



# **The Emergence and Rise of Indonesia's Child-Friendly Cities through the Lens of Policy Translation**

A Research Paper presented by:

***Nahla Jovial Nisa***  
(Indonesia)

in partial fulfilment of the requirements for obtaining the degree of  
MASTER OF ARTS IN DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

Major:

**SPD**  
Social Policy for Development

Members of the Examining Committee:

Dr. Roy Huijsmans  
Dr. Lee Pegler

The Hague, The Netherlands  
December 2022

***Disclaimer:***

This document represents part of the author's study programme while at the International Institute of Social Studies. The views stated therein are those of the author and not necessarily those of the Institute.

***Inquiries:***

International Institute of Social Studies  
P.O. Box 29776  
2502 LT The Hague  
The Netherlands

t: +31 70 426 0460  
e: [info@iss.nl](mailto:info@iss.nl)  
w: [www.iss.nl](http://www.iss.nl)  
fb: <http://www.facebook.com/iss.nl>  
twitter: [@issnl](https://twitter.com/issnl)

***Location:***

Kortenaerkade 12  
2518 AX The Hague  
The Netherlands

# Acknowledgements

In the name of Allah SWT, the most Gracious and the Most Merciful.

All praises to Allah SWT for giving me strength and blessings during the process of my study and completion of this thesis. My humblest gratitude to the holy Prophet Muhammad (Peace be upon him) whose way of life has been continuous guidance for me.

First and foremost, I would like to express my gratitude and warmest thanks to my supervisor Dr. Roy Huijsmans. His guidance, understanding, patience, motivation, and advice carried me through all the stages of writing my research paper. It has been a great pleasure and honour to have him as my supervisor. I would also like to thank my second reader Dr. Lee Pegler for your valuable and brilliant comments and suggestion.

I would also like to give special thanks to my husband Ghulam Nurul Huda, thank you for all your support, compromises, and sacrifices you have made in order for me to pursue a master's degree. To my lovely daughter Key Lashira Almeera Ghunav, and Aletta Hayyin Ghunav, I owe you a lot, thank you for your understanding when I was undertaking my research paper and study. Thank you for all your patience and endless support to every path of my life. I would like to thank my dearest father Sudirman, my mother Kris Isnawati Ida, my brother and sister (Jundi, Amy, In'Am, Oriza), my mother-father-in-law, and the whole my extended family who always support me.

To all people who helped with my research paper, experts, governments worker, and facilitator of child-friendly city, for sharing their experiences with me. Furthermore, I express my appreciation to StuNed NESO Programme for facilitating my MA Programme; my mentor, Bunda Lisda Sundari who always support me and allowing me to work in flexible time in order to pursue my study.

I would sincerely like to thank all my beloved friends who were with me and support me through thick and thin. Most importantly I would like to thank Wahyuni and her family, Nabila, Militza, and Indonesian mates. SPD major batch 2021/2022. I will never forget our journey and friendship.

May God shower the above-cited personalities with success and honour in their life.

Wassalamualaykum,

# Contents

|  |           |
|--|-----------|
| <b>Chapter 1 Introduction</b>  | <b>1</b>  |
| 1.1 General Overview of Child-Friendly Cities Initiative                             | 1         |
| 1.2 Research Problem   | 2         |
| 1.3 Objectives of the Study  | 3         |
| 1.4 Research Question  | 3         |
| 1.5 Relevance and Justification  | 3         |
| <b>Chapter 2 Methodology</b>   | <b>4</b>  |
| 2.1 Research Design  | 4         |
| 2.2 Respondents  | 4         |
| 2.3 Methods of Data Collection   | 6         |
| 2.4 Methods of Data Analysis   | 7         |
| 2.5 Limitation   | 8         |
| <b>Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework And Key Concept</b>                               | <b>9</b>  |
| 3.1 Introduction   | 9         |
| 3.2 Policy Translation   | 9         |
| 3.3 Assemblage   | 10        |
| 3.4 Summary  | 12        |
| <b>Chapter 4 Contextualizing Cfc</b>   | <b>13</b> |
| 4.1 Introduction   | 13        |
| 4.2 Child Friendly-City Initiatives  | 13        |
| 4.3 <i>Kota Layak Anak</i> or Child-Friendly Cities in Indonesia System in Indonesia | 15        |
| 4.3.1 Concept, Procedures, and Indicators  | 15        |
| 4.3.2 Regulations of CFC   | 18        |
| 4.4 Summary  | 20        |
| <b>Chapter 5 Research Finding And Analysis</b>                                       | <b>22</b> |
| 5.1 Introduction: Three Episodes of Indonesian CFC Translation                       | 22        |
| 5.2 First Phase: Initial Efforts to Implement CFC in Indonesia                       | 22        |
| 5.3 Second Phase: Establishment of CFC Idea  | 26        |
| 5.4 Third Phase: Local Governments Embracing the Idea of CFC                         | 29        |
| <b>Chapter 6 Conclusion</b>  | <b>33</b> |
| <b>Appendices</b>  | <b>34</b> |
| <b>Bibliography</b>  | <b>36</b> |

## **List of Tables**

|   |    |
|---|----|
| Table 2.1 Participant of research       | 5  |
| Table 4.1 Policy translation approaches | 10 |

## **List of Figures**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Figure 4.1 Example of action plan for Child-Friendly City Initiative           | 14 |
| Figure 4.2 The number of cities/regencies adopting CFC in 2006-2022            | 15 |
| Figure 4.3 Steps in achieving CFC Indonesia                                    | 16 |
| Figure 4.4 Indicator CFC Indonesia based on five cluster CRC                   | 16 |
| Figure 4.5 Timeline of policy steps related to CFC implementation in Indonesia | 18 |

## **List of Appendices**

|  |    |
|--|----|
| Appendix 1. Indicators and measurement of Indonesian Child-Friendly Cities | 34 |
|--|----|

## List of Acronym

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| CFC    | : Child Friendly City   |
| CFCI   | : Child Friendly City Initiative  |
| CRC    | : Child Rights Convention   |
| ILO    | : International Labour Organization   |
| KPPPA  | : <i>Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak</i><br>(Abbreviation MoWECP)  |
| MoWE   | : Ministry of Women Empowerment   |
| MoWECP | : Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection  |
| NGO    | : Non-Government Organization   |
| PNBAI  | : <i>Program Nasional Bagi Anak Indonesia</i> (National Program for Indonesian<br>Children) |
| PR     | : President Regulation  |
| UNICEF | : United Nation Children's Fund   |
| YKAI   | : Yayasan Kesejahteraan Anak Indonesia  |

## **Abstract**

The government of Indonesia announced that 320 out of 514 cities/regencies in Indonesia have applied the idea of child-friendly cities (CFC). This study describes and analyses the interactions and processes in the development of Child-Friendly Cities in Indonesia as a case study of policy translation. The guiding research question is: How is a successful policy of CFC model made through the interplay between global and local relations and through a particular assemblage of actors, ideas, and forces?. The questions are addressed through document analyses and interviews with a range of key stakeholders, including government officials and experts from NGOs. The main findings of the study are that CFC in Indonesia is not directly comparable to CFC from UNICEF but, rather, corresponds to the Convention of the Rights of the Child (CRC) articles. Moreover, it was found that the CFC policy components were assembled from pre-existing policies from various sectors to 'made' coherent, and this has contributed to the wide adoption of CFC across the country. The emergence and rise CFC in Indonesia happened through a translation process of multi-actor and multi-factor that can capture in three phases; 1) efforts from CSO actors and the interest of the government to fulfil the national agenda; 2) Then, the internal dynamics within MoWECF and the global status have influenced the changed CFC substance ; 3) Phase three is a snowball effect phase in which actors from local governments and non-local governments were enthusiastic about the idea of CFC. This is due to the political construction that the accomplishment of a CFC award by a local government will boost the public image of the regional leader, and it is also related to the patron gaze to children. The study also shows that in the Indonesian context, a 'carrot' in policy will encourage local-level governments to take up centrally launched policy ideas.

## **Relevance to Development Studies**

This topic is relevant to Development Studies as it sheds light on how governance and institutions work in Indonesia by studying the case of the making of the policy reality of "Child-Friendly Cities" in Indonesia. This study offers a viewpoint that the development of a policy is a complex process that involves different actors and multi-factors. Policy translation is a concept to elaborate how one policy travels to another place beyond its linear explanation and is related to the social, politic, and governance contexts. This concept implies the need for scholars researching policy making to consider a variety of factors. Policy translation is also subject to the context of the issue being addressed.

## **Keywords**

Policy translation; child-friendly city; assemblage; Indonesia.

# Chapter 1 Introduction

## 1.1 General Overview of Child-Friendly Cities Initiative

At present, a total of 320 out of 514 cities and regencies in Indonesia have been awarded the status of Child-Friendly City (Indonesia, 2021). Nonetheless, this fact is not recorded on the website of UNICEF, the global initiator of the idea of Child-Friendly Cities Initiative (CFCI) (UNICEF, 2018). This research paper takes this paradox as a starting point for exploring how an apparently successful policy idea has been created in Indonesia, how it is, and how it became (dis)connected from its global model. In doing so, I teased apart the role of international ideas and actors in it, the role of local-level policy intermediators, as well as the particular working of governance and institutions in Indonesia.

The circulating global reports (UNICEF, 2018) highlight that the story of the successful adaptation of CFC in Indonesia was owing to the former Mayor of Surakarta who is currently serving as the President of Indonesia, Joko Widodo. According to these reports, he first embraced this initiative and applied it in Surakarta in 2006, and popular theories indicate that he might have subsequently influenced the central government to follow in these steps. Benchmarking from Surakarta, as the stories continue, the central government then started to expand the adoption of CFC to several other cities. In this account, the long-term partnerships between UNICEF and Joko Widodo are stressed (UNICEF, 2018), suggesting that the CFC adoption in Indonesia has resulted from an official cooperation between UNICEF and the Indonesian authorities. However, the fact that numerous cities and regencies in Indonesia have adopted the idea of CFC without this being recognized by UNICEF on its global map of CFC (UNICEF, 2018) suggests that this origin story is too simplistic. The account presented in this research paper complicates the popular narrative outlined above by showing the process of the policy uptake of Child-Friendly Cities in Indonesia, which was hardly a linear process and involved various other key actors beyond the current president.

Even though the UNICEF version of the CFC is universal, its implementation in various countries is different and highly uneven. Some cities interpret CFC as urban planning development that focuses on building child-friendly infrastructure with children's participation in the planning (UNICEF, 2018). For instance, in China, the implementation of CFC as an innovation of local government in development social services and public facilities to be friendly for children (Nan, 2020, p. 1). Another example is in India, which adopted CFC to ensure that children can access basic needs to meet the development targets and have their rights fulfilled (Riggio, 2002). In Indonesia, the CFC policy is a way to encourage local governments which do not have a policy to specifically protect children, a sufficient budget for children's protection, or an adequate human resource capacity to protect children to improve their capacity in children fulfilment (MoWECP, 2016).

The implementation of CFC in Indonesia differs from the guidelines set by UNICEF in three ways. Firstly, the Indonesian government sets out a categorization of scores in determining the success of CFC implementation in each city/regency, and this is not stipulated in the UNICEF's guidelines. Secondly, the above Indonesian categorization of CFC consists of five categories, which are named in Sanskrit, a classical language that is commonly used among Javanese people and less common in the other parts of Indonesia. Third, in the usual practice by UNICEF, after a city/region achieves a CFC status, the city/region will be given an official CFC label by UNICEF, but in Indonesia, such a token of appreciation is replaced by an award from Indonesia's central government.

The adoption of CFC from the global context to the Indonesian context suggests a modification to the original concept. This suggests that there has been a process of policy translation, which is the focus of this study. Policy translation is defined as “the process of modification of policy ideas and creation of new meanings and designs in the process of the cross-jurisdictional travel” (Mukhtarov, 2014, p. 76). Even though the global initiative of CFC is seen to be universally implemented, it still needs to be contextualized according to different cultures, religions, and the power of relevant state parties (Luann, 2017). This research paper attempts to elaborate how CFC has been adopted in Indonesia through lens of policy translation. Such an understanding is important for understanding governance processes in Indonesia and the global-local dynamics in the development.

This research is divided into six parts. Chapter one explains the paradox story of CFC in Indonesia from CFCI and rational my research question. Chapter two, elaborates on methodology research through qualitative design. Chapter three discussed about the core concept and theory policy translation and assemblage. Chapter four focused on how similar and different the substance and regulation of CFC in Indonesia from CFCI global. Chapter five analyse the finding from my interview and story of policy translation CFC in Indonesia. Then, I conclude my finding in chapter six.

## 1.2 Research Problem

Policy is not always something new but sometimes it is translated or transferred from a policy model by other institutions. Evans (2004) contends that public organization in both the global south and global north do not always create new ideas to solve the problem; instead, they look outside of the institution to adopt policy models. There are several theories about the study of the travel of ideas, ranging from policy transfer, policy diffusion, and policy mobility. Policy transfer is a theory of policy development that analyze how a process of an idea as a form of policies, institution, or system is adopted from one sector to another sector of level of governance (Evans, 2004, p. 10). Even though the reason for policy transfer might be different in developing countries and developed countries but it still shows that public governance tends to adopt a policy model from different geographical situations. Many scholars critique the policy transfer theory and put forward the concept of policy translation. In policy translation the discussion is beyond the linear process of adoption, instead the policy translation is a framework to understand what makes certain policies adopted widely, while others remain limited, and how this remains a mystery (Mukhtarov, 2014, p.71 ). Policy translation is affected by complex interactions of multiple factors, discourses, ideologies, symbols, identities, and actors that engage in the social and political construction of problems and solutions that influence the process of ideational transformation. In this regard, the modification and wide adoption of CFC across Indonesia needs to be explained, particularly how a successful policy model is ‘made’ through processes of translation. In addition, in the process of policymaking, the policy is also assembled from other existing policies in order to achieve a goal.

This study illustrates the empirical value of the process of translation of ideas. To date, previous research in Indonesia has focused only on the technicalities of the implementation of CFC (Hamudy, 2015; Pratama, 2018). Research on CFC has not addressed the process of policy translation of CFC. Meanwhile, Hasan et al. (2019) argue that it is important to discuss policy transfer in less hierarchical terms by recognizing all involved parties to give acknowledgment and reflection to each of them. This research paper, thus, tries to fill the research gap by using policy translation as a central concept.

### **1.3 Objectives of the Study**

The objective of this study is to understand how and why the policy idea of Child-Friendly Cities has been translated and contextualized in Indonesia. The broader goal of this research concerns an understanding of how the social, political, and economic contexts of Indonesia influence the adoption of CFC policy.

