THE INDONESIAN STATE UNIVERSITY IN FLUX: ACADEMICS AND THE NEO-LIBERAL TURN

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Abstract

This thesis aims to better understand the under life of Indonesian academics during implementation of major policy changes associated with the Higher Education Act 2012. More specifically the study sought to explore and analyse the principal changes as experienced by academics in Indonesian state universities, how academics responded to these changes and the impact of these changes upon the nature of academic work and organisations. The research undertaken was in the form of a multiple-embedded case study using semi-structured interviews, observations, and document analysis as instruments to collect data. Interviews were conducted with 30 academics in three state universities in Indonesia.

The findings demonstrate how Indonesian academics’ work is moving away from their traditional functions and roles towards new prescribed roles revealing tensions between maintaining their existing identities and pressures from the external environment to adapt. Using Scott’s notion of ‘weapons of the weak’ the study reveals how Indonesian academics have resisted and accommodated policy reform in ways that have taken largely discursive and unobtrusive forms.

It is anticipated that the study will both contribute to a better understanding of the dynamics of academics’ work lives as they encounter large scale reform, and offer guidance for policy makers in the formulation and enactment of relevant policy.

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Declaration

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

1.1. Neoliberalism and the changing nature of higher education

This thesis explores and analyses changes being experienced by academics in Indonesian state university systems as a result of government-driven policy, how academics responded to these changes and the impacts of these changes on academics work and organisations. These exploration and analysis are located in the main concept of neoliberal agenda with its associated discourse of New Public Management.

There has been evidence that neoliberalism is sometimes associated with globalisation if it is viewed from the economic perspective, in which it is linked to the ‘freedom of commerce’ and to ‘homo economicus’ principles, refer to chapter 2 section 2.2 (Olssen and Peters 2005, Lorenz 2012). In this way, subsequently, neoliberalism can be seen as a specific element of globalisation (Olssen and Peters 2005). However, this does not mean that they are identical and do not have relationship at all. Neoliberalism is a ‘politically imposed discourse’ (Olssen and Peters 2005, p. 314) which constitutes a specific economic philosophy as a consequence of ‘super-power relationship’(Olssen and Peters 2005, p. 314). In the meantime, globalisation arose as the impact of changes in technology and science which enabled the rapid flow of information and communication from many parts of the world (Jarvish 2000, Naidoo and Jamieson 2003). The effects in technology and science facilitated the development of neoliberalism in terms of enabling the free flow of capital beyond national boundaries (Olssen and Peters 2005). This event was initially sparked with the high inflation and unemployment rate caused by the collapse of the Bretton Woods system of international trade and exchange in America (Olssen and Peters 2005). This situation had forced the abolition of capital controls in America in 1974, where the capital had been allowed to move beyond national boundaries (Olssen and Peters 2005).
The emergence and the ascendancy of neoliberalism with its associate discourse of New Public Management in higher education has brought about shifts and new forms of control in universities governance (Olssen and Peters 2005). With its economic or market ideology, neoliberal agenda has permeated and colonised higher education systems. It has been asserted that its expansive colonisation into higher education institutions has been breath-taking both in their depth and breadth (Deem 1998, Ball 2003, Harris 2005, Billot 2010). This can be seen from the changing nature of higher education in which it is seen as an ‘input-output’ system which can be equated with economic productions or functions. In this way, the nature of higher education is conceptualised within what has been called a ‘tradable commodity’, which can be traded for profit orientation between producers and customers (Olssen and Peters 2005, Lorenz 2012).

Consequently, this has given rise to the emergence and proliferation of economisation of education as Ball (2000) and Dearlove (1997) wrote. In the notion of the economisation of education, academics have particularly been perceived as intellectual actors upon whom the accomplishment of economic goals of nations can be elicited (Ball 2000). The impacts of such an assumption above have been twofold affecting both individual subjects and institutions. At the individual subject level, academics are increasingly touched by the market ideology, leading to tensions and contestations when academics being pressurised to behave in market-driven manners to meet the increased expectation of government-driven policies bounded in the lexicon of accountability, efficiency, performativity, and quality assurance (Ball 2000, Olssen and Peters 2005, Lorenz 2012). Whilst at the institutional level, higher education institutions have been pressurised to transform their roles and functions to become more complete and corporate organisations as these are the contextual prerequisites to enable the market-driven management occur (Brennan, King et al. 2004, Boer, Enders et al. 2007).
In the process of this change, higher education has been required to restructure and reshape its systems. In this process, there has always been a State playing its significant role (Clarke and Newman 1997, Kickert 1997). Following this premise then, the issue of relationship played out by the State and civil society is essentially considered as the most important issue (Clarke and Newman 1997, Gunter and Fitzgerald 2013). Higher education institutions represent public services in which complex and conflicting relationships between the State and civil society are played out. This situation has come to be understood from disanalogous interests; nature of institutions; and point of views of both parties (Trow 1996, Kickert 1997, Becher and Trowler 2001). Kickert (1997) has explained the complexity of this relationship through a ‘Network Theory’ refer to chapter 2, section 2.2. The weight of complexity on relationship played out by these two parties has also been corroborated by rapid changes in society and economy, triggered by the development of information and communication technology; competition and marketisation, thereto higher education institutions are required by the State to play their market-driven roles for economic advantages (Becher and Trowler 2001).

