickland (2013) points out in relation to Child Welfare Institution Elisama: 'They go to church on Sunday but they are not persuaded to convert. They have several Hindu children and they are simply asked to follow the life of a Christian. If they decide to convert later in life; that is their own decision (p. 8).' As Strickland wrote this observation so specific, one could expect that the expectation was that children are asked to convert.. Feener and Finucane (2014) claim that after the tsunami in Aceh in 2005 an American based Christian group was prevented from airlifting 300 Muslim children to an orphanage in Jakarta in the fear they would be converted to Christianity.

### Situation parents and family

There are fears that some faiths use the cover of Child Welfare Institutions to spread their religion. All though there is no proof in prior research that some faiths actually use this practice, children have been asked whether they were asked to change their religion, or if they happily converted themselves.

Unicef and her global partners define an orphan as a child under 18 years of age who has lost one or both parents to any cause of death (Unicef 2019). Many Child Welfare Institutions undertake marketing activities online and offline in the English language, calling themselves 'orphanage'. This would imply orphans are living in Child Welfare Institutions, but research has proven this to be wrong. 92% of the children

in the sample still have both parents or one parent alive.

26% of the children acknowledge that one of their parents, or both parents, had passed away and that being the reason they live in a Child Welfare Institution. Many others narrate stories of both parents still being alive and belonging to the working class.

A ten year old girl in a Christian Child Welfare Institution narrates:

**What is your father's job?**

He is a truck driver.

**What about your mother?**

My mom has a small shop at home.

When asked about her siblings she answers:

**How many siblings do you have?**

I have four siblings.

**Are you the second child?**

Yes, I am.

**Where do your other siblings stay?**

The first and third child are living at another orphanage.

**Where is it?**

It's at one of the orphanages near Ketewel (Gianyar).

**What about the youngest?**

He is still young.

**So, is he living with your parents now?**

<nodding her head>.

**So, your older and younger brothers are also staying at one of the orphanages?**

Yes.

**Do you know why your brothers are not staying in this orphanage as well?**

Because they are boys.

**Are you the only daughter in your family?**

Yes.

Another ten year old girl in a Christian Child Welfare Institution narrates:

**If your parents want to go somewhere, how do they transport themselves?**

Car

**Do they have a car?**

<nodding her head>.

**How many cars do they have?**

They have one car.

**What kind of car is it?**

This car... .. it's a truck.

**Is it a pickup truck?**

<smiling>

**Do they have a motorbike?**

Yes.

When asked about her family composition she narrates:

**Do you have siblings?**

Yes, I have.

**How many?**

I have one older sister, one younger sister and one younger brother.

**Where is your sister now?**

She is at school now.

**Is your sister also living here?**

Yes.

**What about your younger sister and brother?**

They are at home.

**So, are they living with your parents?**

Yes.

**But, was there any family (for example your grandmother, grandfather or uncles) that offered to stay with them?**

Yes.

**So, why did you choose to stay here instead of staying with them?**

I want to be independent.

A 17 year old boy in a Christian Child Welfare Institution narrates:

**What is your father's job?**

Sometimes he works as construction labourer or as a clove picker. Otherwise, he stays at home if there is no job available.

What about your mother?

She is a housewife.

Does your father have a side job, such as farmer?

My father has livestock.

What does he have?

He has three cows.

He continues about his grandparents:

What about your grandparents?

Both of my grandparents said to stay in this orphanage. They said by coming to this place, my brother and I can go to school. Not all of my relatives are able to go to school.

Why are they not studying at school?

Because of their financial condition.

An eight year old Hindu boy narrates his family situation:

Is your family living in Karangasem?

No, they live around here.

Do you have a house here?

No, we rent a room here.

Do they live with four of them in one room?

No, with five; my father, mother, two sisters and my grandmother.

A 12 year old boy in a Hindu Child Welfare Institution narrates. The reason why his father doesn't work is striking:

Oh, your brother is also staying here. Where does your father work?

He is not working.

Why?

He finished work already.

Where did he work before?

He works as a chicken deliverer – driver.

Delivering chicken?

Yes, to anywhere.

What about your mother?

She works as a chicken cutter.

Where does she usually work?

At her sister's house.

Why isn't your father looking for another job?

No, he wants to take care of his children.

Some children note the fact that one or both parents passed away, are unknown or marital status changed. Made was surrendered to a Christian Child Welfare Institution as a baby. She has only met her mother once, when she was 11 months old.

Do you happen to know whether your parents are still alive or not?

I am not sure <soft voice>.

A 15 year old Hindu boy narrates:

Do you still have parents?