### **1.4 Research Question**

Based on the case of CFC in Indonesia, this research seeks to understand: How is a successful policy of CFC model made through the interplay between global and local relations and through the particular assemblage of actors, ideas, and forces?

The sub-questions are:

- a) Who are the key actors involved in the policy translation of CFC in Indonesia?
- b) What is driving the actor(s) to take on the policy idea of CFC?
- c) What material of CFC from UNICEF is evident in the Indonesian version and what is missing?
- d) What enables and constrains policy translation of CFC in Indonesia?

### **1.5 Relevance and Justification**

Policy models have been used as a tool to influence the development of institutions and deliver the system in an attempt to tackle the problems they face. A policy translation approach is relevant in analysing the concept of child-friendly cities that is widely adopted in Indonesia, as suggested by research conducted by Kikule and Swift on how several countries in Africa translated children's rights conventions into their states from the perspective of protection and freedom in the global north (Luann, 2017). In their research, the authors contend that the concept of translation is related to the country's socio-economic, political, and infrastructure stability. This is because global initiatives largely come from developed countries to be adopted in developing ones, which have different situations.

Even though in developing countries many policies are influenced by supranational organizations and globalization, in the post-colonial era, many developing countries, like Indonesia, find it also important to determine their own future in policymaking, including by refusing international assistance and guidance. In the case of CFC adoption in Indonesia, the paradox story from UNICEF is that the initiative is from partnership with UNICEF, but then there is no acknowledgement of CFC in Indonesia. It showed maybe the story is not simplistic. Thus, the issue of the CFC policy translation is worth investigating. This study will enrich the literature with empirical knowledge on how the Indonesian government translates the CFC initiative by providing a thorough understanding of key actors and factors that drive the translation of CFC in Indonesia. Another value of this study is the knowledge on how local governments translate CFC indicators in particular and the notion of child protection in general.

# Chapter 2 Methodology

## 2.1 Research Design

This study uses a qualitative method. The purpose of qualitative design is to explore and understand the complexities of social process including the interaction, process, lived experience, and belief system in level of individuals, institution, and cultural groups (O’Leary, 2017, p.273). To understand the process of policy translation, a qualitative study is more suitable because it can dig deeper into non-numerical features of the phenomenon. With qualitative design researcher can start by asking the key actor involved in CFC policy translation in Indonesia, and elaborate more on how one decision from a key actor is considered to be taken and how that was influence to translate the CFC idea.

Thirteen semi-structured interviews were conducted with those who were involved in policy translation of CFC, including the Indonesian government, experts, facilitators, and civil servants. I conducted thirteen interviews which were triangulated by official documents, conference papers, thesis, articles, and report for data analysis. To understand the idea of CFC from a global context to an Indonesia context, I also use secondary data from official documents from UNICEF and the Indonesian government, including regulations, reports, and articles.

## 2.2 Respondents

To identify the interviewees, I used a snowball sampling method. To illustrate, for the first key informant, I started with my connection, who is an assessor of CFC in Indonesia. I then inquired the first interviewee to refer me to another relevant party to be the next interviewee. Snowball sampling benefits when the sample is a relatively self-enclosed community, or where the population is quite difficult to be accessed and tightly defined (King, Horrocks, and Brooks, 2019, p.62). On the other hand, the challenge in using the snowball technique is that recruited from the same social network and have similar characteristic (Hennink, et al., 2020). On the other hand, the challenge in using the snowball technique is that the interviewees are recruited from the same social network and have similar characteristics (Hennink, et al., 2020). As suggested, I tried to broaden the diversity of respondents by tapping into a different social network. Not only did I follow the reference from my respondent, but also I also tried to ask other key informants who worked for a child protection NGO by asking them to identify the persons involved in the process of developing the CFC idea. Then I tried to contact them one by one. Thus, for the available interviewees, to make sure that the respondents are actually involved in the process of development of CFC, in the beginning I started giving a question about the background of my respondents and why they can be involved, and how long they have been involved in the process of development of CFC. To triangulate their experience and the data they gave, I checked the fact with news, data, and information from trusted document.

For sub-national respondents, I use purposive sampling that selected four cities/districts from *nindya* and *utama* level. This strategy is called a convenience sample (O’Leary, 2017, p.390). MoWECP categorizes the scores into five categories, from *Pratama*, *Madya*, *Nindya*,

*Utama*, to ultimately CFC<sup>1</sup> (MoWECP, 2016). To narrow down the scope of discussion, I selected the provinces, cities, and regencies at the *Nindya* and *Utama* level, assuming that those achieving these levels have translated the CFC policy much better than those achieving the levels below. Meanwhile, there is no single city/regency in Indonesia which has obtained the highest CFC status, so it was not possible to investigate such a city/regency. Despite being invited from personal and professional connection of the research, the local government officials were chosen because they fulfil certain criteria, such as the city has been awarded the CFC, and the city has been actively involved in the programme CFC. I chose four cities in Indonesia. I chose Surakarta City because it already achieved the *Utama* Level and was a pilot project at beginning of CFC development. Siak Regency was in the *Utama* Level and has actively implemented CFC. Lampung Province was selected because many of their regencies got an award at the *Nindya* level. Sumatera Barat province has been actively implementing CFC as, to my knowledge, all the regencies/cities there already adopted CFC.

I offered open or anonymous identification to my interviewees in my research paper. Many of them requested anonymity. The anonymity in this research paper is not related to serious harm (Hennink, et al., 2020) to the people that I interviewed; instead, it is related to their position. Many of them still work for the government, and they were afraid of their position in giving their statement. In addition, the process of policy making in Indonesia is rare to be acknowledged to outsiders publicly. As Mukhtarov, Farhad, Martin and Pierce (2017) note, in studying policy translation, it is important to minimize any possibility of harm to the research participants during research or post-research. Thus, to provide the anonymity, I coded them with specialized letters and numbers to refer to them in the text. I refer the government officials as “GOV”, experts as “EXP”, facilitators as “FAC”, and the local civil servants as “LCS”, and UN as “UNICEF Consultant”. The background of the research participants is as follows:

Table 2.1 Participant of research

| No | Participant (nationality)  | Background and relation with CFC   | Time       | Code |
|----|----------------------------|--|------------|------|
| 1  | Expert 1 (Indonesian)      | He had been involved in CFC since 2004 as he worked for one Civil Society Organization which started the discussion of CFC. He then became a consultant in developing the programme of CFC in Indonesia. He also worked as an independent assessor of CFC in Indonesia.            | 06-08-2022 | EXP1 |
| 2. | Expert 2 (Indonesian)      | He had been involved in CFC since 2010 as he worked for an International NGO in Indonesia. MoWECP invited him to share his efforts in creating a child-friendly village. He then became a consultant to formulate the CFC concept and an independent assessor of CFC in Indonesia. | 08-08-2022 | EXP2 |
| 3  | Expert 3 (Indonesian)      | He was invited by MoWECP to be a consultant to develop CFC in Indonesia as he had a lot of experience in child protection Civil Society Organization (CSO) in Indonesia. He also became an assessor of CFC in Indonesia  | 09-08-2022 | EXP3 |
| 4  | Expert 4 (Indonesian)      | She previously worked for MoWECP as the secretary to the former Minister of MoWECP when she was invited to participate in the CFC discussion. After that, she retired from MoWECP but MoWECP asked her to become a consultant to devise the CFC concept.                           | 10-08-2022 | EXP4 |
| 5  | Facilitator 1 (Indonesian) | He was a child activist <sup>2</sup> who had actively joined MoWECP's training programs. Since 2010, he had started to introduce   | 15-08-2022 | FAC1 |

<sup>1</sup> *Pratama*, *Madya*, *Nindya*, *Utama*, and Ultimately CFC refer to level of CFC award. This level is started from the lowest level to the highest level. *Pratama* level means first level-lowest level, *Madya* level is second level, *Nindya* is third level, *Utama* is fourth level, and Ultimate CFC is the fifth level or the highest level.

<sup>2</sup> Child activist is a person who work to advocate children right's that involved in organization

|    |                                    |  |            |                  |
|----|------------------------------------|--|------------|------------------|
|    |                                    | CFC to Lampung province and become a consultant for the local governments around the province to achieve the CFC award.  |            |                  |
| 6  | Government Staff 1 (Indonesian)    | In 2006, she used to be the Head of Sub Division of Assistant for Child Social Issues MoWECP, directly supervising the programme of CFC. She had continued serving as the Chief General Bureau and Human Resources at MoWECP since 2020.   | 15-08-2022 | GOV1             |
| 7  | Local Civil Servant 1 (Indonesian) | She had been working in CFC in Siak regency since 2013 when she was assigned to handle the program of CFC. Siak regency has achieved the Utama Level, and this means that the implementation of CFC indicators is very good in this regency  | 15-08-2022 | LCS1             |
| 8  | Facilitator 2 (Indonesian)         | He was a child activist in the province of West Sumatera. All regencies/cities in this province had applied CFC and received the related award, so he had been working with the authorities from those cities/regencies to give capacity building and technical assistance in achieving a CFC award. | 18-08-2022 | FAC2             |
| 9  | Government Staff 2 (Indonesian)    | She was a Chief Advocacy and Child Participation at MoWECP in 2006. She was following the process of CFC from 2006 to 2012.  | 20-08-2022 | GOV2             |
| 10 | Local Civil Servant 2 (Indonesian) | He had retired from his position as the Chief of Child Protection Office in Surakarta. He was involved in the process of CFC adoption from 2006 to 2010.   | 08-09-2022 | LCS2             |
| 11 | Diana Vakarelska (Foreign)         | Policy Specialist (Local Governance Social Policy Section Programme Division – United Nations Children’s Fun Headquarters).  | 06-09-2022 | Diana Vakarelska |
| 12 | UNICEF 1 (Indonesian)              | She is an urban consultant that just hired by UNICEF. Involved in CFC since 2009 as a data analys in MoWECPt, then in 2011 she become a assessor team for a couple of years. She retired from CFC assessor on 2015   | 21-10-2022 | UN1              |
| 13 | UNICEF 2 (Indonesian)              | He is an social policy staff in UNICEF. He didn’t involve in CFC Indonesia directly but he is doing project related to CFC   | 21-10-2022 | UN2              |

## 2.3 Methods of Data Collection

The primary data of this study was obtained from in-depth interviews with respondents, who were the key actors involved in the translation of CFC policy in Indonesia. The objective of in-depth interviewing is to understand about people’s experience and the meaning of that experience for them (Seidman, 2006). Due to family obligations that I had, I was unable to conduct the research in person in Indonesia, so the data collection was conducted entirely online. A synchronous video interviewing was used in this research. It allows for real-time discussions via an online platform (O’Connor and Madge, 2017). Before the data collection was conducted, I had made sure that each respondent had been informed about the objectives of this research and had given their consent.

I created a guideline for the semi-structure interview. Even though the theme of the question was the same for all respondents, my approach was different to every group. I tried to narrow down the questions based on the knowledge that I got from my secondary data about CFC in Indonesia and UNICEF in formulating the questions. I conducted in-depth interviews with four experts involved in the development of CFC ideas in Indonesia. My first question related to how is the story of CFC begin in Indonesia?, then I asked by whom and why CFC was created. My second question includes this series of sub-questions: What is the original idea of CFC?; Who is the actor involved?; What has driven the actor?; What is the material?; Why are there differences in the global and Indonesia material?; and, What were the decisions and considerations chosen at that time?. I probed every answer to know

why and how they translate the CFC from global to Indonesia. Then, I continued with what is the dynamic of the socio-political-economic process of this translation. I also ask what is enable and constraint the process of policy translation CFC from national to subnational.

For national senior government from the Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection (MoWECP) involved in the CFC. I started by congratulating them that CFC had already been massively adopted. Then, I ask the question of why CFC is created and who is the actor involved in the process. I also probed the question to understand the situation in government at that time and what is the consideration and strategy chosen by the government in translate the idea of CFC from global idea.

For the facilitator and local government interviewed, the discussion also revolved around the history of CFC that were adopted in local government, the how is the process of translating the idea CFC into their local government system, who is the actor involved in adoption CFC idea, their reasons for the CFC adoption, and social political and economic situation in the adoption of CFC.

As for the secondary data, I analyzed official documents, for instance, the Indonesian CFC guideline, regulation related to CFC, Indonesian child protection law, news, and CFC guidelines issued by UNICEF, and global conference or event related to CFC. In addition, a literature review was carried out to support the analytical framework.

## **2.4 Methods of Data Analysis**

The primary data from the interviews was first transcribed and then translated from Indonesian to English. I then viewed the data from a chronological perspective by creating a timeline of significant events from 2004 until 2022 as a period when the CFC began to be established in Indonesia. For each interview, I used narrative analysis to focus on the stories of the individual informants. This type of analysis is suitable when only a small sample is involved and the nature of the research is phenomenological (O'Leary, 2017). To conceptualize the data, I used data questioning and an analytic puzzle to provide important details and nuance to understand the process of CFC translation in Indonesia. (2005; Hennink, et al., 2020) suggest that analytic puzzles can be used to initiate a focused exploration of data.. I tried putting together all puzzles by first triangulating data from my respondents to trusted documents. For instance, when some of my respondents mentioned about one document, I went through that document and read the content of the document and analysed its relation to the process of CFC adoption in Indonesia. In addition, when a respondent mentioned an important event, I looked for the document about that event and understood the discussion and the purpose of the discussion. The triangulation of data helped me put together the puzzles of data.

As for the secondary data on CFCI and CFC in Indonesia, after summarising the important information, I conducted a comparative analysis to see if the indicators for both contexts are comparable. Such a comparison allows researchers to elaborate more description about how the issues differ from each other and whether there are any patterns in the data (Hennink, et al., 2020). Besides comparing the material of CFC from UNICEF to the Indonesian version, I sorted it out chronologically to see any differences and similarities. Meanwhile, to dissect the development of regulations on CFC in Indonesia, I elaborated how Indonesia's regulations are similar to or different from the global standards and how they influence the CFC idea in Indonesia.