Transformations in society and economy globally have also been accompanied by demographic changes of population. As such changes have led to the increasing number of population capable of entering higher education, contributing to the growth of enrolment rate of students and, the need for the massification or widening participation of higher education institutions to cover the needs of all groups in society (Alexander 2003, Meyer and Schofer 2005, Hornibrook 2012). Increases in the enrolment rate and the massification of higher education institutions have meant that more subsidies from governments are substantially needed.

However, a financial crisis encountered, particularly by Western countries during the 1980s had forced the government to reduce funds to allocate in all organisations in order to mitigate
the risks of an excessive overhead spent by the government in such a crisis. Higher education was not exempted from this austerity programme. Ironically, the reduction or decline in funding had been applied simultaneously with the high demand to recruit more students and to cover their needs (Becher and Trowler 2001, Hornibrook 2012). To compensate this, higher education institutions had been forced to turn to other sources of incomes. This situation in turn has made higher education institutions more accountable towards the use of funds for their stakeholders (Trow 1996, Becher and Trowler 2001, Hornibrook 2012). Additionally, as the social systems change in their sizes and volumes, the mode of their regulation also needs changing. By so doing, the role of the government also needs revisiting and redefining in this changing environment (Becher and Trowler 2001).

In view of this, it has been argued that traditional-collegial ways in managing universities have been old-fashioned, and out-of-date as they have been unable to deal with professionals in this rapid changing environment with increased accountability set up by the government (Middlehurst and Elton 1992, Dearlove 1995, McNay 1995). In this increased accountability, there has been a growing demand for higher education to be held accountable, particularly for public funding it uses - which is much in the same way as that of corporate organisations in that efficiency and transparency associated with the notion of ‘Value-for-Money’ has been espoused norms (Olssen and Peters 2005, Lorenz 2012). To do so, new ways of a more flexible and efficient approach to manage and organise professionals have come to the fore of higher education management, that is to say New Public Management (NPM) (Ball 1998, Dearlove 2002), and the Neo-Weberian State - a newer version of public management, developed particularly in Europe as the challenge to NPM (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004, Dreschler 2005).
The advent of New Public Management which has been argued as one of the phenomena of neoliberalism, reflected upon its market ideology into higher education institutions has had considerable impacts on the reshaping and repositioning of the traditional roles and functions of higher education institutions (Ball 2003, Harris 2005). This is because the traditional primary responsibilities of higher education has collided with primary responsibilities of corporate organisations, with the latter are framed within the interests of economy in a highly competitive environment (Deem 1998, Ball 2003, Harris 2005, Billot 2010).

Traditional roles of universities can be found within a mission to cultivate humanity, to contribute to the enhancement of the morale of younger generations, and to serve society at large (Gould 2003). Within this, the inquiry of scholarship is chiefly advanced and vested in respect with the serviceability to community and for the sake of scholarship *per se*—free from ulterior end and not for gaining profitable traffics extraneous to higher learning principles (Veblen 1918).

A more contemporary version of this traditional role for universities views them as places for knowledge production and dissemination through teaching; knowledge exploration of new knowledge through research; and the development of the application of higher knowledge for addressing the common problems of society (Valimaa 1998, Gould 2003, Hussey and Smith 2010). With these interface relationships between their mission and society, the proposed functions of higher educations have become increasingly complex and have been challenged, especially in the context of globalisation (Valimaa 1998).

The changing nature of social lives driven by rapidly changing technologies associated with globalisation has forced universities to adapt their mission to this to meet the demands of society (Valimaa 1998). In relation to this, some universities, mainly in advanced highly developed countries have been heralded as a prime engine of economic activity capable of
contributing to economic prosperity. One manifestation of this is that universities have been viewed as sites for the development of human capital that will determine the competitive status of a nation in interaction at international community level (Vaira 2004).

However, this shift towards what has come to be known as the economisation of higher education has been challenged. Collini (2012), argued that a human capital approach to universities overlooks important aspects of university provision. There are certain subjects, particularly in the arts and humanities which do not always have direct economic usefulness or the capacity to demonstrate a direct contribution to the economy. Collini further argued that universities are not businesses. They are established in order to extend human understanding towards the physical world, culture and ourselves. Besides, the purpose of universities is to advance scholarship or research without being dictated by other needs (Collini 2012).

In similar fashion, Middlehurst and Elton (1992) asserted that the primary responsibilities of higher education are not directly linked with stakeholders. Higher education is responsible for knowledge production, dissemination, and preservation – extended through teaching, research and community services (Middlehurst and Elton 1992).

These tensions regarding the purpose of universities as explained above, in fact, reflect significant changes in the way in which universities are viewed and reflect important debate about the nature of knowledge production (Newman and Jahdi 2009). For some, this reflects a shift from the traditional intellectual structures which value independency, rationality, critical thinking, autonomy (which have been characterised by the Humboldtian narrative) and the pursuit of research and scholarship in their own right (esoteric knowledge), to a new core which values economy and marketplace and the exoteric nature of knowledge primarily for profit orientation (Scott 1997, Olssen and Peters 2005, Newman and Jahdi 2009).
The traditional intellectual structures which had guided higher education since pre-modern society had indicated that higher education had an exclusive responsibility for developing ‘academic skills’ in students (Scott 1997, Jarvish 2000, Meyer and Schofer 2005). This exclusive responsibility was not shared with other public or corporate organisations as what mass higher education in the postmodern societies (characterised with liberal, open, and individualists) has performed in which the nature of knowledge production has been dictated by the interests of competing individuals or groups (Scott 1997, Hall and Thomas 2005). Rational and empirical knowledge seems less important for this type of society, and what is more important for this society is practical, market-driven knowledge (Brennan, King et al. 2004, Meyer and Schofer 2005). In this regard, universities are positioned as one of the institutions that can meet the demands of markets manifested in the responsibility for developing practical, applied, employment-related skills in their students (Meyer and Schofer 2005). One outcome of this is the rise of vocationally focused universities with a mission geared up to meeting the needs of business locally, nationally and internationally.