Only my dad, my mom passed away already.

What is your father's job now?

My dad is at the banjar.

If your dad works as security, why don't you stay with him?

Because he is still stressed (mental disorder) now. My family doesn't allow my brother and me to stay with him until he gets normal.

Another 15 year old Hindu boy narrates:

Do you know when your parents passed away?

My father died when I was just six months old. My mother when I was 12 years old.

Can I ask why they passed away?

My father because of, well that...

Is there black magic?

Yes.

And then?

My mother had diabetes.

What about your grandparents?

My grandfather also was cursed by black magic. I do not know about my grandmother.

Another example of a 15 year old boy living in a Hindu Child Welfare Institute is Nengah. He narrates

about the time he lived with his uncle:

**Do you have any siblings?**

Yes, I do have one older sister.

**Did you go directly to this orphanage with your father?**

Yes, but my father asked me to stay with his older brother. At that time, he went to Denpasar to find a job.

**Was your father's brother already married at that time?**

Yes, he had a family already.

**Why don't you stay with your uncle now?**

I don't know why, but they live in the village now.

**Did your uncle ask you to stay with him?**

Yes, my uncle asked me to remain to stay there, but my dad lived in Denpasar alone. He wanted me to move to this orphanage, so it closer for him to meet me.

A 16 year old girl living in a Hindu orphanage narrates:

I do have two siblings.

**Are you the first child?**

Yes, I am.

**Are you sisters also staying here?**

No, they are staying at home with my parents.

**Do you maybe know whether your sisters are going to stay here as well?**

I think so, but later when she is about to enter junior high school.

A 17 year old boy living in a multi-religious Child Welfare Institution tells:

**If I may ask, when did your father pass away?**

He passed away since I was in 5th grade of elementary school because of a car accident in Bulu Indah (Denpasar). He was about to go to his work and got an accident at 6 AM.

**What is your mother's job now?**

She is a coffee picker. She works with somebody and gets paid daily.

**Does she have livestock?**

Yes, I think she has seven goats.

The earlier mentioned 17 year girl living in a Muslim Child Welfare Institution narrates:

**Are you still in contact with your parents?**

With my father.

**With your father, what about your mother?**

There is no mother.

Some parents share their story on their situation as well.

The father and mother of a 12 year old girl living in a Christian Child Welfare Institution shares:

Now I am a farmer and also I accept orders for making babi guling. But making babi guling is not a certain job, sometimes only get one order in three months.. depending on the orders. I also maintain three cows, the cows can be sold when they 18 months old. So, I keep the mother cow while the child will be sold. The price is about IDR 3 million but it takes a long time.

**What's your previous job, sir?**

I used to be a flower courier, before the Bali bomb. But after the Bali bomb I went bankrupt and have to live like this.

**How about you?**

I search for cow food and sometimes I work as daily labourer.

The brother-in law of Kadek, a 13 year old boy living in a Hindu Child Welfare Institution shares:

**Does Kadek know his father?**

Yes, he does. But, his father is just like that, he was messy. Sometimes work, sometimes doesn't. He has no responsibility.

He did not even respond to the existence of his child.

The father and mother of a 16 year old girl living in a multi religious Child Welfare Institution share:

**What do you do for a living?**

Daily labourer, builder and I also take care of 8 goats.

**And what is your job?**

Look for goat's forage, like grass. Also taking care of children, as nanny.

**Do either of you have any desire to live with your children?**

Of course, but we can't because of our poor economic situation so for the time being it is better to let them stay at the orphanage.

The mother of Putu was asked whether other family members were considered to take care of Putu. She narrates:

**Did you ever consider Putu to stay with family, like her grandfather or uncle? or maybe cousin who is already working?**

Yes, I did. But I also visit her once in a month or twice in two months.

**Is there any intention Putu to stay with other family?**

Putu refused. She preferred to stay in the orphanage. Most important, she is happy.

In line with this statement is the statement from the father of Putu. He states:

**Why don't you entrust your children to your sibling?**

Better to place them at the orphanage.

The father of Komang was asked whether he is considering to submit his other children to the Child Welfare Institution as well:

**Do you have a plan for your third and fourth children to join the orphanage too?**

Even if there is a plan, I hope I can send them to school by my own. If their brothers are working by then, they can help. If we can't help it,

send them to the orphanage for the most important thing is for them to have education. I don't have anything to give them, I don't have land... nor any inheritance. I only have two siblings, for Hindu people at least you have to have a house.

It is impossible to make a value statement on the perceived poverty of the people interviewed. Every interviewee deals with their own problems in their own way and perceive economic obstacles as overcome-able or not.