## **2.5 Limitation**

I acknowledge the limitation of this study, which is mainly because of the data collection. Before starting each interview, I introduced myself as a student majoring in social policy development. I then explained again the objectives of my research and congratulated them for their successful efforts to encourage many cities and regencies to adopt the CFC idea. Because some of the interviewees used to work with me and knew the organization where I worked before becoming a student, I began the interviews with an informal talk. I found this strategy helpful to build rapport with them and make them more open. However, this method did not work for one of the government officials, so I changed my approach to be more formal. The implication was that the accounts from the government officials might not be complete in portraying the whole situation due to the issue of rapport. Moreover, I did not involve UNICEF Indonesia in my research. I did try to contact them, but UNICEF Indonesia only offered their newly hired urban consultant, so they did not have experience in the process of translation of CFC in Indonesia. At least, from this early conversation, I got information on the differences between CFCI offered by UNICEF and CFC in Indonesia. However, I managed to get in touch with a staff from UNICEF CFCI Global via email correspondence. While this might affect the comprehensiveness of the data, this is also understandable because UNICEF Indonesia might have never been involved from the start, especially as the CFC in Indonesia is not led by UNICEF.

# Chapter 3 Theoretical Framework and Key Concept

## 3.1 Introduction

This chapter discusses two relevant theoretical frameworks and concepts as a basis for understanding the dynamic of policy-making Child-Friendly Cities in Indonesia from global idea. Policy translation and policy assemblage are my tools of analysis. I will present what factors that influence policy translation and assemblage.

## 3.2 Policy Translation

The root concept of policy translation is from policy transfer. Dolowitz and Marsh (1996) argued that policy transfer is a term that cover 'voluntary' and 'coercive' transfer. There are four factor in policy transfer; who transfers policy, why engage in policy transfer, what is transferred, are there different degrees of transfer? and from where are lessons drawn? and what factor constrain policy transfer in policy transfer. Then, many scholars discuss how to study policy transfer or policy travel. Freeman (2009, p. 430-431) argue that policy consists of a word that moves; thus, policy translation is about how to represent and take the problems that are used to interpret and convert them into a decision. Mukhtarov (2014) contends that there is criticism against policy transfer that may be beneficial to understand the complex process of policy travel. There are three areas of criticism against conventional policy transfer. First, the policy transfer literature does not see much instability in the meaning of policy ideas and multiple interpretations in various contexts that still need to address or discuss. Second, there is an assumption that policy transfer is homogenous in the process of deliberation without considering the contingency of policy. The notion that the actor acts rationally in the process of policy deliberation also does not always happen. Third, the study of policy transfer does not appoint a perspective of politics in which decision makers exercise power.

In the case of CFC Indonesia, CFC is not transferred from global to Indonesia. Rather, it is translated by multiple actors, and the substance is modified. Clarke et al (2015, p. 35) understand translation as a selective and active process in which meanings are interpreted and reinterpreted to make them fit in their new context. The policy translation definition by Mukhtarov (2014, p. 76) contends policy translation is the process of modification of policy ideas and the creation of new meanings and designs in the process of the cross-jurisdictional travel of policy ideas. The process of CFC also involved multiple actors and multiple translations. In the process of translating CFC in Indonesia, a range of key actors had influenced and given impact on the process, and they were not necessarily high-ranked officials and could also be informal actors. Every actor has his own meaning and shapes the ideation of policy unpredictably as noted by Mukhtarov (2014). How the actor translates the policy is not free from association, and it is a deeply politicised process that is concerned with power (Sakai, 2006, p.71-2; Clarke et al, 2015, p. 37). ). Complexity is a key component of policy translation that needs to be explored. Thus, this research explores the issue of CFC policy translation not only at the actor level but also at the national level by portraying the situation of children's protection development in Indonesia. I found the approach from Mukhtarov (2014, p.78) useful to analyse policy translation CFC in Indonesia:

Table 3.1 Policy translation approaches

| Approaches                               | Policy Translation  |
|--|---|
| Who translates                           | All types of actors engaged in policy making; tailored to study informal networks that pervade levels of governance           |
| What is translated                       | Policies, institutions, ideas   |
| How does transfer/translation happen?    | Highly contingent; no guidelines are available  |
| What enables and constraints translation | Constraints and opportunities for translation are socially and politically constructed and are meaningful only in the context |
| Rationale for analysis                   | 'unfit to fit': looking to understand how policy ideas are translated to construct a temporary 'fit'                          |

Source: adopted from Rethinking the travel of ideas: Policy Translation (Mukhtarov, F., 2014)

Furthermore, a substantial policy translation considers the fluidity of scale as “scale destabilization”, the transformation of the meaning of ideas as “meaning destabilization”, and the contingency of the policy process as in “increased contingency” (Mukhtarov, 2014, p. 79). In case of Indonesia, it is important to understand the process of CFC from unstable idea until become establish idea of CFC. The process not only influenced by the actor but also situation of governance and political situation. Then many actors found a way to establish the idea by modifying the substance and using an awarding strategy that increases political interest, therefore creating contingency in the policy process. This contingency increases the effect as many local cities/regencies started to adopt CFC. According to Clarke et al. (2015, p.47) it is important to discuss policy translation as a process where the dominant operates or, in contrast, loses control in the meaning-making process. Although CFCI is a framework that was launched by UNICEF, the concept of CFC is largely different and did not involve UNICEF Indonesia in the whole process of develop CFC. In other words, the Indonesian government and team experts refused to get intervention from UNICEF in order to achieve their own goal.

Mukhtarov (2014) outlines three major grounded principles of policy translation. First, there is complexity in the process of policy formulation as influenced by multi-factors, multi-interaction, and characteristics of policy ideas taken in judging the possible outcome of the travel. Second, the meaning of policy ideas, for example, discourses, ideologies, symbols, and identities, can be factors that influence the process of ideational transformation and predict the change in the process of travel. Third, policy translation is not about a fixed geographical content, hence discarding the notion of local, regional, national, and global contexts. The actors engage in the social and political construction of problems. In the case of CFC in Indonesia, I will discuss how different actors played a role in the process of developing CFC and elaborate on how their personal reason and institutional, local, and national political situations have driven the process. I also elaborate on how the strategy of awarding and levelling in Sanskrit language influence local governments to embrace the idea of CFC.

### 3.3 Assemblage

I found from secondary data that CFC in Indonesia is not new indicators. Instead, it is pre-existing program and policy. Nevertheless, this needs to be understood deeper, particularly how the policy can assemble and hold together. Thus, the concept assemblage is relevant to CFC in Indonesia. The aim is to see how the policy is translated and how this concept can help in the stabilization of the policy. As asserted by Clarke et al. (2015), "when policy moves, it is always translated: that is, it is made to mean something in its new context. The policy is never a singular entity: it is put together - or assembled - from a variety of elements that are

always in the process of being reassembled in new, often surprising, ways" (p. 9). In other words, a policy is never solely transferred but interpreted, enacted, and assembled. The analysis using assemblage is meant to explore the ways in which specific policies become an assemblage and stable and what makes them hold together. Ideas of assemblages and translation offer a way into seeing how the production and reproduction of knowledge enables certain agendas (Clarke et al., 2015).

Therefore, policy assemblages provide an analytical tool for understanding the process of child-friendly city in Indonesia that is influenced by multiple, multiform elements, and politics of inclusion and exclusion that govern and are articulated. The policy about meaning, practices, actors, text, desire, subject positions, and biographies is assembled even as it is translated – and such an assembly is influenced by multiple forms and effects that can be traced (Bainton, 2015). The concept of policy assemblages has been used in empirical research in early childhood education to point out that policies are not externalising forces but combinations with elements in the local situation, including existing policies (Paananen & Grieshaber, 2022).

According to McCann and Ward (2012), there are four elements in the study of policy assemblages: 1) policy assemblage, meaning that policies are brought together for certain purposes and interests. ;2) the movement of policy is not direct A to B, but it is a process of contextualize to social, relational, and scale; 3) in the process of policy assemblage, sometimes the mutation happen due to different interpretation from various actor; 4) to examine policy, the methodology includes the studying of situations, including, political situation, places outside of policy actor work, and relational ones. Policy assemblages need to critically examine the forms of work in shaping trans-local learning assemblages (McFarlane, 2011, p. 119) . In addition, the methodology to study the assembling of policy suggested by McCann and Ward (2012) is ‘studying through’ rather than studying up or down. In other words, studying with following actors, policies, and relevant situation that are linked when the assemblage happens. It is also included the social processes of interpretation and representation. When doing an assemblage, policymakers need to ensure the alignment of divergent political motivations, the translation of different ideas, and the invention of new concepts and programs (Prince, 2010, p.1). In the study of policy assemblage in CFC in Indonesia, it does not only see the indicators of CFC that are assembled from different sectors but also look through the actors who influence it, as well as the policies and relevant relations or the national – local government situation.

The reason of policy assemblage is not simple and complex. Policy assemblage happens due to different reasons contingent on the political moment rather than a simple project and smooth process. To study the actors in policy assemblage, Koyama and Varenne (2012) stress these principles: Who is going to be involved in what way, for what purposes, and for what consequences?. In addition, the process of policy needs to always include multi-actor and multi-sited needs to be understood in policy assemblages, how the production and reproduction of knowledge enable certain agendas, while others remain silenced (Clarke et al., 2015).

Analysing through the situation of national government and local governments during the specific time when they developed CFC will show the assumption in assembling all the indicators of CFC. Newman and Clarke (2009; Clarke et al, 2015) point out that the idea of an assemblage is studying the work of different elements into a coherent form by combining them together, including policies, personnel, places, and practices. The concept of policy assemblages argued by Hartley and Howlett (2021) in non-design policy uses three elements: Components, resilience, and coherence. On the other hand, sometimes policy assemblage does not need such a complex process; rather, it is done just to be ‘made coherent’ to certain

interests. As asserted by Mosse (2004), development workers tend to sustain a coherent policy idea. His idea showed that sometimes policy is ‘made coherent’ through the work of various policy actors. It is not designed as coherent. The idea that makes ‘good policy’ is not about policy that provides a good guide to action, but it is about policy that is legitimized and mobilizes political and practical support (Mosse, 2004). He continues that projects are successful because they sustain policy models offering a significant interpretation of events, not because they turn policy into reality. It is aligned with policy assemblages and happened not to make something work and implementable; instead, it is about the bargaining of the different actors in mobilizing political support to solve the problem by assembling existing policies, practices, and solutions.

### **3.4 Summary**

Firstly, the concept of policy translation is important in understanding the process of formulation and adoption of CFC in Indonesia and how multiple actors, situations, reasons have driven the process. Secondly, the concept of policy assemblage is significant in understanding the substance idea of CFC in Indonesia related to the system of government and capacity of local governments in Indonesia. This is in addition to comprehending the strategy and process of CFC travel around Indonesia. Lastly, it challenges the policy makers to develop idea in the design and develop the mainstreaming of child protection in Indonesia.

# Chapter 4 Contextualizing CFC

## 4.1 Introduction

This chapter explains the original idea of CFC from UNICEF. Then, I explain how it became domesticated within the Indonesian context. I analyse a comparison between CFC in Indonesia and global CFC based on the history and guideline material from each party I will refer to CFC from UNICEF as Child-Friendly City Initiative (CFCI), and I will refer CFC as child-friendly city in Indonesia. In addition, this section will elaborate on regulation related to CFC in Indonesia and reflected to global standard.

## 4.2 Child Friendly-City Initiatives

The Child-Friendly Cities Initiatives (CFCI) was launched in 1996. CFCI aims to identify the challenges and to define the strategies and mechanisms in the achievement of CFCI (UNICEF and UN Habitat, 1997). The framework of child-friendly cities was devised because of the growing population of children who live in urban cities (Riggio, 2002). This idea is not immediately embraced by city around the world and only limited city adopted.

In 2002 the CFCI idea was re-introduced in the UN General Assembly Special Session for Children<sup>3</sup>. The resulting document of the 2002 UN General Assembly Special was titled “A World Fit for Children”, which aims to encourage states to have children-oriented agendas for development. This issue was also discussed in a different agenda of the World Summit on Sustainable Development<sup>4</sup> related to cities without slums. Based on the “A World Fit for Children” document, the priorities until 2015 are to: 1) promote healthy lives; 2) provide quality education; 3) protect children against abuse, exploitation, or violence; 4) give children general protection; 5) give them protection especially from armed conflicts; 6) combat child labour; 7) eliminate trafficking and sexual exploitation of children; and, 7) combat HIV/AIDS (UN General Assembly, 2002).

Kathrin and Blerk (2012) reviewed that CFCI aim to include the perspective of children in city-development and to grant children participation in decision making. In addition, the purpose of CFC also to implement Child Rights Convention (CRC) in the city level by engaging in institutional, legal, and budgetary reform. But, CFCI do not use rigid indicator from CRC. Thus, at first CFC launched without being rigid prescriptive. In 2004, UNICEF launched the original CFC Framework for Action, which outlines nine building blocks that constitute a child-friendly city or community. These nine building blocks are fundamental to the entire process and to each of the element (UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre, 2004, p.4) as follows:

1. Children’s participation

---

<sup>3</sup> The General Assembly was a follow-up event to the World Summit for Children in 2001. This event was held by the UN on 8-10 May 2002. The resulting document was titled “A World Fit for Children”.

<sup>4</sup> The Summit, held by UN, took place in Johannesburg, South Africa, from 26 August to 4 September 2002. One of the sessions regarding children highlighted the idea of cities without slums to protect children.