The changing configuration of the responsibilities held by higher education institutions as posed above has become the concerns of many scholars and the debate has raged. For some, this changing configuration has eroded and threatened the legitimacy of higher education institutions as social and cultural forces to serve the good for humanity - and has dishonoured their public service values as an inheritance from the enlightenment and renaissance. Governed and guided by these traditional values, higher education institutions have been viewed as the guardian and the creator of knowledge for the good of humanity (Henkel 1997, Lynch 2006).

For other, however, it is impossible to separate higher education from its external and unpredictable ever changing environment, particularly in the era dominated by the
advancement of technology of communication, economy, and labour force. It has been asserted that higher education has to be able to keep in step with this rapidly changing environment (Fullan and Scott 2009). In addition, keeping the footsteps in the traditional roles and functions of higher education has led to a question about the capacity of these in meeting the demand and need of 21st century society to constantly accommodate and facilitate the potential capital of creative, innovative, and intellectual society (Scott, Coates et al. 2008).

With regard to this, therefore, it has been argued that what universities need is a high adaptability and not a high durability in order to survive in a more open and transgressive world (Scott 1997). International universities can no longer rely on their internal environment, but they are required to adapt with the socio-economic, and political changes to remain viable and survive (Scott, Coates et al. 2008, Bates 2010).

The challenges that most universities encounter by dint of the government fund reduction; the development of information and communication technology; competition and marketisation (Sporn 2007) have exerted universities to apply changes in their institutional management level. The adoption of business models and principles has highlighted the face of universities management in higher education reforms in the world (Etzkowitz, Webster et al. 2000, Sporn 2007). With pecuniary principles, universities procure their financial support from multiple sources of funding, such as the rise of tuition fees, the establishment of new businesses, business activities such as the patent of research and joint venture (Bleiklie and Powel 2005, Sporn 2007).

Apart from the oxymoronic nature of this contested issue, the fact that the form of New Public Management has, indeed, changed the landscape of higher education across the globe is inevitable (Becher and Trowler 2001, Newman and Jahdi 2009). It has shifted the higher education’s long traditional culture and identity of academics reflected upon principles of autonomy; academic freedom; peer, collegial governance; and trust (Deem 1998, Curie and...
Further impact of this shift is the increase on the workload intensification of academics which sometimes lead to dissatisfaction and resistance from academics (Anderson 2008, Curie and Vidovich 2009).

With respect to this, Birnbaum (1999) put forward a telling point that universities have lost their ‘battle of compelling narrative’. This old narrative which contains traditional roles and functions of universities as places for moral and cultural development and advancement has been infused by a new narrative accommodating the market ideologies and stakeholders (Birnbaum 1999). Consequently, though, within these binary narratives, higher education has been placed on the two competitive interests between accommodating the interests of managers to pressurise academics to achieve the external targets, and accommodating the interests of academics to resist this pressure (Albatch 2006, Bates 2010). Here, higher education can be seen as a political institution, where power is played out over conflicting interests, as Derrida argued: ‘the university is an ultimate place of critical resistance … to all the power of dogmatic and unjust appropriation’ (cited in Vinthagen 2007, p.1).

1.2. Rationale

In this globalised world, a nation’s competitiveness has been associated with the country’s economic relationship with world markets (Tadjuddin 2007). Indonesia as one of the developing countries has been viewed as a nation with an ability to reach a higher level of technology and facilitate the assimilation of technology more openly, to promote industrialisation, build infrastructure and enhance manufacture (World Bank 2011). However, the capacity to make innovations is still low (World Bank 2011). In this context, higher education institutions Indonesia are seen as pivotal sites that can provide human capitals which can support the competitiveness of Indonesia by providing skills and research to apply technology, refer to chapter 4. With respect to this, the government of Indonesia has seen the
greater importance of higher education institutions and has made them as a component of economic investment strategies to strengthen the competitive positioning of Indonesia at international level (The Directorate General of Higher Education, the DGHE 2012). As a manifestation of this, the government, through the Minister of Education has enacted a policy of Higher Education which arranges the practices, the purposes, the goals, the legal status, the access, the qualities of higher education institutions and the responsibilities of the government for providing higher education institutions (The DGHE 2012). Arguably, this policy has been a market-oriented and can be seen as the government’s endeavour to promote and advise market-like principles in Indonesian higher education through the introduction of audit culture reflected in accountability to measure lecturers’ productivity and quality assurance.