Based on the interviews it can be concluded that these perceived economic circumstances differ per family and that every family has their own dealings. Perceived economic circumstances range from death, sickness, labour and job availability to 'wanting to take care of his children'.

It can also be concluded that every family (children and familial caretakers) perceive the Child Welfare Institution as a solution and in some cases it can even be considered an easy solution.

As mentioned earlier in 5.1.6., the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 stipulates that children living in Child Welfare Institutions solely in order to access education due to the financial capacity should be returned to the family environment. The Child Welfare Institutions should help through financial assistance or economic empowerment of the family, or support the family in accessing existing social aid programs (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 33). It can, again, be concluded that the Child Welfare Institutions no adhering the Decree by the Ministry of Social Affairs.

## Violence

Children as well as familial caretakers were asked about their experiences with violence and force within the Child Welfare Institutions as also described by Irwanto and Kusumaningrum (2014). Several cases of abuse concerning researched on other Balinese Child Welfare Institutions are discussed in local media, such as:

Dipolisikan, Dugaan Pencabulan Bocah di Yayasan Anak Yatim (Nusa Bali, 2016) at Yayasan Pelangi Anak.

Marak Sodom, Awasi Panti Asuhan di Denpasar (Sidonews, 2015) at PA Putra William Booth.

11 Anak YKPA Denpasar Tagih Ijazah (Antara Bali, 2015) at Yayasan Kasih Peduli Anak.

Muncul Kekerasan Seksual di Panti Asuhan, Pemerintah Diminta Bertindak Tegas (Fajar Bali, 2018) on the report of three sexual abuse cases in Child Welfare Institutions in Bali in 2018.

All indicated forms of abuse have been reported to Yayasan Project Karma, an Indonesian registered a not-for-profit charity comprised of Australian and foreign law enforcement officers, investigators, operatives and other volunteers to combat the exploitation of children throughout South East Asia, currently involved in several cases of Child Welfare Institution abuse in Bali.

Wayan, a six year old girl living in a Christian orphanage narrates about violence from other children in the neighborhood:

No, I didn't like the old place. Some children were beaten there.

**By who?**

By the other children.

**Do you mean the other children who live around the orphanage area?**

Yes, indeed. They beat the other orphanage children.

**Do you know why?**

I don't know why. They beat us and are rude to us. Some of them repel us; thus, we moved to this new place.

**Who did repel you?**

The other children / people who lived around the orphanage areas.

**Did you do something wrong to them?**

No, I did not.

**Did they beat both of you?**

Yes, when we played together, they beat us <pointing at her knee. It looks a bit swollen>.

**Is it still hurting?**

No.

The Child Welfare Institution involved above decided to move to another location.

Putu, a seven year old boy, does not live within the Hindu Child Welfare Institution, but follows education within.

**But why are you here?**

I am here only for school.

**Is it just for school?**

Hmm, if a guest is coming during the weekend, I usually stay here until afternoon.

**It is Sunday, but why are you here today?**

Because there are some guests here.

Kadek, a 14 year old girl living in a Hindu Child Welfare Institution, narrates as well that guests visiting the Child Welfare Institution are considered more important than the child's welfare.

I said yes at that time. I thought it was going to be easy for me to go Is it different from your expectations?

Yes, they don't allow me to go home that often. Only for special holidays.

home whenever I want it <holding back her tears>.

**Is it because you don't have freedom here? Or do you feel too many regulations here?**

Yes <crying>. It just too much, especially when guests are coming, I cannot have a good rest. For example, I just came back from school, and guests are coming late and I don't have time to finish my school assignments.

**So, do you mean that you have a lot of things to do here?**

<Nodding her head while wiping her tears>

Ketut, another girl living in the same Child Welfare Institution as Kadek confirms the importance of guests over child's welfare:

**Are you going home during Galungan/ Kuningan?**

Yes, but either Galungan or Kuningan. It depends on the orphanage; they divided us into two groups (based on grade; senior & junior high school). One group is going home during Galungan, and the rest is on Kuningan.

**Is it because they don't want to leave it empty?**

Yes.

**Why?**

Because we have some guests visiting the orphanage.

Familial caretakers were asked about their feelings towards possible violence or force in the Child Welfare Institutions.

The father and mother of Putu, a 12 year old girl living in a Hindu Child Welfare Institution narrates:

**Do you ever feel anxious by having your child living in an orphanage?**

No, because Miss Putu, who works there, guaranteed that nothing will happen to my child. If I want to bring my child back home for odalan, I have to submit a letter

and the next day she has to come back to the orphanage, so I feel safe, because there is a procedure.