2. A child-friendly legal framework
3. A city-wide children's rights strategy
4. A children's rights unit or coordinating mechanism.
5. Child impact assessment and evaluation.
6. A children's budget.
7. A regular reporting of the state of the city's children.
8. Making children's rights known.
9. Independent advocacy for children

In 2018, UNICEF launched a guideline for CFCI to give instructions on how to implement CFCI. According to the guideline, CFCI is assessed by UNICEF. To get a recognition of CFC by UNICEF, a municipality must develop CFC in partnership with UNICEF by means of a formal commitment (UNICEF, 2018, p. 43). UNICEF give an example how to create action plan with outcome, output, indicator, baseline, target, data source, and reporting frequency. The following is one of the outcome example:

Figure 4.1 Example of action plan for Child-Friendly City Initiative

| Outcomes/Outputs   | Indicators  | Baseline | Target    | Data Source   | Reporting frequency                         |
|--|---|----------|-----------|---|---|
| <b>Outcome 1:</b> Every child is valued, respected and treated fairly within their communities.                                  | % of children with disabilities reporting an increased feeling of wellbeing<br>Number of reported cases of bullying of disabled children in schools           |          |           | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Documentation of baseline assessment and subsequent analysis of policies</li> <li>• Education data on class attendance</li> <li>• Education data on school enrolment</li> <li>• Survey of head teachers on patterns of parental involvement</li> <li>• Survey of parents and children with disabilities on levels of bullying experiences</li> </ul> | Annual                                      |
| <b>Output 1:</b> Children have equal access to public services regardless of ethnic origin, religion, income, gender or ability. | % of laws and policies identified in the analysis that are being revised<br>Numbers of public spaces being assessed and renovated in regards to accessibility |          |           |   |   |
| Activities   |   |          | Resources | Target audience   | Focal Point                                 |
| <b>Activity 1:</b> Baseline assessment of barriers to equal access to services for children with disabilities                    |   |          |           | Children, young people and their families   | Local government review committee, academia |
| <b>Activity 2:</b> Analysis of potential indirect discrimination in policies and laws  |   |          |           | Children, young people and their families   | Local government review committee, academia |
| <b>Activity 3:</b> Awareness-raising campaign in schools to reduce bullying  |   |          |           | Children, young people and their families, teachers   | Local government                            |

Source: CFCI Guideline Book (UNICEF, 2018)

According to UN1, the CFCI started from a formal commitment between the municipality and UNICEF. Then the municipality will make a plan of action with a focus on several sectors. He admitted that CFCI is not a rigid indicator; rather, the indicator and action plan rely on the priority of the municipality related to children's participation and children protection issues. This is aligned with a review from Kathrin and Blerk (2012) that the substance of CFCI is focused to increase the participation of children in the development of the city and decision-making. As explained in Picture 1, for example, the outcome of CFC is that every child is valued, respected, and treated fairly within communities. Thus, the government will work on that output and activities. In terms of budget, CFCI does not need a specific budget; it is sometimes included in other areas of the existing budget. During the implementation phase, the municipal authorities and national government should ensure that the legal framework and policies are available and carried out well. The next stage after the implementation is the monitoring and evaluation of CFC, which is linked to the recognition process by UNICEF. The monitoring includes process monitoring, impact monitoring, and evaluation. The result of the monitoring and evaluation is then disseminated to the government to improve their policies and priorities. UNICEF will give the award for five years.

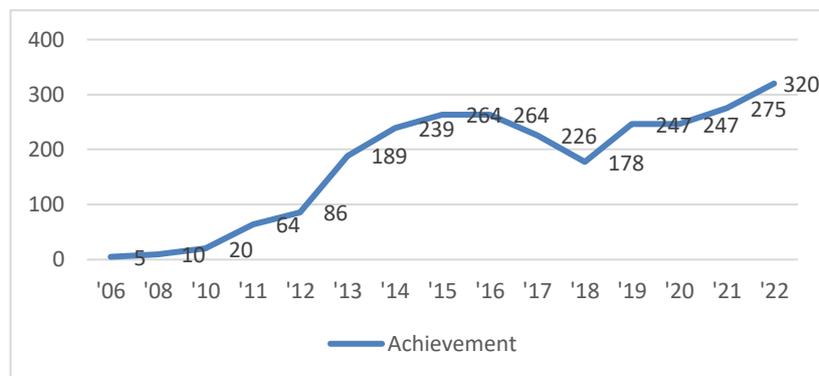
## 4.3 Kota Layak Anak or Child-Friendly Cities in Indonesia System in Indonesia

### 4.3.1 Concept, Procedures, and Indicators

The CFC idea in Indonesia needs to be understood and contextualized within the situation of child protection and the system of governance in Indonesia. In fact, at present CFC in Indonesia is not an innovative project from cities or regencies but a prototype promoted by the national government to local governments at different levels aimed at the mainstreaming of children-oriented local development. Unlike other cities around the world where UNICEF is the key actor for assessing CFC, in Indonesia, the national government is the one that has been actively promoting and assessing CFC.

Indonesia has a goal to achieve its vision of “*Indonesia Layak Anak*” (which means Indonesia as a Child-Friendly Country) in 2030, by turning all cities/regencies in Indonesia, 514 cities/regencies into CFC. This goal is stated in the President Regulation No. 25 of 2021 about national planning in achieving child-friendly cities. The definition of CFC is as follows: “CFC are districts/cities that have a child rights-based development system that integrates commitment and resources from government, community and private commitments, which are planned in a comprehensive and sustainable manner in policies, programs and activities to ensure the fulfilment of children's rights and protection” (translated by author) (MoWECP, 2008, p. 1). The milestones of CFC implementation in Indonesia based on the count of cities/regencies are portrayed in the graph below:

Figure 4.2 The number of cities/regencies adopting CFC in 2006-2022



Source: compiled from CFC Indonesia Guideline Book, 2015; MoWECP Presentation, 2015

As seen in Figure 4.3, in order for a city/regency to qualify as a child-friendly city/regency, mayors/regents first have to express a political commitment through a declaration of “being ready to be a Child-Friendly City/Regency”. Thereafter, the local government has to set up a task force named “*Gugus Tugas*”. The task force was led by the Regional Planning Department. Regional Planning department was assigned because several reasons. First, the benefit is to led cross-sectoral coordination within the local governments. Second, the Regional Planning Department has an obligation to conduct planning every year, including budgeting<sup>5</sup>.

<sup>5</sup> Interview with EXP1, EXP3, GOV 2 on 8, 9, 10 August 2022

Figure 4.3 Steps in achieving CFC Indonesia

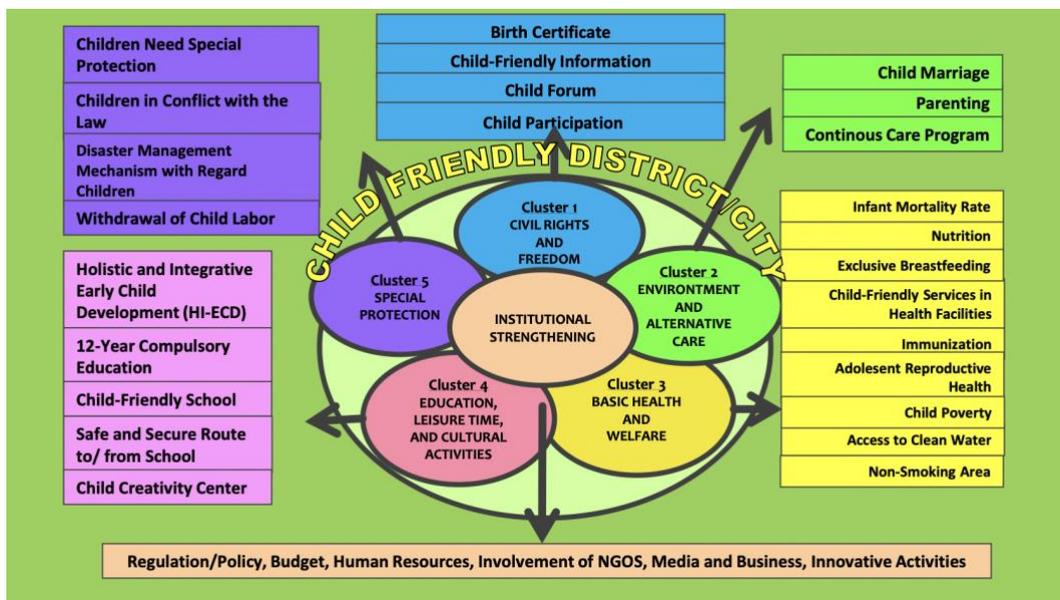


Source 2. Guideline Book CFC Indonesia (MoWECP, 2015, p. 8, translated by author)

In practice, however, the process of CFC is backward and enforced by MoWECP. Every year, the national government will send letters to all cities/regencies in Indonesia to ask the local government to join the CFC award by evaluating the CFC indicators in their city<sup>6</sup>. This letter will influence the local governments to join the evaluation process by creating CFC declarations and preparing evidentiary documents to be submitted. MoWECP has already offered a website platform for local governments to submit their documents or the so-called self-assessment. The scores of the self-assessment will appear after the local governments submit all of the required documents and answer the questions provided. MoWECP will then validate the data.

The local government must use a set of 31 indicators formulated by the national government. These refer to the variables used to measure the progress of the fulfilment of children’s rights by the local governments in achieving CFC (MoWECP, 2008) and are used as reference points for the central government, provincial governments, and local governments. The indicators are based on the CRC articles and are grouped into five clusters, similar to the ones in the Guideline for the Initial Report of CRC (UN, 1991). The indicators are stipulated in MoWECP Regulation No. 13 of 2011 about Guideline in Developing Child-Friendly City/Region. The following are the 31 indicators of CFC (the detailed measurements can be seen in Appendix 1):

Figure 4.4 Indicator CFC Indonesia based on five cluster



Source: MoWECP Presentation by Lenny Rosalin at Conference Child and City (2016)  
<https://www.childinthecity.org/2016-conference/wp-content/uploads/2016/11/Lenny-Rosalin-updated-slides.pdf>

<sup>6</sup> Interview with FAC2 18 August 2022

This is one example of CFC indicator:

Indicator 1: Available Regulation related to children rights and cover five cluster CRC policy.

- a. Is there a local act regarding the fulfilment of rights of children based on CRC? If so, what are the local regulations?
- b. Is there any other laws and regulations and/or policies regarding the fulfilment of children's rights? Mention them!
- c. Is there a Task Force/similar unit formed? On what legal basis or regional policy is the CFC Task Force formed?
- d. Is there a Regional Action Plan (RAP) regarding CFC? For how long? In what year was the RAP run?

Source: MoWECP Regulation No.12 of 2011 translated by author

CFC is not specific about children's participation; CFC becomes a model to develop institutionalization children protection in order to fulfil CRC. Some of the indicators of CFC are related to the Indonesian national and local context. For instance, the indicator about strengthening institutions does not exist in the CRC articles; it is based on the situation in Indonesia's governance system where many of regency did not have institutions and regulation for children protection. Thus, this indicator demands city/regency to have a child protection act at the local level. This is because the system of decentralization of Indonesia needs local acts as a basis of implementation.

Furthermore, several articles from CRC are translated into the Indonesian context, for instance, the indicator about Child Marriage (11) and indicators about basic health needs (14-22). Child marriage has become a national issue as the prevalence of child marriages has been increasing over the year. Meanwhile, the basic health, education, special protection, civil rights, and family environment indicators are related to children's basic services. These indicators are in accordance with CRC and also the national priority program. According to Riggio and Kilbane (2000), in the global north, the CFC has been translated into improvements to the infrastructure to be more friendly for children. In the global south, the CFC was implemented to increase the basic services for children.

Apart from that, I found that the indicators focus on quantitative measurement. The indicators measure the data on the achievement of cities/regencies compared to the national average data and the progress every year, for example, whether the prevalence of malnutrition outnumbers the national prevalence and if there is an improvement for each indicator. If the data is worse than the national data, it means that the local governments need to improve their programs. The progress is also inquired to encourage local governments to accelerate their progress in the fulfilment of the indicators. At the end, the questions will benefit the local governments to evaluate their achievement and improve their programs.

The quantitative measurement cannot cover inclusiveness in implementation. For example, indicators about the existence of children's forums and how their voice is included in the development of cities or regencies, it does not demand the representation and inclusiveness of different groups of children. For example, it does not measure the even representation of girls and boys, children with special needs, children with disabilities, children with different economic backgrounds, and vulnerable children in such forums. In addition, the quality of child participation is not questioned by this indicator, as mentioned in Arifiani (2015) that children's participation in Indonesia through child forums still uses a perspective between childhood space and adulthood intervention space.

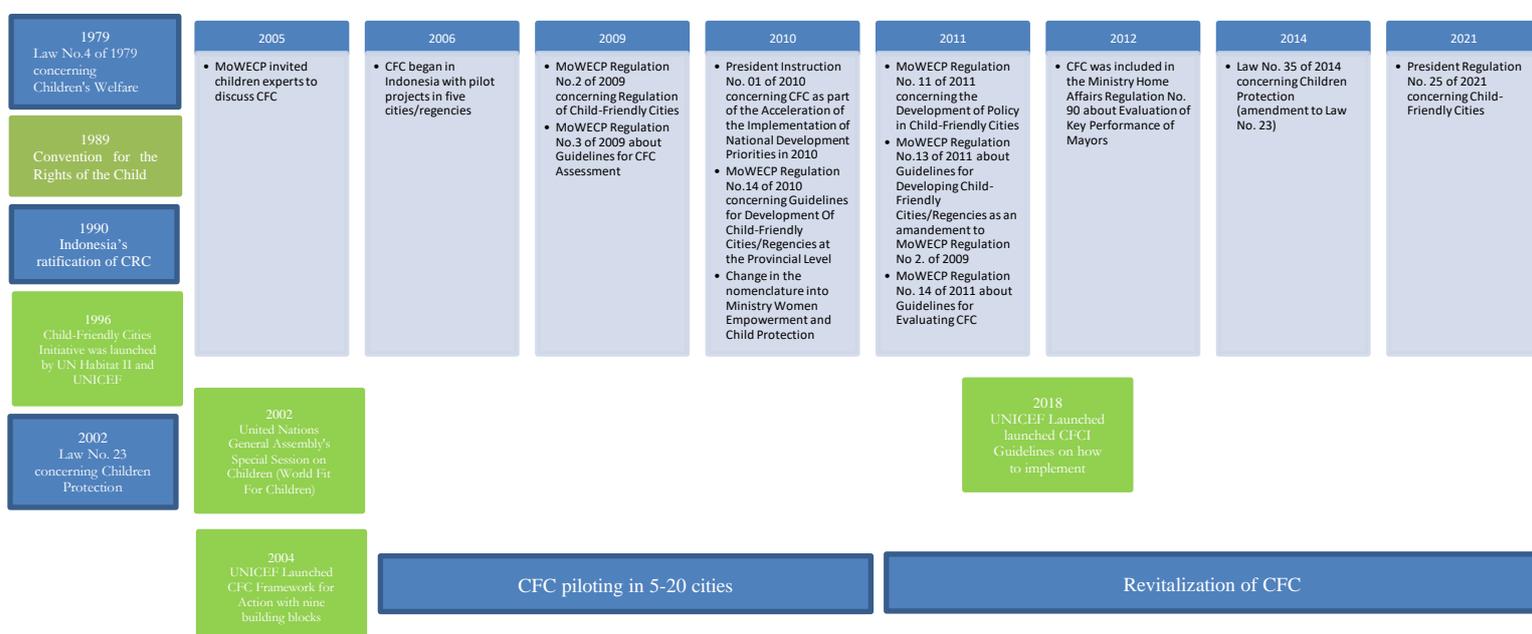
After local government submit their data for all indicator, the MoWECP will validate data by assigned an independent team of assessors who are professionals with different backgrounds, such as children, health, and education, and the academics. MoWECP and the independent team of assessors will validate the evidence and convert it into a score on the

scale of 1-1000 points. If the score is more than 500 points, the city/regency will receive an award, and this will be announced in the CFC awarding event that is held every year. MoWECF categorizes the scores into five categories in giving the awards, from *Pratama* level with the lowest score range of 501-600, *Madhya* level with a score range of 601-700, *Nindya* level with a score range of 701-800, *Utama* level with a score range of 801-900, to ultimately CFC with the highest score range of 901-1000 points (MoWECF, 2016). The division of CFC levels is interesting because in UNICEF CFCI, there is no such a categorisation of CFC levels. Moreover, the naming of the levels is similar to that of the “*Anugerah Prabita Ekapraya*” award for gender mainstreaming efforts in Indonesia<sup>7</sup>. MoWECF uses Sanskrit for the levelling so as to make the local governments understand their progress towards the achievement of a CFC status, and this levelling system has motivated local governments to achieve every tier before unlocking the ultimate CFC status. I found that the Sanskrit language is used to in many others awards and formal events in Indonesia. Using Sanskrit will show a high reputation and power for the Indonesian government. As asserted by Clarke et al (2015, p.37) in policy translation language is related to the power that is organised and enacted.