This means that the quality in Indonesian universities has also been affected by market-ideologies traced with the emergence of economisation of education. Within economisation of education, the education services are seen as the process of economic transaction in which sellers and buyers exchange products (Lorenz 2012). However, promoting changes in the existing Indonesian higher education context has been considerably hard, considering the inherently internalised Patrimonial, values, norms, systems, and beliefs affecting Indonesian values, norms, and behaviour in such long periods of time. Trowler (1998) argued that:

The pre-existing values and attitudes of staff, both academics and others, need to be understood and addressed when considering change. Individuals and groups are far from 'empty-headed', especially those in universities. They have values and attitudes which are often deeply rooted in early and later socialization and reinforced by daily recurrent behaviours and these are used to facilitate critical thinking and deploy arguments in support of their point of view (p.151).

Referring to this, although Indonesia has successfully moved its political, socio-cultural, and economic towards democratic values, the prevailing old espoused values, beliefs, and norms of patrimony remain hard to shed. This situation can impinge on the inchoate process of
reform in higher education institutions with its coterminous principles of neoliberal agenda. In this case, the central role of the State is there to help stimulate and foster the changes while at the same time controlling and constraining the shirking behaviour of academics that may stymie or thwart the achievement of policy objectives. The Neo-Weberian State has been evidently present in this reform process.

While to enable the implementation of New Public Management principles in higher education requires the shift to a quasi-market or market manner, this patrimonial-driven context does not correspond with this requirement. Patrimonial values which have long governed Indonesian society, including its bureaucratic apparatus, have been very much in conflict with the liberal values adopted by most Western societies – the values that underpin democratic society and its public services – let alone with corporate-like principles. Dill (1982) argued that the success of higher education reforms can be achieved if they are operating under market principles.

Where policy is effectuated in organisation contexts, there have always been actors or implementing agencies experiencing its far more implications (Sabatier 1986, Yanow 1987, Trowler 1998). Academics residing in higher education institutions positing as scholar communities have been considered as implementing agents or target groups of policy implementation, characterised as grass roots or what Lipsky (1971) called ‘street level bureaucrats’ (cited in Trowler 1998). Street level bureaucrats are often associated with those interacting ‘directly with citizens in the course of their jobs and have substantial discretion in the execution of their work’ (Weatherley and Lipsky 1977, p. 172). This suggests that they have active roles in accepting, interpreting and implementing policy imperatives through their coping mechanisms to come to term with the demand placed on their jobs (Weatherley and Lipsky 1977). Therefore, it is argued that their behaviour and role as an implementing agency of policy imperatives have been considered important to be taken into consideration by central
policy makers for the successful implementation of the policy (Weatherley and Lipsky 1977, Trowler 1998).

With respect to this, I argued that academics, driven with their habit of critical thinking are actively criticising their circumstances that contradict and erode their perceived values and beliefs (Anderson 2005), for example the pressure to publish more to evaluate (Henkel and Kogan, 1996). Referring to this, I perceived that universities, as other organisations, are sites, where the power relation is exercised over conflicting interests.

International literature has been fraught with these trends and the loci of research have been predominated by Western scholars who studied the phenomena of changes taking place in higher education contexts triggered by globalisation and neoliberalism (Henkel 1997, Deem 1998, Billot 2010). The Literature on reforms of higher education institutions triggered by government policy imperatives and their implications for the working life of academics have been studied by many scholars, particularly those in the contexts of Western countries. In the USA, for example, the use of academic capitalism has been used by Slaughter and Leslie (1997) to depict the condition of working life and the construction of American academic identity under new reforms. New managerialism (Rhoades 1997), evaluative state (Henkel 1991a), entrepreneur academic (Clark 1998), corporate academics (Deem 1998), consumerism, (Naidoo and Jamieson 2005) Neo-liberal governmentality (Foucault 1982), performativity (Lyotard 1984, Clegg 2008b), coercive accountability (Shore and Wright 1999) are all terms or concepts utilised by scholars to understand and delineate the changing nature of academic work and identity under new environments where the government reform policy is effectuated. The scope of the study encompasses aspects of macro and micro levels of higher education institutions both at the level of institutions and departments respectively. These key concepts emerging in the international literature will be used to frame and conceptualise the issues of higher education change in Indonesian context. In addition, these
key concepts will also help identify the gap in the international literature regarding the issues of change in higher education settings.

This research interest arose out of my own experience as a lecturer (teaching assistant) in a state university in Makassar, Indonesia. My professional learning and observation had led me to think about the importance of traditional roles and functions of academics work and organisations and how these had been affected by the ongoing process of reform on higher education. Upon reflection, I realised that the process of reform enacted by Indonesian government had changed the way I did my job and the way I perceived myself. I observed that such changes had taken hold the entire institutions as well. I felt that the traditional roles which had guided me in doing my job and in seeing myself as an educator had gradually been altered to a new feeling and way to perceive myself within the ethos of audit culture and accountability.

As a result of this, I could no longer find the true meaning of valuable moments and experiences of becoming a lecturer by which I could obtain from the process of learning and teaching, and the collegial interaction among my colleagues. These elements have been directed and guided by professional ethics of conduct which emphasises collegiality and peer-collaboration among academics. Through increased audit culture which emphasises the measurable outputs in assessing academics’ productivity, collegial and professional nature of my work had been supplanted by competition ethos to reach external objectives set by the government. From this situation, I realised that it was the State that had dominant roles in managing the work of academics, and this contributed to the changing relationship between the State and higher education.