The brother-in-law of Made narrates:

**Did you ever feel suspicious or have you been afraid that Made may experience physical violence? Or?**

You know, the purpose is to educate children, of course he is evenly considered my child as his child. So, if the purpose is for good, then there must be violence but in case the child is too naughty, just like us. But I think it's actually more effective.

**More disciplined?**

Yes.

Even though cases of abuse are happening and reach the media frequently, parents / familial caretakers put good trust in the Child Welfare Institution management and staff. As can be seen in the above referenced media, this trust is not always correct.

**Best choice or not?**

If parents / familial caretakers would know the concerns of abuse, feelings of their children, their own feelings and the implications of the law, would parents / familial caretakers make the same choice again? This question is asked to all parents / familial caretakers.

The father of Putu, the father of Gede and the father of Komang all note their economic conditions:

**Do you think that surrendering your child to an orphanage is the best solution?**

Yes, we do, because of our economic problem.

**Do you think that placing your child in the orphanage is the best solution?**

Yes, because my economic condition is not sufficient.

**Do you think placing the children in the foundation is the best solution?**

Yes, because of economic factors... It really helps and the children's needs are being borne by them.

The mother of Made notes education to be the positive factor:

**So is it the best solution?**

Yes. Also we can say, Dwijendra is one of the elite school in Denpasar.

The parents of Kadek note a reflective thought:

**Do you think that surrendering Kadek to the orphanage is a good solution?**

However if we called it good... She is the one who is going through it. So if she is well, then I am...

Yes, I mean no matter the way at least she got what she wants to achieve.

You're helping her achieve her goals?

Yes, but in my heart I hoped she stayed at home... But she wanted to go to school, alright... Alright...

Finally, the mother of Komang concludes the feelings definitively:

**Is it the best choice?**

Yes it is. There are no other choices.

Some parents show regret, though others do not show any regret or shame. The main issue for many is described by the mother of Komang, there are no other choices. In fact, according to the law, there should be other choices, but the law is not implemented well.





Is it also because your parents are not capable of paying your school fees ?

Yes.

Did you do this to help your parents?

Yes.

Kadek, a 12 year old boy living in a Hindu Child Welfare Institution in Denpasar.

#### 4. Conclusions Qualitative Research

This research has been undertaken on a sample of 50 children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city, on a population (2014) of 694 children (7,2%). To define the sample considerations have been made considering defined age groups in similar research by Save the Children, Child Welfare Institutions located in Denpasar city and their considered religions.

29 children in Hindu Child Welfare Institutions, ten children living in Christian Child Welfare Institutions, eight children living in multi religious Child Welfare Institutions and three children living in Muslim Child Welfare Institutions were considered to be the interviewees for this research. Nine Child Welfare Institutions participated in this research, as well as the parents of 16 children living in Child Welfare Institutions.

The geographical background of the interviewed children is Karangasem (22%), Denpasar (20%) and Tabanan, Gianyar and Buleleng (14%). This means that 80% of the children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city are not from Denpasar city themselves, but from other kabupaten in Bali.

Children and familial caretakers were asked about the way of submittance to the Child Welfare Institution. Research shows that several Child Welfare Institution actively recruit children in underprivileged villages and in families with poor financial conditions.

The main reason children are being submitted to Child Welfare Institutions remains the possibility to follow education. Other reasons being given are economic hardship,

family situation / sickness, negligence and 'to be independent'. Recruitment is prohibited under the decree of the Minister of Social Affairs:

Child Welfare Institutions should receive referrals for children in need of alternative care but should not proactively recruit children in communities that do not require alternative care. (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 30).

The decree of the Minister of Social Affairs also responds to economic needs and educational needs:

Where the primary issue faced by the family is financial inability, the Child Welfare Institutions should provide support for the child in the family through financial assistance or economic empowerment of the family, or support the family in accessing existing social aid programs (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 33).

a. If the primary issue faced by the family is access to education, Child Welfare Institutions should facilitate access to education through providing support for tuition costs, school supplies, and transportation.

b. Child Welfare Institutions must prevent the placement of children in their Institutions for the purpose of accessing education (Ministry of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 33).

Some children are referred to the Child Welfare Institutions by government employees, sometimes doubling as family. The decree of the Minister of Social Affairs stipulates referrals in practice (Ministry of

Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia 2011, p. 30) but the decree is not followed in practice.