### 4.3.2 Regulations of CFC

The concept, procedure, and indicator of CFC in Indonesia exist were influenced by the regulations at global and national level. I will explain how Indonesia’s regulations are similar to or different from the global standards where and how they influence the CFC idea in Indonesia. The graph below shows the timeline indicating the policy steps related to CFC. In Indonesia, CFC enforces institutional translation, and the role of regulation is very important as argued by Koskinen (2014).

Figure 4.5 Timeline of policy steps related to CFC Implementation in Indonesia



<sup>7</sup> Interview with EXP4 on 10 August 2022 and information from the official website of MoWECF <https://kemenpppa.go.id/index.php/page/read/29/3451/wujudkan-kesetaraan-gender-kemen-pppa-berikan-penghargaan-ape-2020-kepada-308-k-l-dan-pemda>

Indonesian regulations in children protection are similar to global standards due to the enforcement of CRC ratification. As shows in figure 3. The first children protection law in Indonesia is Law No. 4 of 1979 concerning Children's Welfare was legalized. In this law, the child protection focused on the role of the family to protect children and the concept of welfare based on the value of Pancasila<sup>8</sup> as an ideology. Thus, when the Child right convention was introduced in 1989, a year after, Indonesia ratified CRC on 5 September 1990 with the issuance of Presidential Decree No. 36 of 1990. However, after 12 years, there was no amendment to children's protection law in Indonesia. It shows that the Indonesian government was very easy in ratifying CRC, but it did not lead to any changes in children's issues because children will not protest. This aligned with what Jeria and Milman (2020) state that the process implementation of CRC is unique because children are acknowledged to have rights, but they have limited capacity to ensure those rights are fulfilled. "children have faced great challenges throughout history, but perhaps have never before been targeted because they do not vote, have no voice, and cannot fight for their rights" (Jeria and Milman, 2020, p.9)

A global event such as UN meeting influenced Indonesia to change the regulation. On 08 May 2002, when Indonesia was involved in the discussion at United Nations General Assembly's Special Session. After that, Indonesia immediately the amendments the law, and the articles were in accordance with CRC articles. Law No. 23 of 2002 concerning Children's Protection was signed on 22 October 2002 (KPPPA, 2002). A global event becomes a reminder for countries like Indonesia to oblige with their commitment to the ratification of the CFC as it can be shown that after the event.

Although Indonesia quite compliance and tried to fit with the global standard, but it did not lead the discussion to another idea such us of CFC. When UN and UNICEF launched the initiative of CFC in 1996. But, Indonesia did not immediately adopt. In addition, when Indonesia first launched CFC, the regulation that government made is CFC is largely different with the nine building blocks that launched by UNICEF.

In Indonesia, all programs, initiatives, and projects, or another branding city<sup>9</sup> must be included in the regulation<sup>10</sup>. According to experts, a legally binding will influence the local government to obey to implement the initiative<sup>11</sup>. Based on Law No.12 of 2011 about the establishment of regulations, Indonesia uses the hierarchy of law from the most binding to the least with the following order: Law (UU), Government Regulations (PP), President Regulations (PR), Provincial Regulations or local regulations (Perda), and Ministry Regulations (Permen). The regulation related to CFC in Indonesia is not trying to fit to global standard CFCI, but this regulation is trying to fulfil CRC implementation.

---

<sup>8</sup> *Pancasila* literally means the "five principles". It contains the core ideology of the Indonesian government consisting of belief in God, Indonesian nationalism, humanitarianism or just and civilized humanity, democracy, and social justice.

<sup>9</sup> Branding city is an award from that give from national government to local government upon their achievement with specific issue. Indonesia has several *Branding city* such us *healthy city/regency*, *environmental-friendly city/regency*, *Human Rights City*.

<sup>10</sup> I found regulation for branding city; Ministry of Human Rights Regulation No.22 of 2021, Ministry of Health and Ministry of Home Affairs No.34 of 2005

<sup>11</sup> Interview with GOV1 on 15 August 2022

In 2010, when the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono was elected as a president in second period, the CFC is included as a priority for Indonesia's welfare that stated the number of cities/regencies that adopted CFC must be increased. Thus, in 2010 the system of CFC changed and regulated with rigid indicators. 31 indicators have been set out that accordance with five clusters in CRC. Ministry also launched the regulation to encourage from bottom to up initiatives. Four regulations in 2010 were launched as a strategy for the national government to increase the number of cities/regencies adopting CFC.

After that, in 2011, the national government started giving the guidance of CFC by explicitly demanding that local governments aspiring to adopt CFC to fulfil a predetermined set of 31 indicators in accordance with the CRC articles and score the result. The change in the regulation implies that the national government demands local governments to actively engage in the fulfilment of CRC in their system of regional development. The regulation clearly states that the central government will give an award to cities/regencies, and the award can be regarded as a carrot regulation for local governments in mainstreaming children protection, children participation, and child-related issues in their regulation. The government whom I interviewed said that the indicators will help cities/regencies to know what CFC is and how to adopt it to their system of governance<sup>12</sup>. To strengthen the position of the CFC in local governments, the Ministry of Home Affairs included CFC as a Key Performance Indicator of the mayors and regents in governing their city/regency. This emphasizes the important position of CFC.

Then, in 2014, the children's protection law was amended again, Law No. 35 of 2014 about Children Protection to add the article stating the roles of the national government, local governments, and other sectors in children's protection. This were carried over into the development of CFC. The assumption underlying these regulations is a fulfilment of CRC with the protection of Indonesian children as the ultimate goal. Hence, CFC is a tool for mainstreaming the implementation of CRC by local governments.

In 2021, the Indonesian President legalized President Regulation (PR) No. 25 of 2021 concerning Child-Friendly Cities. PR is the derivative regulation from children protection law that imposes the adoption of CFC. In this regulation, the national government created national planning actions for 2020-2024 demanding cities/regencies to become CFC and detailing the specific target per year in every indicator.

## 4.4 Summary

Indeed, CFCI has given an inspiration for Indonesia to develop CFC. CFCI offers a framework, and the substance of CFCI does not use rigid indicators to let a city create its own action plan. CFCI focuses to increase children's participation in city development decision-making and eliminate discrimination through policy and practice. In addition, the concept of CFCI goes beyond the fulfilment of basic services for children. Meanwhile, in Indonesia, the substance of CFC changed several times. At first, the national government appointed several cities as examples of CFC. Then the substance of CFC changed with rigid prescription.

The CFC concept in Indonesia uses rigid indicators and largely refers to the five CRC clusters. The CRC clusters were inspired by CRC Periodic Report template from the UNHCR Commission. The indicators of CFC are not specifically about children's participation but also on the fulfilment of basic services for children by developing

---

<sup>12</sup> Interview with GOV2 on 20 August 2022

institutionalization in order to fulfil CRC. The first element is institutional, asking whether city/regency has a local act and budget for children's protection and a Child Forum as an institution of children participation. Cluster I focus on how to ensure children's civil rights, for example, birth certificate. Cluster II is about family environment and childcare, that is, whether there is any institution to give education and monitor the number of child marriages. The cluster of education focuses on monitoring the number of children participation in schools and the number of safe play spaces. Last but not least, the cluster of special protection focuses on the service institutions for vulnerable children. When I compared these to CRC, some of the CFC indicators are similar to CRC, whereas some other indicators are based on the context of Indonesia and existed in another sector.

In this section, I have discussed how regulations were launched in accordance with the global concept of CRC but did not specifically follow the guideline of CFC set out by UNICEF. These regulations were changed over the years to be adhered to by the local governments in developing and evaluating CFC. The method to assess CFC and CFCI are also different. In CFCI, UNICEF has a role as an assessor and formal partnership. In Indonesia, the national government becomes the leader in assessing CFC. In addition, the award for CFCI is rewarded for five years without any levelling. Meanwhile, the award of CFC in Indonesia is given every year with five categories of levelling.

## Chapter 5 Research Finding and Analysis

### 5.1 Introduction: Three Episodes of Indonesian CFC Translation

This section describes the effort through which CFC was established and translated to the Indonesian context by categorizing it into three consecutive phases. In the first phase, the researcher documented the work of a number of people, international organizations, and local NGO in trying to influence MoWECP to start adopting CFC. This was only a superficial adoption and translation through which the central government declared several cities as child-friendly cities as part of the pilot projects. To establish the translation of CFC idea, in the second phase, some of the experts and government officials identified a new entry point for stimulating the interests in CFC in Indonesia. They approached provincial governments to invite mayors and introduced them to the CFC idea. On the substance side, they started to come up with technical details. In the third phase, an award becomes a motivation for local governments to improve their actions in fulfilling the requirement of CFC.

### 5.2 First Phase: Initial Efforts to Implement CFC in Indonesia

The process of CFC adoption in Indonesia shows how a policy translation happened. At the website of CFCI (2018), the Indonesian adoption of CFCI was framed as a result of UNICEF pilot project in Surakarta by the then Mayor, Joko Widodo, who is now the President of Indonesia. Afterwards, this pilot project prompted the central government to adopt the initiative.

*“A longtime partner of UNICEF, the then Surakarta Mayor, Joko Widodo, embraced the concept and mobilized resources to support the city as the first CFC pilot area in the country. Joko Widodo is now the president of the Republic of Indonesia. Having learned from Surakarta’s experience, the Government led efforts to mainstream the CFCI in other cities. The Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection (MoWECP) introduced the initiative to 10 other cities in 2007 and to 20 more in 2010.” (UNICEF CFCI, 2018: <https://childfriendlycities.org/indonesia/>)*

This framing is seen as *lesson drawing approach* (Rose, 1993, 2001, 2005; Mukhtarov, 2014), which assumes that an idea can be adopted voluntarily by policy makers. Particularly, the CFC idea in Indonesia started from local CSO actors in a less hierarchical process.

Based on the secondary data and interview, Indonesia was first exposed to the concept of child-friendly cities in the discussion of “World Fit for Children” in New York at the United Nations General Assembly’s Special Session on Children on 8 May 2002. At this event, Indonesia was represented by the Indonesian ambassador (UN, 2002). Thus, this event did not include a specific discussion about child-friendly cities in Indonesia. Instead, many whom I interviewed<sup>13</sup> heard about CFC from one expert who worked for a CSO dedicated

---

<sup>13</sup> Interview with EXP4, GOV2 on 8 and 15 August 2022

to children *Yayasan Kesejahteraan Anak Indonesia*<sup>14</sup> (YKAI). Before he introduced CFC, he was invited as representative from Children CSO from Indonesia in the World Summit on Sustainable Development in 2002 held by the United Nation. One of the sessions discussed “Cities Without Slums”, aimed to achieve a significant improvement in the lives of at least 100 million slum-dwellers by the year of 2020 (UN, 2002). At this summit, there was a discussion on how children can influence to develop cities system to be friendly and fit for children. He then took a Master’s degree in urban development studies at Universitas Indonesia in 2002 and conducted research on children's perception about the urban environment, focusing on a case study in Kwitang Village, Central Jakarta (Patilima, 2004). His research found evidence of voices from children who lived in slums about the environment, facilities, and other aspects that need to be considered in development of city to be more friendly for children. A policy started from multiple present in global summit is affected in policy making as McCann and Ward (2012) argued that circuits of policy knowledge are shaped and re-shaped by social connections made by actors sometimes not because they present in one event, but also due to intermittent present in different places such as conferences, site visits, etc.

With a special UN Ecosoc<sup>15</sup> status, YKAI has missions to ensure the implementation of children protection in Indonesia. Hence, after EXP1 finished his Master’s study in 2004, the result of his research served as an entry point to discuss children-oriented developing cities. His CSO conducted seminars and workshops on 13 May 2004<sup>16</sup> at MoWECP office, during which he used the angle of his thesis about children's perception of the urban environment. Even though this CSO, as an organization, had a goal to influence the implementation children’s rights in Indonesia after the expert was exposed to the idea of “World Fit for Children”, in the process, they did not directly introduce the concept of CFC at the global level but started the problematization by showing the result of his research about children’s perception about cities. Thus, the first seminar only focused on the result of his thesis and recommendation to develop city with involve children's perspectives. This seminar invited YKAI’s network and related participants, including the assistant Deputy Children’s Issue at MoWECP, a health expert, a housing expert, and an expert in children. Another CSO conducted the second seminar and the workshop continuing from the first seminar. In this seminar, the discussion got more intense and started from a reflective discussion to see how far cities/regencies in Indonesia had been friendly to children. EXP 1 also presented his result of document research from the UNICEF document of CFCI and implementation of child-friendly cities in various countries. He presented the result from several concepts of CFC from UNICEF that were implemented in Brazil, India, the Philippines, and South Africa. The result of his document analysis found that CFCI by cities in these countries implemented CFC as part of the innovations of cities to provide an infrastructure that was friendly to children. EXP4 who retired from MoWECP admitted at this stage she only become participant of the seminar<sup>17</sup>.

---

<sup>14</sup> *Yayasan Kesejahteraan Anak Indonesia* is a local Civil Society Organization (CSO), which was founded in 1979 and got a special consultative UN Ecosoc (the Economic and Social Council of The United Nations) status.

<sup>15</sup> A special consultative UN Ecosoc status is given to organisations that have a special competence in and are concerned specifically about only a few of the fields of activities covered by the Council and its subsidiary bodies and that are known within the fields for which they have or seek consultative status.