I noticed that my colleagues were silent and seemed compliant with this new culture of assessment. I was intrigued to know further their responses and reactions to this new culture of
doing their job. When I first applied for my PhD study at the University of Manchester, I tried to look further in the literature regarding the impacts of audit culture and accountability on academics’ work. As the search continuing, I found the gap in the literature (almost all was written in Western context). The book Written by Clark and Newman (1997) had inspired me at the early stage of search to understand the complex relationship of the State and the arrangement of civil service and citizen. Through the conceptualisation of these concepts, I made endeavour to link them with higher education contexts, particularly in my own context.

1.3. Statement of the problem

This thesis explores the extent and the nature of the changes experienced within Indonesian higher education systems as a result of the market-driven reforms of neoliberalism embedded in the new Higher Education Act 2012. It examines how Indonesian academics are adapting to these changes. It also examines the extent to which these changes have impacted on the changing nature of academics’ long traditional culture and identity in light of autonomy, self-governance, academic freedom, and relationship with the State - which leads me to explore how academics are responding to these changes; how they give meaning to these changes; why they are changing; and how they are changing.

1.4. Research questions

Specific research questions raised in this study were as follows:

1. What are the principal changes being experienced by academics within the Indonesian higher education system?
2. How have these changes impacted on the nature of academic work and organisations?
3. How are academics responding to these changes in their organisations?
1.5. Statement of purpose

The purpose of this study is to provide a rich description, explanation, and understanding of the experiences, and actions of Indonesian academics in their subjectivity or in their own context (patrimonial system) or through ‘emic’ perspective on market-driven policy, enacted by the government as embodied in the Higher Education Act 2012. As well, this study is expected to contribute to the literature on higher education policy, particularly in the area of policy implementation or enactment and policy reforms through its acknowledgement of local contexts in light of socio-cultural, economic, and political system in which policy implementation and reform occur. This is also expected to add to higher education management in relation to internal governance of higher education through its recognition of academic professionalism reflected in academic autonomy and academic freedom – which runs counter to the economic rational principles of management. The conflicting condition between disanalogous interests of two parties (Government and universities) has impacted on the meaning of professional identity, leading to the rise of academic resistance. The intermingling of these varied issues is problematised within the existing theory of neoliberalism along with its derivative ideas and concepts to be expected to have implicative significances for scholar communities. As well, this study is expected to contribute to the heuristic contribution that drives people to carry out future research which is provided in the suggestions or recommendations for future research through its acquirement of novel concepts. This study likewise is expected to contribute to policy makers, and universities both in Indonesian context and other contexts.

1.6. Significance of the study

This thesis examines how market solutions of neoliberalism have impacted upon Indonesian higher education reforms. The implementation of the market solutions offered by neoliberal agenda on Indonesian reforms on higher education poses a unique example of how policy
travelling global and how liberal democratic values embodied in neoliberalism and patrimonial values of Indonesian society meet, intermingle, and conflict. Although there has been a vast majority of literature shedding light on this area, there appeared to be little research shed much light on a context of Indonesia experiencing a period of transition from the patrimonial system to the democratic system of society. As Hood (1991), Kickert (1997), Haque (2000), Pollit and Bouckaert (2004), (Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007), (Pollit 2009), (Lynn 2008), and (Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008) argued that public management reforms have inundated many countries irrespective of whether they are categorised as English-speaking countries or non-English speaking countries during the 1980s within a single label under New Public Management as part of neoliberalism. This label of public management, has not been interpreted and implemented in a single language, but has been adapted and implemented based on the contextual condition of given nations in terms of their socio-culture, history and formation, ideological inclination, polity system and culture (Haque 2000, Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007, Pollit 2009).

This study tried to fill this gap. To this extent as well, this study is expected to expand the theory of neoliberalism in relation to its derivative ideas, concepts, and theories, refer to chapter 2 section 2.2 in problematising it in the context of Indonesian higher education and its socio-cultural and political system. This is to indicate as well of how a policy making influenced by neoliberalism wrapped in New Public Management, and the Neo-Weberian State has gone beyond national boundaries, shaping its specific forms according to the contexts it dominates (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004) particularly in Indonesian context, which has distinctive ideologies, values, beliefs, university characteristics, and polity system. By so doing, this research can contribute to the theoretical framework.
This study is also expected to improve practice and help participants in this study see their world or their works in different ways. To this extent, through the suggestions or recommendation put forward to help them come to term with the increased accountability imposed upon the nature of their work and organisations.

In methodology area, this research is anticipated to add to the case study research, particularly to multiple-embedded case study approach in higher education research policy and management. The findings of this research are anticipated to be useful for policy makers in relation to policy implementation and factors that they should take into consideration prior to putting policy into effect, particularly on the issue related to the unique characteristics of higher education systems and epistemological differences. I also anticipate that the findings of this study would be useful for participants taking part in this study in light of attempt made to cope with conflicting conditions between academic identity and economic-driven government policy.

This study is also expected to contribute to the heuristic contribution by suggesting future research on religion, culture, and gender to explore the implications of neoliberal-governed reform for higher education.