The hypothesis that some children are placed in Child Welfare Institutions far away from their hometown on purpose cannot be proved. The fact that 80% of the children living in Child Welfare Institutions far away from their hometown is a strong indication towards this hypothesis. Reason behind a placement far away are possibly feelings of guilt and shame. The interviews with parents were inconclusive towards the hypothesis.

When looking at the reactions of the *keluarga besar* it can be concluded that the *keluarga besar* does not particularly mind the submittance of a family member to a Child Welfare Institution.

Family relations are disrupted by submitting a child to a Child Welfare Institution. Contact with children is usually kept by phone and children usually go back to their hometowns during Balinese holidays. Big concern should be considered on the fact that parents / familial caretakers do not know what the child is experiencing psychologically and emotionally. Kaur, Vinnakota, Panigrahi and Manasa (2018) state

'Orphans and other vulnerable children and adolescents living in institutional homes are more prone to behavioural and emotional problems than others as they are deprived of a family's love and care' (p.1).

The hypothesis that Child Welfare Institutions are used as cover ups to spread religion is not proven, though strong indicators have been given towards the hypothesis. Some familial caretakers note their fear of submitting children to a Child

Welfare Institutions of a different religion due to conversion, some children made statements towards this hypothesis.

The word orphan / orphanage is commonly used in marketing outings of Child Welfare Institutions, but research shows that 76% of the children in the sample cannot be defined as orphan as stipulated by Unicef and her global partners. While it is impossible to make a value statement on perceived poverty, research shows that many parents of interviewed children belong to the working class. Other solutions, as stipulated in the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs should be implemented to prevent those children from living in Child Welfare Institutions. It can be concluded that Child Welfare Institutions are considered an option or a solution, by some familial caretakers even as the only solution.

Violence and force are evident in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city. During this research cases of violence or indications of violence were discovered. The media uncovered more cases relating to Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar and Bali, showing that issues are recurring.

When asked whether familial caretakers would make the same decision to send their children to Child Welfare Institutions the result was mixed. Some parents show regret while others see the submittance as the best solution.



Is it the best choice?  
Yes it is. There are no other choices.

Mother of Komang, a 13 year old girl living in a Hindu Child Welfare Institution in Denpasar.

## 5. Implications

Until now this report has mainly focused on actual circumstances and has given descriptions based on literature and qualitative research. This chapter will focus on impact, the implications of submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions. With an implication the effect that an action or decision will have on somebody or something else in the future is meant.

### Implications on Children

Children are being submitted to Child Welfare Institutions mainly for the sake of receiving education. Research has shown that some children have chosen themselves to be surrendered.

Qualitative research has shown substantial forms of physical and mental abuse as mentioned by the children. Parents or familial caretakers interviewed seem to have the Ostrich Syndrome by telling themselves that everything will be fine and they trust the staff or they have eased circumstances for the use of abuse. During the period of this research and in the years before several cases came to light including sexual abuse, physical abuse and mental abuse, also in Child Welfare Institutions researched for this dissertation.

Another fact that came to light is the estrangement of familial bond and kinship and even religion and culture. Partially this is instigated by the Child Welfare Institutions not allowing children to return home for ceremonies and the force of (another) religion upon children as well as feelings of abandonment and rejection by the children

regarding their parents / familial caretakers.

### Implications on parents / familial caretakers

Parents or familial caretakers mainly consider they did the right thing for the future of their children. There is a sense of ease in the statements of the parents / familial caretakers and in the statements of the children regarding the home situation.

Upon visiting parents and familial caretakers in their homes it was proved that not all parents / familial caretakers, based on their dwelling, could be classified as poor. Indicators were cars, motorbikes, animals and the condition of the dwelling.

Qualitative research among the children surveyed, showed that their origins are clustered in certain areas and villages. This shows that there might be influential circumstances among families to submit children to Child Welfare Institutions. Qualitative research showed that children are often stating that family members stayed in the Child Welfare Institution prior to them or at the same time, but also that they were referred to the Child Welfare Institutions or that Child Welfare Institutions came to the village to recruit children.

Parents and familial caretakers often do not feel that there is anything wrong with their decision to submit their child to a Child Welfare Institution or often suffer from the Ostrich Syndrome leading to short term vision and the refusal to look at issues in the long run and not recognizing issues of abuse and estrangement of their own children.

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Parents and familial caretakers often do not feel that there is anything wrong with their decision to submit their child to a Child Welfare Institution or often suffer from the Ostrich Syndrome leading to short term vision and the refusal to look at issues in the long run and not recognizing issues of abuse and estrangement of their own children. Implications on child welfare institutions and the decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO30/HUK/2011

There are numerous implications on Child Welfare

Institutions in relation to the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO30/HUK/2011. The most important findings are considered.