<sup>16</sup> Interview with EXP1 on 8 August 2022

<sup>17</sup> Interview with EXP4 on 9 August 2022

After the discussion, this idea was not immediately embraced by the government. EXP1 continued to make efforts to get support from the government by using his position as a consultant for MoWECP in many projects. He often used to be a resource person and worked with the Minister of MoWECP. He said to have convince the minister that he did an effort by making his result of research as a recommendation document and always mentioning the importance of adopting CFC in Indonesia in every event that he worked with the minister. He said:

*“Wherever the Minister was, I always gave documents (simplified thesis document) and mentioned the importance of children in system development”* (Interview with EXP1, 08 August 2022, translated by author)

He started convincing the minister and staff in MoWECP from 2004 to 2005. The CSO’s and his effort to influence the development of CFC is what Mukhtarov (2014) notes as a process of destabilisation of scale that when the idea has little potential to be adopted, actors tend to create an effort by mentioning the importance of developing the CFC idea. At last, he succeeded in convincing the Minister of Women Empowerment and Children Protection to start adopting CFC in Indonesia in the end of 2005 as he was invited to MoWECP meeting for preparation of national program in children program. He was invited by Deputy of MoWECP. The Deputy of MoWECP asked him to re-present the idea of CFC.

The interest of the government did not come suddenly but was influenced by the situation of the government, including their striving to fulfil the national agenda. At that time, MoWECP just amended Children Protection Law No.35 of 1979 to Children Protection Law No.23 of 2002. The amendment is a result of Indonesia’s ratification of Child Rights Convention. Thus, the article in this law is in accordance with the article in CRC. Since then, the deputy of children was formed to ensure the enforcement of the law<sup>18</sup>. EXP4 added that since the children deputy was formed, many staff started to be confused about what to do and started learning about CRC. Thus, according to GOV2, the government was looking for programs or projects to increase the process of implementation of Law No.23 of 2002. For example, in 2004, the Indonesian government tried to develop an implementation program through the National Program for Indonesian Children (*Program Nasional Bagi Anak Indonesia/PNBAI*) 2015. PNBAI is a document based on the principles contained in international conventions and commitments agreed by Indonesia, such as the CRC, the Declaration on “A World Fit for Children” (WFC), and the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (MoWECP, 2008). According to the EXP1, PNBAI is a direct translation of the WFC, but there was no real measurable achievement. GOV2 also admitted that PNBAI was hoped to be a means to implement CRC, as stated in Children Law No. 23 of 2002. Indonesia obliged to deliver on the CRC, and apparently the CFC idea came up to be useful for this. *“So, actually, we have also ratified the CRC, which in the (Indonesia) child protection law also translates the CRC. We want to implement Law 23 of 2002 concerning child protection, then a model CFC appears to develop a child-friendly district model”*<sup>19</sup>. A combination of effort from CSO actors and the interest of the government created resonance in developing policy ideas.

Starting from 2005, the discussion of CFC had become more intense. MoWECP invited EXP1 as an independent consultant title to several coordination meetings about CFC in Indonesia. MoWECP also invited international NGOs, such us UNICEF, *Wabana Visi Indonesia*, and Plan International. However, in the progress of developing the idea of CFC, many of the interviewees did not mention that international NGOs participated. In other

---

<sup>18</sup> Interview with GOV1 on 15 August 2022

<sup>19</sup> Interview with GOV1 on 15 August 2022

words, the process of developing of the CFC idea in Indonesia has relied on expert to formulate the CFC ideas in the purpose of the government implementing CRC.

In the second discussion, the government and experts started to discuss the term of CFC in Indonesian language. At first, they translated CFC as “*Kota Ramah Anak*” (child-friendly cities), but then the expert and government did not want to use *ramah* (friendly); instead, they felt that the word *layak* (suitable) is more fitting. The term “fit” or “layak” was inspired from World Fit for Children. Many whom I interviewed admitted they decide to not use “Kota Ramah Anak” or CFCI from UNICEF is to show the concept is different. The chosen language is also used to resist domination from global ideas (Clarke et al., 2015, p.40). Next, since the administration of governance is not always in the form of cities but also regencies, the CFC in Indonesia was finally spelled out as “*Kabupaten/Kota Layak Anak*” or Regencies/Cities Fit for Children<sup>20</sup>.

During the interviews, I specifically asked how UNICEF was involved in the process of developing CFC in Indonesia. Four Indonesian respondents did not acknowledge the direct involvement of UNICEF. Two government participants said that UNICEF was involved in the CFC initiative, especially with regard to the issue of special protection<sup>21</sup>, such as children in conflict, child labour, exploitation, children in disaster situations. Indeed, this was confirmed by a representative from UNICEF who explained that CFC in Indonesia is a government-led project, and UNICEF was only involved in the pilot projects<sup>22</sup> by building on the legacy of the UNICEF’s CFCI but not implementing a UNICEF-led CFCI. That is why the Indonesian CFC is not shown at the CFCI website as the only displays countries and cities that are implementing the UNICEF-led CFCI and are applying the specific requirements and criteria that UNICEF has developed as part of the initiative, including the recognition process of a city as child-friendly and the use of the CFCI logo by the respective local government. According to EXP1, the government did not want to use the CFCI model because it only covers four issues and is not as comprehensive as CRC. Based on his account, EXP1 learned that sometimes supranational organizations start with a big plan but do not offer comprehensive interventions for the implementation from the beginning<sup>23</sup>. Even during the initial development of CFC in Indonesia, there was a UNICEF consultant from Brazil who attended the meetings on CFC but did not continue in the process of CFC adoption in Indonesia because of the inherent differences between CFCI and CFC in Indonesia. I also asked LCS2 who worked in Surakarta since the beginning of CFC, and he did not admit that UNICEF was involved in the process of CFC in Surakarta<sup>24</sup>.

To kick off the program, pilot projects in five cities were conducted in 2006. As the first step, experts needed to find a pilot location in cities/regencies that already promoted children protection through innovative programs. In this step, EXP3 admitted using a concept from CFCI UNICEF by saying, “*It was the first CFCI city, so it's still a child friendly city like UNICEF*”<sup>25</sup>. Experts proposed the selected cities to MoWECP, including Surakarta City, Sidoarjo Regency, Jambi City, Kutai Kertanegara Regency, and Gorontalo Regency. The consideration in choosing the locations was based on whether there was innovation to address children-related issues led by the government or an international NGO. For example,

---

<sup>20</sup> Interview with EXP1 on 8 August 2022

<sup>21</sup> Interview with GOV2 on 20 August 2022

<sup>22</sup> Email correspondence between the researcher and Diana Vakarelska Policy Specialist

<sup>23</sup> Interview with EXP1 on 8 August 2022

<sup>24</sup> Interview with LCS2 on 08 September 2022

<sup>25</sup> Interview with EXP3 on 09 September 2022, Interview with UN1 on 21 October 2022

the former Mayor of Surakarta, Joko Widodo, welcomed the residents to his terrace (i.e., an open house) to report any complaints about children's issues. In addition, the mayor distributed free cards for children to buy goods for education and free recreation. MoWECP invited him several times to share about Surakarta's innovation regarding children protection<sup>26</sup>. Another city is Sidoarjo Regency because the city is active in many programmes related to children. Kutai Kartanegara Regency was chosen because there was a project for free child labor from ILO and UNICEF. Jambi City was chosen to represent Sumatera Island, and Gorontalo Regency was to represent the East of Indonesia. Then the Minister of Women Empowerment visited these cities and declared them as child-friendly city. Until 2009, the government and team experts used the method of appointing several cities to adopt CFC based on their observation that those cities/regencies have innovations in child protection programs. The authorities of those cities/regencies were also invited by MoWECP to share their respective innovation<sup>27</sup>. The pilot cities/regencies of CFC kept running until 2008 with a total of 10 participating cities/regencies.

The effort of piloting cities for the national government was to understand what happened in the local areas in defining CFC, but this participatory process can not hinder the advancing external interest and agenda (Mosse, 2004). Rather than understanding what happened in local governments about their fulfilment of child protection, the national government wanted to know best practices for other cities/regencies to follow in order to comply with the CRC ratification stipulated in Law No.23 of 2002 about Children Protection Law.

### **5.3 Second Phase: Establishment of CFC Idea**

In 2009, the Ministry of Women Empowerment (MoW) changed its nomenclature into the Ministry of Women Empowerment and Child Protection – abbreviated as MoWECP (MoWECP, 2020). The change in the nomenclature impacted the structure of the ministry, so it focused more on children-related issues<sup>28</sup>. In fact, the new structure provides a big portion for children protection under the minister. It is implicated in the program of CFC that had been started before. Looking at the progress CFC, which only covered 20 cities/regencies at that time, the government tried to re-conceptualize CFC. As noted by Mukhtarov (2014), to increase the contingency of the policy process, it needs to re-conceptualize the meaning of policy. There are several considerations to modify the concept of CFCI: 1) The conventional method to assign and propose a city to be CFC did not seem to be working to make all cities/regencies adopt CFC; 2) with the limited knowledge about child protection, the national government felt that the CFC concept needs to be accompanied with a measurement of how to be a child-friendly city/regency<sup>29</sup>; 3) the team realized that the system of government in Indonesia is decentralized, so many national programs are delivered to local governments in their implementation; and, 4) compared to other ministries that have a similar department in the local governments, the Ministry of Women Empowerment does not have a similar department or only has a unit in the local governments.

---

<sup>26</sup> Interview with LCS2 on 08 September 2022

<sup>27</sup> Interview with LCS2 on 08 September 2022

<sup>28</sup> Interview with FAC2, 18 August 2022

<sup>29</sup> Interview with GOV2, 20 August 2022

MoWECP decided to form one department to manage the adoption of CFC. The leader of this department was a female key actor in the establishment and expansion of the concept of CFC. She worked previously in the National Planning Bureau, specifically in the department of women that used to coordinate with MoWECP about the issue of mainstreaming children. Starting from 2007, she moved to MoWECP as the Head of the Bureau of Planning and Foreign Cooperation. In 2007-2009, she moved to another department as an Assistant Deputy for Women's Violence in Ministry for Women's Empowerment. Then, in 2010-2012, she became an Assistant Deputy for Child-Friendly City Development, Ministry of Women's Empowerment and Child Protection. Under her supervision, she tried to resonate the idea of CFC in Indonesia.

In 2010, in his first presidential term of office, the Susilo Bambang Yudhoyono launched Presidential Instruction No. 01 of 2010. In his instruction, CFC became part of the Acceleration of Implementation of National Development Priorities in 2010. The aim of the presidential instruction was to increase the number of cities/regencies to adopt CFC to 100 cities/regencies. The female key actor worked on this by increasing public attention to CFC, such as joining several city summits at the global level and offering Indonesia to be a host for the second International Conference on Child-Friendly Asia Pacific on 30 June-2 July 2011 (CFAP, 2011). She tried to show the commitment of Indonesia in becoming a child-friendly country in 2030. At this conference, the former Mayor of Surakarta, Joko Widodo, delivered a speech about his efforts in children's rights fulfilment and child protection, which were then recognized as CFC by the central government.

Based on the account of my interviewee, other than her personal goal of advancing her career as a minister secretary or echelon I, which required a big achievement in her programs, her success was driven by her solid and impressive leadership in all aspects. She started by reformulating the idea of CFC. In 2010, the government and the expert team established a set of indicators by holding consultation meetings on grassroots initiatives from NGOs, precisely to know how NGOs and local initiatives translated the idea of child-friendly development. PLAN International, which operated in Rembang Regency, had implemented an initiative named child-friendly villages. This idea was also influenced by discussions and discourses about children protection, including CRC. They presented to the central government on how to measure child-friendly villages using 56 indicators based on an article in CRC and gave awards in a tier of three levels to villages. This idea might have inspired the discussion by the national government to start creating indicators to measure CFC<sup>30</sup>.

In fact, the government of Indonesia was quite compliant with CRC implementation because all regulations and policies refer to the CRC. For example, the Child Protection Law No. 23 of 2002 is a translation of CRC in Indonesia. Thus, for the central government, CFC is a way to measure, advocate, and provide information to cities/regencies. In addition, as informed by three interviewees, the Indonesian government felt that it will be beneficial for the country's reputation in a global report about CRC because based on reports by OHCHR (2002), Indonesia's targets in reports II and III had always been delayed by five years from the deadlines. Thus, according to the expert team, the indicators of CFC will provide data for the government to report its CRC implementation to the UN.

Several changes in the CFC measurement show that the idea can change and be established at certain points. The change in the substance also considers the situation of the government, as well as the social, politic, and economic benefits. The modification of concept of policy idea passes the process of negotiation and struggles to be sustained to create inherent contingencies of the policy process (Mukhtarov, 2014). The reasons to

---

<sup>30</sup> Interview with an EXP2 on 08 August 2022

change the substance of CFC using CRC in Indonesia are: 1) Due to the delays in the Indonesian reports to the CRC Commission, the government and experts agreed to create CFC in accordance with CRC articles. Practically, this was to provide data for MoWECP from local governments and assist them in reporting CRC implementation to the global organisation easier; and, 2) MoWECP and the experts learned from grassroots initiatives that the measurement of child-friendly villages had been implemented. Although there are no legal sanctions to not implement the CRC, there are moral and political sanctions from the global perspective. At that time, there were two concerns from the UN Committee on the Rights of the Child; the age of marriage is below CRC, and the limitation age is 8 years in the Juvenile Court Law (Ekowarni, 2015).

Thus, MoWECP and the expert team decided to use indicators based on five clusters in CRC. To narrow down the indicators, they invited related ministries, such as the Ministry of Health, Ministry of Education, and Ministry of Law. MoWECP discussed with these ministries regarding programs at each ministry which relate to children and CRC that can be included as an indicator of CFC. In developing the indicators, there were debates and challenges. Most of the interviewees admitted that the indicators were not brand-new but had existed before. For example, in the cluster of health, there has been a program to decrease mortality and morbidity rate in children. This shows that in developing a seemingly new idea, it is not based on good ideas from a policy, but the existing ones are stitched together and translated to 'made' a coherent policy. As noted by Mosse (2004), the interest of policy actors is always to come up with a policy that is 'made coherent'. The process of assemblage policy is not designed as coherent. Nonetheless, many of the interviewees also confessed that the CFC idea is the effort to mainstream children-centredness in existing programs, for instance, child-friendly schools, child-friendly health centres, and smoke-free law. One interviewee said that after a long discussion, in 2011, MoWECP launched a new guideline for CFC with 31 indicators in five clusters, along with relevant questions for every indicator. In every indicator, they use three basis, such as regulation, institution, budget, and community partnership.