1.7. Organisation of the thesis

This thesis is organised to give general introduction on international issues about higher education reforms triggered by neoliberal agenda and its derivative ideas, theories, and concepts, which are traced in the context of literature review alongside the broader context of Indonesia’s socio-culture, economy, and polity system both in the public bureaucracy and the higher education system; methodology, a specific method applied; provision of data analysis from Indonesian academics; discussions; and the conclusions and implications of this study.
Chapter one introduces general higher education reforms and the key debatable issues on the changing traditional roles and functions of higher education. Within this section, I introduce competing perceptions drawn from prominent scholars on higher education as to whether to cling to the traditional values that have long governed higher education systems or to adapt to the changing and volatile environment resulted from the advance of technology in knowledge economy society in order to survive. As well this chapter introduces the rationale on choosing this research topic for my thesis; the purposes; the research questions; and the significance of this thesis.

Chapter two addresses the issue of locating the conceptual theories, ideas, concepts, and previous research in the context of literature to find the gap and justification of the merit to conduct my research in higher education.

Chapter three provides the methodology and research design. In elaborating the methodology I applied to my research, I demonstrated the intertwined relationship between four elements of research processes developed by Crotty (1998) (Epistemology, theoretical framework, methodology, and method) to give a strong foundation for the quality of my research. In addition, this chapter also provides ethical procedures, theoretical frameworks, and validity and reliability.

Chapter four is concerned with the Indonesian context which reported the socio-culture, history, economy, and polity system of Indonesia both in general public services and higher education context.

Chapter five provides information about the profiles of each university partaking in my research.
Chapter six illuminates the data obtained from respondents and analysis based on the research questions formulated in my research.

Chapter seven focuses on the deep explanation about the phenomena being studied, yielded from the participants’ contexts reinforced with the relevant theories in the literature.

Chapter eight is the final chapter of this thesis and focuses on the conclusion of the research findings along with the implications, significance, limitation and strength of this study, originality, and suggestions for future research.

1.8. Conclusion

This chapter has provided how international higher education reforms influenced by the principles of neoliberalism have to some extent changed the nature of higher education traditional roles and functions, which arguably have been based on the social and moral functions to cultivate and preserve culture and knowledge. The tensions between the needs to maintain these and adapt to the changing and volatile environment in which higher education is expected to educate and produce creative and innovative assets of the 21st century have been considerably high. Therefore, indeed, higher education is expected to change the way it sees its existence into utilitarian perspectives to meet its economic roles, particularly on the production of knowledge. This reorientation has been at odds with the basic notion of academic professionalism. When these conflicting expectations meet and intermingle, trigger conflicts, tensions, and contestations - and pull scholars in two different directions. These conflicts, tensions, and contestations have become the global phenomena experienced by academics around the world. The next section provides international accounts concerning these issues alongside their implications for academic work and organisations.
CHAPTER 2 LITERATURE REVIEW

NEOLIBERALISM, NEO-WEBERIAN STATE, RESISTANCE AND ACADEMIC IDENTITY

2.1. Introduction

This literature review addresses key concepts relating to the policy environment and its changing nature, encountered with the reaction of academics against these, and the implications of these for academics. When I included policy environment in this section, I referred to the repertoires of derivative ideas, concepts, and theories (New Public Management with its measurements of audit culture, accountability, performance indicators, efficiency, and effectiveness). This is important to provide links among central concepts drawn from the literature to support the rationale and background of this study. These key concepts are markedly governed by market principles, which when they are applied in a broader context of society, higher education in particular, trigger tensions and difficulties. These tensions and difficulties (resistance) arise as these market principles impinge on the idiosyncratic nature of higher education which has been asserted to be governed within the notion of collegial governance. The vignettes of the idiosyncratic nature of higher education were provided in the concepts developed by some scholars such as Cohen, March et al. (1972) with their ‘organized anarchy’ and Weick (1976) with his ‘loosely coupled system’, refer to chapter 2, section 2.4.1.

To describe these tensions and difficulties within neoliberal derivative ideas or theories, I considered the interrelated dynamics or complex causal relationship, as I will call it, between market- Public management-State and higher education. To begin, I anchored the review of the literature with a focus on neoliberalism; how it has changed overtime; how this economic neoliberal philosophy has influenced the practice of public management; and the views on the role of State, practised with reference to higher education in particular.
2.2. Market, Public management, and State

These constructs are put under one section to show the interrelatedness or reciprocal effects of Market, Public Management, and State. The first concept, market, becomes the main source of effects, influencing the other two constructs. The elucidation of market principles is grounded on neoliberal perspectives. I reasoned that this act is worth doing, given that neo and classical liberalism share similar ideologies of market within the philosophy of *homo economicus*, but they are not identical (Olssen and Peters 2005, Lorenz 2012). Even though neoliberalism and classical liberalism are equally guided by the *homo economicus* philosophy, in fact, they put it into practice differently. In recognition of this, both classical and neo liberalism feature a recognition of autonomous and rational human beings, based upon the *laissez faire* notion, which emphasises the privilege and inseparable rights of human beings that should be left untouched even by the State. In classical liberalism, the State is required to protect this special right by providing and regulating laws and rules to guarantee individuals’ or citizens’ rights. Here, the concept of *homo economicus* or ‘economic man’ is conceptualised as a ‘partner of exchange’ (Foucault 2008, p.226). State and citizens are viewed in the domains of law (Olssen and Peters 2005, Lorenz 2012).