Child Welfare Institutions are not adhering the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO30/HUK/2011 at all. Many propositions have been laid down in this degree regarding the management and procedures within Child Welfare Institutions. This research has found that none of the researched Child Welfare Institutions are working according to the decree.

Research showed that Child Welfare Institutions have alternate objectives, such as providing education and spreading religion. Spreading religion is mainly found in Christian orphanages where children are supposed to actively engage in Christian prayer and service, though are allowed to go home for ceremonies occasionally. The strongest 'supporting education' Child Welfare Institutions were Hindu based Child Welfare Institutions of which one Child Welfare Institution has a self-tailored education program in place.

Some Child Welfare Institutions actively recruit in poorer areas in Bali or even in other islands. According to the decree this is not permissible, though still happens.

The largest implication is the use of violence, be it physical, psychological or sexual abuse. Cases of mainly sexual abuse occur in the news regularly. It is feared that cases of physical and psychological abuse often do not even make the news. Qualitative research among children has shown that cases of physical and psychological abuse occur. The research had no indicators for sexual abuse occurring currently.



### **Implications on the Balinese society and Balinese kinship system**

The Balinese community consists of close connections between parent and child, between deceased ancestors and living persons and between individuals who share (or think they share) common ancestry, as described extensively by Geertz and Geertz (1975). Issues are commonly solved within the *keluarga besar*, those who share common ancestry.

Within this dissertation a trend is apparent in the Denpasar area that more and more children are being submitted to Child Welfare Institutions. These children are not only from the Denpasar area, but also from other *kabupaten* in Bali. Upon asked why they are not staying with family answers were mainly evasive. This is an indicator of disturbed family relations in the sense of family relations. A common answer was 'do not want to bother', which fits in the above conclusion. Where it was once a standard and an obligation to care and share with family, that standard is fading in the modern world.

Children discussed the evading sense of belonging, their focus and priority for study above family relations. This is a danger for the important kinship system on Bali which keeps the living culture alive. If the sense of belonging evades and family ties loosen up the cycle of ancestor cult (and with that the possibility for reincarnation) fades.

### **Implications on the Understanding of Social Cultural Effects of Terroristic Events**

In recognizing a statistical turning point affecting behaviour one must investigate what

happened at that particular point in time which could have instigated this change in behaviour.

When looking at the numbers of children being submitted to Child Welfare Institutions in Bali and Denpasar (figure 1.2) an interesting turning point can be recognized. On October 1, 2015 the second terroristic attack in Bali was committed. This terroristic attack launched an enormous decline in tourist arrivals and with that a crisis on the island. When looking at the statistics of children being submitted to Child Welfare Institutions we can see a steady increase from 2005 to 2008 for the whole of Bali. Interestingly, the number of inhabitants of Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city declined during this period until 2007 with a peak in 2008.

2008 is the dual turning point. On one hand this is the year that the number of children living in Child Welfare Institutions declined for the whole of Bali (except a singular increase once in 2013), but also the turning point where a sudden peak of children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city was reached and even though small declines and inclines the overall number of children living in Child Welfare Institutions inclined.

Why is this number inclining and not declining like the rest of Bali? A logical reason of cause and effect can be applied to this question. Those that were affected by the aftermath of the Bali bombing mainly lived in the Denpasar area, working in the tourism industry in Badung area. The decline in children living in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city in the first two years can be attributed to the fact that many people in the first period after the second Bali bombing were moving back to their ancestral villages. In 2007/2008 the tourists started

coming back and arrival numbers became more stable. Likely people moved back to the Denpasar area and started up their life as before the Bali bom, with one big difference. Two years of no income and having executed all coping mechanisms as earlier described in this dissertation.

Part of decreasing expenditures (the most executed coping mechanism) is submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions. One does not have to take care of tuition fees, costs for uniforms, books, stationary and daily costs such as food, clothes and hygiene are being covered. We can see in statistics that submitting actively happened in the aftermath of the second Bali bom, all over Bali.

Just after the second Bali bom everyone was in the same position, everybody was coping with the aftermath. The structure of the *keluarga besar*, in which everyone helps each other fell apart as one simply could not help the other as everyone was in the same situation. There are indications that this is the moment that Child Welfare Institutions started to recruit or intensified their recruitment process.

The vast submittance to Child Welfare Institutions instigated a trend, many followed seeing benefits as a coping mechanism. A trend in the first years after the second Bali bom slowly instigated a change in the social cultural structure on Bali. Where at one point the *keluarga besar* was not able to help, now the *keluarga besar* is at least less considered to be asked for help and the Child Welfare Institution is seen as a simple solution.