*"When formulating indicators, we use theory on the effectiveness of policy implementation. First we have to build commitment from the decision maker, then he prepares the institution, including preparing human resources, budget resources as well, and increase community participation"* (Interview with GOV2 on 20 August 2022 and translated by researcher)

The translation of policy through this way seems to suit the situation of Indonesia where the local governments do not yet have sufficient capacity and knowledge about children's rights and children protection. With this prescription, local governments will be urged to improve their institutionalisation of government in fulfilling children's rights and providing children protection. This is in line with what Mosse (2004, p.643) argue in the development rational models, which is that the aim is to achieve cognitive control and social regulation, including increasing state capacity, expanding bureaucratic control, and reproducing hierarchies of knowledge.

Many of the indicators had existed before and were just complemented with the perspective of the fulfilment of children's rights and children protection. According to Lin (2017), a policy assemblage perspective will benefit the child protection reform to make it contextually appropriate. In Indonesia, a policy assemblage is used to mainstream children protection into the existing programs. CFC also serves as a tool to encourage the local governments to fulfil children's rights and provide protection to children. Even though the indicators come from different sectors, it is still relatively easy for cities/regencies to adopt

CFC because the indicators are pre-existing. As asserted by Clarke et al. (2015), "When policy moves, it is always translated: that is, it is made to mean something in its new context. The policy is never a singular entity: it is put together - or assembled - from a variety of elements that are always in the process of being reassembled in new, often surprising, ways" (p. 9). In addition, the pre-existing program is actually a basic service that is obliged for local governments to implement, as stipulated in articles 12 in Law No 23 of 2014 about Local Government, which mentions that the mandatory basic services are education, health, infrastructure, housing, protection, and social sector. Children protection is included as a non-mandatory basic service for local governments. This corresponds to McCann and Ward (2012), who argue that to make an assemblage policy hold together, it needs a certain purpose and interest. In its implementation, the CFC is not about increasing the implementation of child protection by local governments, but the CFC encourages the legitimization and mobilization of practical support from local governments (Mosse, 2004).

In this phase, the central government also developed the system of evaluation of CFC and the levelling of awards. The tiered awards start from *Pratama* level, *Madya* level, *Nindya* level, *Utama* level, and, ultimately, CFC. The use of Sanskrit for naming the CFC levels was proposed by one of the experts and agreed. One reason was to make it similar to other governmental awards, such as the gender mainstreaming award. In addition, it will be easier for local governments to understand which level they already achieve using names rather than scores although every level is converted to a numerical value. One interviewee said that the impact of levelling for regencies is competition among them to achieve a certain level and negative association with low levels, shown from their reluctance to announce their level to the general public if it is still low. Some experts interviewed in this study also said that the idea of CFC is actually not for competition or the accomplishment of awards, but it has turned out to successfully attract local governments to adopt the CFC idea. Therefore, this speaks for a difference between policy intent and policy effect.

## 5.4 Third Phase: Local Governments Embracing the Idea of CFC

*"The issue of children is an interesting issue and no one refuses to talk about it when it comes to children. All the discussion about how we should protect children is hardly debatable. Children are considered strategic because of their shared and future interests. The issue of children is also a 'sexy' issue for the regional leaders. For example, many regional leaders show their closeness to children on billboards and banners in various activities. Besides, in fact, most of the CFC indicators have actually been done by regional leaders to fulfil children's rights, but these are just never measured and they don't know how far those have been implemented."* (Interview with EXP2 on 9 August 2022 and translated by researcher)

*"When I was at another ministry, it needed so much effort to introduce a new program, unlike CFC, which needed less effort because cities/regencies started to embrace the idea right away, which may be because of the levelling of awards."* (Interview with EXP4 on 10 August 2022 and translated by researcher)

In this phase, the central government tried to speed up the expansion of the adoption of CFC. They realized that the awarding of CFC is part of the strategy of the expert team and the central government in implementing children's rights fulfilment and protection to be adopted at the regional level. The awards are given to cities/regencies every year by MoWECP or the President, and MoWECP has always exceeded the yearly targets of CFC.

Local governments have embraced the CFC idea, which is socially and politically constructed and related to the system of governance in Indonesia. Children are constructed in Indonesia as a future generation that has to be protected by all of the society. Thus, the idea of CFC appears to be undebatable, and nobody rejects it. In the case of CFC, for example, many of the interviewees said that socializing CFC did not need so much effort compared to other programs, such as gender. The social construction of children among the society has turned out to benefit the process of CFC policy translation to local governments. In addition, the awards given by the central government to local governments have an added value to improve the branding for cities/regencies and mayors/regents who are attentive to children's issues. Many cities/regencies that embraced the CFC showed the contingencies after the establishment of the CFC, as noted by Mukhtarov (2014) that the effect of scalar politics and strategy is sometimes unpredictable and beyond control.

Under the leadership of a deputy, the expansion of CFC has progressed well. Many experts interviewed in this study attributed the success to the deputy's effort. Many experts also said that one consideration in the mechanism of CFC is the decentralization system in Indonesia that efforts are needed to make the regions want to mainstream children's perspectives in their programs. CFC is a development system with indicators that have actually existed or run by the local governments<sup>31</sup>, so the local governments are unlikely to create a new program; instead, they will run the existing ones but add children's perspectives to encourage local governments to adopt the CFC idea.

First, the deputy began with amending the Child Protection Law No. 23 of 2004 to add an article about the responsibility of local governments in fulfilling children's rights. Secondly, she influenced the minister to launch MoWECP regulation regarding the guidelines for CFC. With these two strong regulations, her team socialized the CFC to provinces in Indonesia by inviting representatives from each city/regency. Such an event was always concluded with a declaration of cities/regencies to be ready to turn into child-friendly cities/regencies. Another strategy is that every year, MoWECP will hold an event to socialize the preparation of an assessment of CFC by inviting all local experts in child protection around Indonesia. In addition, MoWECP has made an effort of socializing the idea of CFC to local authorities by inviting local children's activists as facilitators to assist local governments in implementing CFC. In addition, many of the interviewees said that socializing CFC it did not need so much effort compared to other programs, such as gender award. The social construction of children among the society has turned out to benefit the process of CFC policy translation to local governments. In addition, the awards given by the central government to local governments have an added value to improve the branding for cities/regencies and mayors/regents who are attentive to children's issues.

One of the staff from Siak Regency said that it was their initiative to start CFC even though they were never visited by MoWECP. They knew the idea of CFC from the provincial events and continued to find out more information on how to adopt CFC by visiting MoWECP<sup>32</sup>. In the same way, many of mayors in Lampung Province started to embrace the idea of CFC; when a neighbourhood got awarded with a CFC status<sup>33</sup>, there seemed to be a snowball effect through informal talks that influenced the mayors to adopt CFC in their region.

---

<sup>31</sup> Interview with EXP3 on 9 August 2022

<sup>32</sup> Interview with LCS1 on 15 August 2022

<sup>33</sup> Interview with FAC1 on 15 August 2022

At present, every year, MoWECP and the expert team evaluate the indicators and the system of evaluation. As mentioned before, the prior set of 31 indicators were changed into 24 indicators to make the set more concise. The central government also holds an annual awarding event on the national children's day. This event is seen to be very impactful for local governments because all of the local governments taking the CFC assessment will know their result and can still get an award, albeit at the *Pratama* level, which is the lowest. According to EXP4, public recognition of such an achievement is very important as it can motivate mayors and local governments to improve their actions in fulfilling the requirements for CFC<sup>34</sup>. The embrace of the CFC idea is also linked to a political image, as noted by some interviewees, that the leaders can fulfil children's rights and are concerned about children-related issues. Others also said that the motivation could be due to personal reasons because they have children or grandchildren<sup>35</sup>, so they are intrinsically enthusiastic about adopting CFC.

The system and methodology in the adoption of CFC were designed to turn unfitting cities/regencies into fitting child-friendly cities/regencies. The assessment of CFC uses rigid indicators without taking into consideration the context of the city or regency. For example, several indicators related to children victims of terrorism (indicator 23.a) is not applicable to the situation of the city/regency, but the local governments still fulfil the indicators. This situation is called un-neutral policy translation, in which some of the indicators can be adapted well, but others cannot be translated well because the dominant idea of child protection has come solely from the national government with their indicators of CFC. Policy translation can be an act of dominant ideas translated across the border or a space of resistance (Clarke et al., 2015, p. 167-168).

In terms of budget, the CFC does not need a specific budget because the relevant existing program already has a budget set aside for it. Although the budget of CFC is included in another budget, actually not all regencies/cities have sufficient fiscal capacity. This is pointed out by Smoke and Lewis (1996, p. 1294) that the role of local government in Indonesia remains weak due to the lack of fiscal decentralization and rarely provides significant incentives. The situation is also noted by many interviewees in that there is no incentive for the implementation of CFC. Although many studies show that fiscal decentralization in Indonesia has led to increased spending on health and education (Pal & Wahhaj, 2017), infrastructure in health and physical (Kis-Katos & Sjahrir, 2017), there is no proof that decentralization can increase the budget for child protection issues. Thus, the local governments need to set aside budget for children protection. Indeed, the national government hopes that CFC will trigger local governments to allocate a separate budget. Moreover, based on the account of my respondents, not all regencies and cities have enough fiscal capacity to implement CFC<sup>36</sup>. Responding to that critique, MoWECP tries to understand by setting a special budget transfer for special children protection programs, for example, the handling of children victim from violence.

At this stage, when local governments translated the idea of CFC, many more actors were then involved, and they were not necessarily high-ranked officials and could also be informal actors. For example, many cities and regencies embraced the concept of CFC owing to the facilitators for children protection in their area. Some of them did so because the Head of Children Protection Office convinced the mayor. The actor had their own power in

---

<sup>34</sup> Interview with EXP4 on 10 August 2022

<sup>35</sup> Interview with EXP1 on 8 August 2022

<sup>36</sup> Interview with UN2 on 21 October 2022

assembling of CFC, for example, the facilitator as an expert for the local government had their own argument to influence the local government to adopt CFC:

*“My province is always mentioned by the national government as a high rank in terms of children violence cases. This has become a stigma for our province. So, when I talked to the mayor and regency, I used that argument and proposed CFC to be adapted as an effort to be free from the stigma”* (Interview with FAC1 on 15 August 2022 and translated by researcher).

This is aligned with ‘studying through’ policy assemblage. McCann and Ward (2012, p.46) argue that we need to understand how policy actors produce, circulate, mediate, and consume policies through their daily work practices. When FAC1 highlighted the problem to influence the mayor, this is in line with the notion from Freeman (2009) regarding the representation of problems and claims made by different actors happen in translation of policy.

Another thing that makes local governments embrace the idea of CFC, an award can give a political impact to mayors as children-related issues are interesting. The other purposes of the adoption of CFC are important because the process of policy translation is related to meanings and mobilisation in which the institutional norm and cultural norm are projected and sometimes institutionalised (Newman & Clarke, 2009, pp. 8-9; Clarke et al., 2015, p.54-55). In terms of politics, the idea of CFC will not face an opposition, so there is no political risk. I also recall a patron-client culture in Indonesia that there should be a closeness between the authority and the powerless, which, in this case, means that a good leader should also care about the less powerless ones, including children. The adoption of CFC is linked with the notion of being a good (grand) father/mother, allowing mayors to foreground their human (non-political) side. The process of translation of the concept of CFC and the action of many actors, both intended and unintended, give an effect of contingency. As a result, the process of CFC adoption by cities/regencies has been smooth, now totalling at 320 out of 514 cities/regencies across the country.

## Chapter 6 Conclusion

In this research paper, I found that the popular narrative outlined of CFC displayed by the UNICEF website is largely different from the reality. I, thus, argue that the policy translation of CFC in Indonesia must be understood as a complex process, instead of just a linear process. There were three phases of the translation process of CFC that were emphasised and de-emphasised from the global idea.

The first step was an initial effort to implement CFC in Indonesia where the idea was introduced by the CSO with an effort to create a destabilization of scale to influence government to adopt CFC. In addition, there was a situation in which the ministry was striving for the national agenda to implement children's protection law. In term of substance, the national government followed a strategy from the global idea of CFCI to appoint several cities as CFC without rigid prescription. A combination of effort from CSO actors and the interest of the government created resonance in developing policy ideas.

The change in the internal dynamics within MoWECP and the global status have influenced the process of translation of CFC substance in the second phase. Particularly, the Committee on the Rights of the Child demanded Indonesia report the implementation of CRC, which Indonesia always delayed. Thus, actors attempted to change the substance of CFC by creating indicators as a rigid prescription similar to the CRC article. Moreover, various sectors and actors have been involved in the process of creating new meanings by assembling existing policies and regulations. The process of assemblage is influenced by different actors and the situation of governance in Indonesia, namely decentralization. As asserted by Clarke et al. (2015), "When policy moves, it is always translated: that is, it is made to mean something in its new context. The policy is never a singular entity: it is put together - or assembled - from a variety of elements that are always in the process of being reassembled in new, often surprising, ways" (p. 9).

Phase three is a snowball effect phase in which actors from local governments and non-local governments were enthusiastic about the idea of CFC. The process of policy translation by local governments has also been influenced by the ongoing political and social discourses. Many of the local governments embraced the idea of CFC because children are socially constructed as a group of people that need to be protected, so the urgency of the CFC program is undebatable and embraced immediately. In addition, the gaze of patron culture explains how fast the adoption of CFC by mayors in Indonesia has been. Even though local governments only get yearly awards and there is no economic benefit directly obtained from this program, for the national government, the adoption of CFC will still be beneficial as the local governments will set aside a budget dedicated for protecting children.

As a final remark, I have come to a conclusion that the process of CFC adoption in Indonesia is an effort to institutionalise children's rights in the programs carried out by local governments due to the system of decentralization in Indonesia.