However, the *homo economicus* principle has changed within neoliberal market principles. Within this ideology, *homo economicus* is no longer conceptualised as a ‘partner of exchange’, but as an ‘entrepreneur of himself’ (Foucault 2008, p.226). By so doing, individuals or citizens are perceived as rational autonomous beings who are capable of empowering and regulating themselves through their enterprising capacities. They become their own source of earnings gained on the basis of rational choices made by them. State roles in this case are limited in the domain of enabling function in regulating legislation and laws to ensure the economic activities occur properly. To borrow the phrase from Foucault (2008) the roles of government are suitably conceptualised in ‘the environmental policy’, where they are seen simply as an
intervention ‘in the rules of the game, rather than on the players on the field’ (p.226). These roles then cannot transcend the private life of individuals, given the autonomous nature embedded in them. Positioned within this status subsequently, individuals are given more latitude to self-empower and self-regulate themselves by becoming entrepreneurial individuals - who can manage and proliferate their capital - pursued in a manner of Value for Money through competition among others. So, the status of citizen and the State is not seen in terms of law (Rechtstaat), rather it is seen in terms of economy (Olssen and Peters 2005, Lynch 2006, Lorenz 2012).

This neoliberal’s homo economicus concept, when it is applied in a broader context of economy, society, and politics in relation to the policy enactment has contributed to the shift in three generic issues in terms of the ‘change in the rules of eligibility, engagement, and the wealth creation’ to borrow the phrases utilised by Brown and Lauder (1996, p.2). Change in the rules of eligibility was concerned with the diminishing authority or roles of States to influence and stimulate their economic environment or boundaries in terms of their monetary policy - due to the increasing roles of multinational corporates and Agreements, such as the WTO, GATT and the World Bank. These multinational corporates and Agreements have emerged as powerful and influential agencies to influence international regulatory systems in the interests of capitalists (Bloland 1995,Ball 1998, Lynch 2006), where States are sometimes unable to resist their pressures and influences (Bloland 1995). Consequently, the authority of States has been pushed back into a restricted arena of the so-called catalytic function refer to chapter 4 section 4.4 as facilitators or steering, rather than as controllers or rowing (Osborne and Gaebler 1992), moderated through steering and regulating mechanisms. In this respect, the role of the market has come to be seen as a more appropriate mechanism than government in regulating individuals’ or citizens’ activities . This can be best achieved through the process of

However, Bloland (1995) argued that the diminishing role of government is paradoxical. In a sense that within the increased desire of governments to become an agent of steering instead of rowing (Hood 1991, Osborne and Gaebler 1992), there remained a means of control, occurring simultaneously with the loss of control by government, particularly in higher education institutions (Bloland 1995). Consequently academics in higher education institutions are increasingly burdened with more additional rules and regulations. With regard to this, Bloland (1995) then argued that ’This seems to demonstrate that the state is becoming stronger as the institutions of higher education become weaker and lose more of their autonomy’ (p.541).

What Bloland (1995) depicted above has been the combination or the hybridisation of New Public Management techniques which are completely corporate-oriented, drawn from the application of Total Quality Management (TQM) - which focused on the application of performance indicators to measure the productivity of individual subjects (Hood 1991, Pollit and Bouckaert 2004, Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007) - and the Neo-Weberian state model (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004, Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007, Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008). The Neo-Weberian state model entails the significance and the reaffirmation of the return of the State, characterised with the unchanged democratic representatives that are achieved through the modification or modernisation of the State. In this way, the orientation of public services was changed from internal, process-oriented towards external, result-oriented - with emphasis on the quality of public services and earnings process (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004). In the words of Osborne and Gaebler (1992) this is a process of reinventing the government, refer to chapter 4.
The complex relationship between State and civil society and the roles of the State in social arrangements has been conceptualised in the *Network Theory* (Kickert 1997). This theory contains aspects of *network-hierarchy-and–autonomy* (Kickert 1997). Within this perspective, the relationship *per se* is seen as a construct which is not only engaging with a single actor and context in its implementation, but it is also involving multiple actors with different goals, interests and contexts (Kickert 1997). Therefore, according to Kickert (1997), the relationship practised sometimes sparks complex and conflicting relationships within multiple societal and political environments in which the goals and interests of multiple actor networks and autonomous actors collide (Kickert 1997).

I have discussed the provision of the interrelatedness among three concepts in the public administration reforms in general and in higher education reforms in particular. In the section below, I will proceed with the provision of New Public Management and the Neo-Weberian State model. I will look at how these two models of reforms in public governance have proliferated in several countries with different flavours adapted with the contextual factors of each country (Kickert 1997, Dreschler 2005, Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007).

### 2.3. New Public Management and Neo-Weberian State model

It is clear that university academic staff around the world have witnessed changes in their institutions as a result of New Public Management (henceforth NPM) reforms fuelled by governments’ desire to increase efficiency, effectiveness, and accountability at the same time as there is declining funding (Ball and Halwachi 1987, Nixon 1996, Deem 1998, Ball 2000, Guthrie and Neumann 2007, Billot 2010). NPM is a term coined to denote the process of reforms in public administration during the 1990s as a critique of the Weberian model of bureaucracy (du Gay 2000) which is too rigid, inefficient, and inflexible and thus can constrain any endeavours of economic development, especially for rich Western countries.
(UK, USA, Canada, and Australia). These countries have been assumed to be exporters of NPM to developed countries of Europe, such as the Netherlands, Germany, and Norway (Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008).