But, why did you choose to stay here instead of staying with your other family?

Because if I stayed with them, there is no guarantee for my life.

Why did you think so?

Because of the community around me.

What's wrong with the community?

If I stayed with my family, they might allow me to go out in the evening.

Putu, a 17 year old boy living in a Christian Child Welfare Institution in Denpasar.

## 6. Conclusions

The conclusions of this report are twofold. On one hand conclusion are drawn on based on the position of children living in Child Welfare Institutions, their parents / familial caretakers and the Child Welfare Institutions themselves. On the other hand, conclusions are drawn based on the social cultural change in perception of submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions.

### **The position of children living in child welfare institutions, their parents/ familial caretakers and the child welfare institutions**

This dissertation has explored the position of children living in Child Welfare Institutions. It can be concluded that 76 percent of the children researched still have both parents alive and another 16 percent of the children have one parent alive and known. Therefore, the translation of orphanage for *panti asuhan* is incorrect even though the term orphanage is often used in the marketing of Child Welfare Institutions.

It is hypothesized that children are placed in Child Welfare Institutions far away from home (80% of the sample) to hide the fact that they are submitted (feelings of guilt and shame) to a Child Welfare Institution from villagers. This hypothesis could not be proven by data.

Main reason given for children living in Child Welfare Institutions are the possibility to follow education, economic hardship, family situation / sickness, being neglected and learning to be independent. The

Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO30/HUK/2011 prohibits submittance to Child Welfare Institutions for the sake of education. In this case Child Welfare Institutions are supposed to provide support for the family through financial assistance (tuition costs, school supplies, transportation) or economic empowerment of the family or assist the family in accessing social aid programs.

Parents and familial caretakers are executing the Ostrich Syndrome, having no long term vision, but seeking solutions for short terms without wanting to see consequences. Answers given by parents / familial caretakers about their feelings were diverse, possibly driven by feelings of guilt and shame. Taken to the level of the *keluarga* and *keluarga besar* it is identified that the family does not care too much that one of the children is submitted to the Child Welfare Institution, even members of the nuclear family refer to Child Welfare Institutions. Parents / familial caretakers see submittance to Child Welfare Institutions as a solution, sometimes even an easy solution. In hindsight some parents showed regret, but the majority do not regret submitting their children to a Child Welfare Institution.

Children are experiencing psychological and emotional stress as they are deprived from family's love and care. Family relations and the Balinese kinship system are disrupted due to having children surrendered to the Child Welfare Institutions. Parents / familial caretakers do not (want) to see those consequences in the long run. Physical, psychological and sexual abuse is happening frequently in the Child Welfare Institutions. Within this

research cases of physical and psychological abuse are discovered.

The hypothesis that Child Welfare Institutions are cover ups to spread religion cannot be proven by data, though there are indicators that this is in fact happening. Some parents / familial caretakers showed reluctance to submit children to a Child Welfare Institution of a different religion, some children made statements towards this hypothesis.

To give this dissertation philosophical reserve the work of mainly Foucault has been deconstructed, specifically looking at aletheia, politeia and ethos. When looking at aletheia, the production of truth, one can relate issues of short term vision by parents / familial caretakers, specifically relating to the child's safety, one can conclude that aletheia is disturbed. The exercise of power, politeia, is binary. The prescribing authority, the Directorate General, has executed its task well by a well thought through decree, though the implementation by means of the Social Service is inadequate. When deconstructing ethos, the amalgamation of norms, morals and ethics, the discrepancy between the parents / familial caretakers and the child are compromised. Foucault describes that the best place for a child to be is the nuclear family. Submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions has become part of a normalization, a rising norm (a natural rule) which can be considered dangerous seen the many cases of abuse and the estrangement of children to their nuclear family and kinship ties. It has to be concluded that the ethos, the moral formation, is victimized by the failing system of aletheia

and politeia, but that also ethos itself is victimized by contemporary forms of normalization.

### **The incline of children being submitted to child welfare institutions as a social cultural effect of the Bali bombings.**

Research has been undertaken to examine the social economic effects of the Bali bombings. No research has been undertaken to examine the social cultural effects of the Bali bombings nor any other terroristic attack.

This research shows that when looking at the number of children being submitted to Child Welfare Institutions on Bali and in Denpasar an interesting turning point can be discovered. The terroristic attacks launched an enormous decline in tourist arrivals and with that a crisis on the island heavily dependent on tourism and hospitality.