# Appendices

## Appendix 1. Indicators and Measurement of Indonesian Child-Friendly Cities

| NO  | INDICATOR   | MEASUREMENT   |
|---|---|---|
| <b>INSTITUTIONAL STRENGTHENING</b>  |   |   |
| 1   | Number of laws and regulations and policies for the Fulfilment of Children's Rights and Protection                        | Existing and involved in the five clusters of CRC   |
| 2   | Percentage of Budget for the Fulfilment of Children's Rights  | Percentage of budget for five clusters of CRC increases every year  |
| 3   | Number of laws, acts, policies, programs and activities that involve children's forums and other children groups          | Existing and increasing every year  |
| 4   | Available human resources trained in CRC and capable to implement children's rights in policies, programs, and activities | Increasing every year, especially personnel in the fields of education, health, social, and law enforcement |
| 5   | Available detailed data about children based on age, gender, and location   | Existing and involved in five clusters of CRC in the form of Children Profile Document, updated every year  |
| 6   | Involvement of community institutions in children protection  | Existing and increasing every year  |
| 7   | Involvement of businesses in children protection  | Existing and increasing every year  |
| <b>CLUSTER 1: CIVIL RIGHTS AND FREEDOM</b>  |   |   |
| 8.  | Percentage of children who are registered and receive a Birth Certificate Quotation                                       | All children 100%   |
| 9   | Child-friendly facilities are available   | Available and accessible to all children, with the increased number of facilities every year                |
| 10  | Percentage of Children's Forums, including Children's Groups in Districts/Cities and Villages                             | Increasing every year; there should be a District/City-Level Children's Forum                               |
| <b>CLUSTER 2: FAMILY ENVIRONMENT AND PARENTING</b>                                |   |   |
| 11  | Percentage of age in first marriage at before 18 years old  | Below the national average and decreasing every year  |
| 12  | Available consulting institutions for parents/families that provide childcare and care services                           | Available and utilised by parents   |
| 13  | Available institutions ensuring children's social welfare   | Available and utilized by all children outside of family care   |
| <b>CLUSTER 3: BASIC HEALTH AND WELFARE</b>  |   |   |
| 14  | Infant Mortality Rate   | Below the national average and decreasing every year  |
| 15  | Prevalence of malnutrition kids below five years old  | Below the national average and decreasing every year  |
| 16  | Percentage of exclusive breast milk   | Above the national average and increasing every year  |
| 17  | Number of facilities to support breastfeeding   | Existing and increasing every year  |
| 18  | Complete basic immunization percentage  | Minimum 80% and increasing every year   |
| 19  | Number of institutions providing sex education and mental health  | Available and accessible for children   |
| 20  | Number of children from poor families who have access to improved welfare   | Above the national average and increasing every year  |
| 21  | Percentage of households with access to clean water   | Above the national average and increasing every year  |
| 22  | Available smoke-free areas  | Available and increasing every year   |
| <b>CLUSTER 4: EDUCATION, UTILIZATION OF LEASURE TIME, AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES</b> |   |   |
| 23  | Rate of participation in early-childhood education  | Above national rate and increasing every year both for girls and boys                                       |
| 24  | Percentage of Compulsory Education for 12 Years Olds  | 100% for girls and boys   |
| 25  | Percentage of Child-Friendly Schools  | Increasing every year   |
| 26  | Number of schools that have programs, facilities, and infrastructure addressing children's travel to and from the school  | Existing safe and secure routes to/from school (RASS) and increasing every year                             |

|                                      |  |   |
|--------------------------------------|--|---|
| <b>27</b>                            | Facilities for child-friendly creative and recreational activities outside of school that are accessible to all children | Children's Creativity Room is available and can be accessed/used by all children      |
| <b>CLUSTER 5: SPECIAL PROTECTION</b> |  |   |
| <b>28</b>                            | Percentage of children receiving services in the special protection category   | 100%  |
| <b>29</b>                            | Rate of restorative justice for children in conflict with the law  | The number of cases resolved with a restorative justice approach increases every year |
| <b>30</b>                            | The existence of a disaster management mechanism that pays attention to the interests of children                        | Available, socialized, and implementable  |
| <b>31</b>                            | Percentage of children exempted from the worst forms of child labour   | 100%  |

*Source:* MoWECP Regulation No.13 of 2011 about Guideline in Developing Child-Friendly Cities/Regencies

## Bibliography

- Arifiani, S. (2015) *Bumping into the "Glass ceiling" of Child Participation in Development: Child Forums in Indonesia*. MA thesis. International social studies Erasmus University. Available at: <https://thesis.eur.nl/pub/32967> (Accessed: 27 11 2022)
- Bainton, D., 2015. Translating Education: Assembling ways of knowing otherwise. In: J. Clarke, D. Bainton, N. Lendvai & P. Stubbs, eds. *Making Policy Move: Towards A Politics of Translation And Assemblage*. UK: Policy Press University of Bristol, pp. 157-185.
- CFAP (2011) *2nd International Conference On Child-Friendly Asia Pacific "Engaging Children"*. Surakarta, 30 June – 2 July 2011 [Event Programme] Available at: <https://cfapsurakarta.weebly.com/agenda.html> (Accessed 09 09 2022).
- Clarke, J. et al. (2015) *Making policy move : towards a politics of translation and assemblage*. Bristol, UK: Policy Press.
- Dolowitz, D. and Marsh, D. (1996) 'Who Learns What from Whom: a Review of the Policy Transfer Literature', *Political Studies*, 44(2), pp. 343-357. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9248.1996.tb00334.x>.
- Ekowarni, E. (2015) 'Konvensi hak anak : suatu fatamorgana bagi anak indonesia?', *Buletin Psikologi*, 2.
- Evans, M., 2004. Introduction: Is Policy Transfer Rational Policy-making?. In: M. Evans, ed. *Policy Transfer in Global Perspective*. UK: University of York, p. 3.
- Freeman, R. (2009) 'What is 'translation'?', *Evidence & Policy*, 5(4), pp 429-447. Doi: <https://doi.org/10.1332/174426409X478770>
- Hasan, S., Evers, J., Zegwaard, A. and Zwartveen, M., (2019) 'Making waves in the Mekong Delta: recognizing the work and the actors behind the transfer of Dutch delta planning expertise', *Journal of Environmental Planning and Management*, 62(9), pp 1583–1602.
- Hartley, K. and Howlett, M. (2021) 'Policy assemblages and policy resilience: lessons for non-design from evolutionary governance theory', *Politics and Governance*, 9(2), pp. 451-459. doi: 10.17645/pag.v9i2.4170.
- Hennink, M. M., Hutter, I. and Bailey, A. (2020) *Qualitative research methods*. 2ed. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Hamudy, M.I.A., (2015) 'Upaya mewujudkan kota layak anak di Surakarta dan Makassar', *Jurnal Bina Praja: Journal of Home Affairs Governance*, 7(2), pp.149-160.
- Indonesia, B., (2021). 'Penghargaan kota layak anak tahun 2021', *Bicara Indonesia*. Available at: <https://bicaraindonesia.id/2021/07/29/penghargaan-kla-tahun-2021-diberikan-kepada-275-kabupaten-kota/> (Accessed 20 March 2022).

- Jeria, M. B. and Molina, M. H. (2020) 'Celebrating the 30th anniversary of the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child', 4(1), pp. 8–9. doi: [https://doi.org/10.1016/S2352-4642\(19\)30331-1](https://doi.org/10.1016/S2352-4642(19)30331-1).
- KPPPA, Kementerian Pemberdayaan Perempuan dan Perlindungan Anak (2002) '*Undang-undang Nomor 23/2002 tentang Perlindungan Anak* (Children Protection Law no 23/2002)' . Jakarta: Law [Online] Available at: <https://jdih.kemenpppa.go.id/?page=peraturan&act=search> [Accessed 01 09 2022].
- Kathrin, H. and Blerk, L. (2012) *Children, youth and the city*. London: Routledge.
- King, N., Horrocks, C. and Brooks, J. (2019) *Interviews in qualitative research*. Second ed. Los Angeles: Sage.
- Kis-Katos, K. and Sjahrir, B. S. (2017) 'The impact of fiscal and political decentralization on local public investment in Indonesia', 45(2), pp. 344–365. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2017.03.003>.
- Koskinen, K. (2014) 'Institutional translation: the art of government by translation', *Perspectives*, 22(4), pp. 479-492. doi: 10.1080/0907676X.2014.948887.
- Koyama, J.P. and Varenne, H. (2012) 'Assembling and Disassembling: Policy as Productive Play', *Educational Researcher*, 41(5), pp. 157-162. doi: 10.3102/0013189X12442799.
- Lin, Y.-. (2017) 'Policy Assemblage in Taiwan's Child Protection Reforms: Policy Mixture, Policy Regime Change and Shifting Policy Challenges', *Child Abuse Review*, 26(4), pp. 263-274. doi: 10.1002/car.2483.
- Luann, G. (2017) *Transnational social policy : social welfare in a world on the move*. London: Routledge.
- McCann, E. and Ward, K. (2012) 'Assembling urbanism: Following policies and 'studying through' the sites and situations of policy making', *Environment and Planning A*, 44(1), pp. 42-51. doi: 10.1068/a44178.
- McFarlane, C., 2011. Travelling Policies, Ideological Assemblages. In: *Learning the City: Knowledge and Translocal Assemblage*. Colin McFarlane: Blackwell Publishing Ltd, pp. 116-152.
- Mosse, D. (2004) 'Is Good Policy Unimplementable? Reflections on the Ethnography of Aid Policy and Practice', *Development and change*, 35(4), pp. 639-671. doi: 10.1111/j.0012-155X.2004.00374.x.
- MoWECP, (2016). 'Pembangunan pemberdayaan perempuan, kesejahteraan dan perlindungan anak 2009-2014'. *MoWECP Publication*. Available at: <https://www.kemenpppa.go.id/index.php/page/read/30/383/pembangunan-pemberdayaan-perempuan-kesejahteraan-dan-perlindungan-anak-2009-s-d-2014> (Accessed 01 09 2022)
- MoWECP, Ministry of Women Empowerment and Children Protection (2016) 'Bahan Advokasi Kebijakan KLA (*Advocacy Material for Child-Friendly City*)' . Jakarta: Ministry of

- Women Empowerment and Child Protection, Republic Indonesia. [Online] Available at: <https://www.kemenpppa.go.id/lib/uploads/slider/09e6c-kla.pdf> [Accessed 01 09 2022]
- MoWECP, (2020). History nomenclature of MoWECP. *MoWECP Publication*. Available at: <https://www.kemenpppa.go.id/index.php/page/view/3> (Accessed 09 09 2022).
- Mukhtarov, F. (2014) 'Rethinking the travel of ideas: Policy translation in the water sector', *Policy and politics*, 42(1), pp. 71-88. doi: 10.1332/030557312X655459.
- Mukhtarov, F., Martin, d.J. and Pierce, R. (2017) 'Political and ethical aspects in the ethnography of policy translation: Research experiences from Turkey and China', *Environ Plan A*, 49(3), pp. 612-630. doi: 10.1177/0308518X16674935.
- Nan, F., (2020) 'Policy innovation on building child friendly cities in China: evidence from Chinese cities'. *Children and Youth Services Review*, 118(105491).
- O'connor, H. and Madge, C. (2017) *The SAGE handbook of online research methods*. Second edition ed. Los Angeles: SAGE Reference.
- O'Leary, Z. (2017) *The essential guide to doing your research project*. Third edn. London: Sage Publications.
- OHCRC, 2002. *Reporting status for Indonesia on Convention on the Rights of the Child*. [Online] Available at: [https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/\\_layouts/15/TreatyBodyExternal/countries.aspx?CountryCode=IDN&Lang=EN](https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/TreatyBodyExternal/countries.aspx?CountryCode=IDN&Lang=EN) [Accessed 08 09 2022].
- Pal, S. and Wahhaj, Z. (2017) 'Fiscal decentralisation, local institutions and public good provision: evidence from Indonesia', 45(2), pp. 383–409. doi: <https://doi.org/10.1016/j.jce.2016.07.004>.
- Paananen, M. and Grieshaber, S. (2022) 'Policies of interlude and interruption: stories of governance as an assemblage', *Journal of Education Policy*, pp. 1-19. doi: 10.1080/02680939.2021.2021296.
- Patilima, H., (2004) *Children's perception of the urban environment. Case study in Kwitang Village, Central Jakarta*. Magister thesis. University of Indonesia. Available at: <https://lib.ui.ac.id/daftikol2?id=49> (Accessed: 20 09 2022)
- Pratama, D. (2018) 'Implementasi undang undang nomor 23 tahun 2002 tentang perlindungan anak dalam rangka mewujudkan Kota Malang sebagai kota layak anak: Studi pada dinas sosial pemerintah Kota Malang ', *Publisia (Jurnal Ilmu Administrasi Publik)*, 1, pp. 15- 23.
- Prince, R. (2010) 'Policy transfer as policy assemblage: Making policy for the creative industries in New Zealand', 42(1), pp. 169–186. doi: 10.1068/a4224.
- Riggio, E. (2002) 'Child friendly cities: Good governance in the best interests of the child', *Environment and Urbanization*, 14(2), pp. 45-58. doi: 10.1177/095624780201400204.

- Seidman, I., (2006) *Interviewing as qualitative research: A Guide for researchers in education and the social sciences*. Third Edition ed. New York and London: Teachers College Press.
- Smoke, P. and Lewis, B. D. (1996) 'Fiscal decentralization in Indonesia: A new approach to an old idea', 24(8), pp. 1281–1299. doi: [https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X\(96\)00042-3](https://doi.org/10.1016/0305-750X(96)00042-3).
- UN General Assembly (27th special sess) (2002) *A world fit for children : Resolution / adopted by the General Assembly*. Available at: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/464538?ln=en> (Accessed 06 09 2022).
- UN (1991) *Guideline For Initial Report CRC*. Available at: [https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/\\_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CRC/C/5&Lang=en](https://tbinternet.ohchr.org/_layouts/15/treatybodyexternal/Download.aspx?symbolno=CRC/C/5&Lang=en) (Accessed 07 09 2022).
- UN (1996) *UN Ecosoc*. Available at: <https://www.un.org/ecosoc/sites/www.un.org.ecosoc/files/documents/2020/resolution-1996-31.pdf> (Accessed 30 August 2022).
- UN (2002) *History, mandate & role in the UN system*. Available at: <https://unhabitat.org/history-mandate-role-in-the-un-system> (Accessed 09 09 2022).
- UN (2002) *Delegations in third committee stress need to implement promises to create "World Fit for Children"*. Available at: <https://www.ohchr.org/en/press-releases/2009/10/delegations-third-committee-stress-need-implement-promises-create-world-fit> (Accessed 31 08 2022).
- UNICEF & UNCHS/Habitat (1997) *Children's rights and habitat: working towards child-friendly cities*. Available at: <https://digitallibrary.un.org/record/233327?ln=en> (Accessed 06 09 2022).
- UNICEF Innocenti Research Centre (2004) *Building child-friendly cities: A Framework for action*. Available at: <https://www.unicef-irc.org/publications/pdf/cfc-framework-eng.pdf> (Accessed 06 09 2022).
- UNICEF (2018) *Child-Friendly City Initiatives handbook*. Available at: <https://s25924.pcdn.co/wp-content/uploads/2018/05/CFCI-handbook-NewDigital-May-2018.pdf> (Accessed 10 09 2022).
- UNICEF (2018) *Child-Friendly City Initiative Map*. Available at: <https://childfriendlycities.org/indonesia/> (Accessed 09 09 2022).