As a coping mechanism people tried to decrease expenditures. One way to decrease expenditures is to submit children to Child Welfare Institutions, a practice already happening prior to the terroristic attacks. By submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions parents / familial caretakers can reduce costs of tuition fees, uniforms, books, stationary, food, clothes and hygiene.

Submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions on Bali actively happened in the aftermath of the second Bali bombing and from 2008 onwards in Denpasar city.

The traditional kinship system in which everyone belonging or feeling to belong to a common ancestor is usually a system in which people help each other. Due to everyone being in the same position of coping with a crisis instigated by the heavily decreased tourist arrivals the kinship system fell apart. There are indications that this is the moment in which Child Welfare Institutions

started to recruit more actively in less privileged areas.

The vast submittance to Child Welfare Institutions instigated a trend, possibly led by peer pressure and seeing an 'easy' solution to an existing problem. As explained before there is no long term vision by parents / familial caretakers within submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions.

The trend of submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions in the first years after the second Bali bombing instigated a change in the social cultural system on Bali. Now the kinship system partly fell apart as a result of the Bali bombings, the *keluarga besar* is less considered to ask for help and submitting a child to a Child Welfare Institution became an easy solution.

### **Novelties of the Study**

1. Children in Denpasar city are mainly submitted to Child Welfare Institutions for the sake of education.
2. Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city mainly use education as factor for accepting children, or even recruiting children, though this is forbidden by the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011.
3. Forms of abuse are happening in Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar city.
4. Child Welfare Institutions often recruit children and funds under the name of orphanage, while in Western perspective an orphanage is something else than a Child Welfare Institution in Indonesian perspective.
5. After the Bali bombings in 2005 and its economical aftermath submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions has been a coping mechanism that still has its cultural effects till recent.
6. By submitting children to Child Welfare Institutions Balinese kinship ties are changing.

### **Limitations**

Statistics in Bali are kept by Badan Pusat Statistik. It is experienced that those statistics are not always correct and are missing for the period just after the first Bali bom (2002). The fact that statistics can be incorrect does make interpretation of this important data ambiguous.

The research focused on Denpasar city, therefore results are wide and it was possible to identify different roles based on faith, but also on objectives of different foundations and to investigate legal

to repeat the same research in one Child Welfare Institution to be able to have more in depth data and to follow the sample for a longer period of time.

Employees in Child Welfare Institutions were not well willing to cooperate to be interviewed. Off record many acknowledged the fear to give wrong answers and therefore did not want to give consent. Numerous employees, who want to remain anonymous, helped facilitating the interviews with the children or in surrendering data.

Some employees supervised the interviews, which may have resulted in social conventional answers by the children.

### **Recommendations**

It is highly recommended that the system and the operational procedure of the Social Service is revised so that the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 is implemented well. All Child Welfare Institutions need to be assessed according to the standards of the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 and need to adhere to the conclusions of this assessment within a designated timeframe.

The number of Child Welfare Institutions in Denpasar needs to be decreased as for the standards laid down in the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 there is no need for such a big number of Child Welfare Institutions. The current Child Welfare Institutions need to divert their objectives and procedures to ensure that children



statuses of Child Welfare Institutions. It would be interesting for the child through financial assistance or economic empowerment of the family, or support the family in accessing existing social aid programs.

There is need for strong supervision and strong consequences for the use of any kind of abuse within Child Welfare Institutions. Violence for whatever reason is unacceptable.

Parents and familial caretakers need to be educated about the possibilities the Decree of the Minister of Social Affairs of the Republic of Indonesia NO.30/HUK/2011 is giving to keep their child within the familial environment, but also to know what their rights and obligations as parent / familial caretaker are.

Government, NGOs and others need to understand what a Child Welfare Institution is, what their program is and how they are executing their programs. Help offered by the above-mentioned organisations and individuals often works counterproductive in solving the core issue. Award giving governmental institutions, like *Kota Layak Anak*, need to look further in what is actually happening within a certain city or district before handing out an award. The award given to Denpasar as *Kota Layak Anak* raises questions about the awareness of the existence of Child Welfare Institutions within the city.

Governments, NGO's, (faith based) relief units and researchers need to understand that the aftermath of a terroristic attack does not only have consequences on financial, economic and social economic factors, but also influences social cultural factors.

can stay in their own familial environment and provide support



Where did you live before?  
Before I was living with my aunt in Negara. But I could not go to school, so I was brought here so I could get education.

Wayan, a 15 year old boy living in a Hindu Child Welfare Institution in Denpasar.

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