The introduction of this approach in the domain of higher education institutions initially emerged from the influence of Human Capital theory. Within this theory, higher education institutions have come to be seen as engines of economic growth to produce skilled manpower, required for the economic development and competitiveness of nations (Parker and Jary 1995, Alexander 2003, Vaira 2004). To materialise this ideal, it has been considered important to manage higher education institutions within the language of business principles (Alexander 2003, Vaira 2004, Boer, Enders et al. 2007). Arguably, then, New Public Management has become the option to replace the old-fashioned collegial way of running higher education institutions (Exworthy and Halford 1999, Dearlove 2002).

Many scholars have studied how New Public Management with its market principles has impacted upon the traditional notions of ‘academic autonomy, collegiality, collaboration, and trust’ (Curie and Vidovich 2009, p. 442) and on the increase of workloads intensification, which led to stress, disillusionment, demoralisation, and work-life balance (Deem 1998, Currie, Harris et al. 2000, Curie and Vidovich 2009). Others have argued that it has also impacted on the changing relationship between government and higher education. Such a relationship has been evident with the increased decentralised authority granted to academics, while at the same time there is increased centralised control from governments to steer higher education (Hood 1991, Kickert 1997, Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008).

Referring to this, Parker and Jary (1995), for example, have identified that the introduction of New Public Management has been firmly instilled in the managerial modes of academics in OECD countries. This is characterised by the performance appraisal or indicators,
surveillance, control mechanisms, and monitoring, reinforced through the practice of accountability to ensure that the routinised or predictable outputs set by external bodies can be achieved (Parker and Jary 1995, Clarke and Newman 1997). This phenomenon has taken place in UK universities as well (Deem 1998, Harris 2005, Henkel 2005, Clegg 2008a). Other research conducted by Finlay and Gregory (1994) supported the view that a system of monitoring and controlling the activities of academics as one dimension of performativity under neoliberal governmentality, has penetrated into the domain of academic work in terms of supervision, teaching, administration, and research.

In a similar vein, the colonisation of New Public Management in higher education in America has been identified by Gumport (2000), Slaughter and Leslie (1997), and Altbach (2004). American universities have changed their landscapes to conform to the market – to meet their prescribed economic roles. An empirical study carried out by Huisman and Currie (2004) in four universities in America, Norway, the Netherlands, and France, further emphasised that the expansive colonisation of New Public Management has been breath-taking – with the exception of the French universities. The same issue applies to higher education institutions in Sweden and Finland. The study conducted by Barry, Berg et al. (2006) confirmed that higher education in Sweden has likewise been colonised by New Public Management. In Finland, the work of Valimaa (2012) and Ylijoki and Ursin (2013) added the facts that higher education institutions have been subject to corporate-like principles brought forth by New Public Management. In other English-speaking countries like Australia, New Zealand, and Canada, academics in higher education have also been subject to increased accountability, where the combined or dual modes of control are imposed upon them (Marginson 1993, Taylor 2001a, Guthrie and Neumann 2007, Billot 2010).
The echo of New Public Management is not only confined to Western countries, but it has taken hold in several Asian countries too. The work of Mok (2003) revealed how the face of higher education institutions in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China, has shifted towards market ideologies, and how the role of the State is becoming increasingly dominant in shaping and steering higher education institutions during the restructuring process.

Similarly, New Public Management has inundated Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) including former communist Eastern Europe as well. However, considering the transitional periods from communist, closed and totalitarianism society towards democratic, open society that some of these countries are encountering, the nuances of reforms in this region have been characterised with a stringent emphasis on the capacity and the legitimacy of the State to become an architect - fostering the restructuring and development of higher education. This approach or model of reform has been referred to as the Neo-Weberian State, a model developed in Europe (Dunn and Miller 2007), in which the role of the State is viewed as an assisting and protecting agent from external environment threats which can hamper the achievement of the goals of the reform (Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007). Within this situation, the application of New Public Management, which put emphasis on the minimising role of government in regulating civil society, has been considered unsuitable, as argued by Dreschler (2005): ‘NPM is particularly bad if pushed upon transition and development countries, because if it can make any sense, then it is only in an environment of a well-functioning democratic administrative tradition’ (p. 101).

This approach was put forward by some scholars, such as Pollit and Bouckaert (2004), Dreschler (2005), Lyn (1996), and Liiv (2008) as a challenge to New Public Management. One of its criticisms is that New Public Management is ‘a new form of “managerialism” that neglects wider governmental, political, and socio-cultural contexts’ (Dunn and Miller 2007, p.
Some examples of State action reforms in higher education are best exemplified by countries such as Estonia (Drechsler 2004), Latvia, Romania, Slovakia, and Poland (Nemec 2010); more information about the Neo-Weberian State was covered in the Context chapter.

Referring back to higher education reform, Ball (2003) asserted that economically-driven reforms in higher education sectors can potentially lead to complex undertakings. This notion is premised on the presence of interrelated elements involved in such a reform process of what Ball (2003) named *policy technologies* - in which four aspects of market, managerialism, performativity, and changes in the nature of the State interplay in the policy discourse. Performativity (see section 2.4) has come to be associated with the shift in authority and flexibility given in organisations to empower themselves (Ball 2003). If Ball related the issue of *policy technology* involved in the process of economically-driven reforms in education sectors, Shore and Wright (1999) from anthropological perspectives, on the other hand, linked this issue with the *political technology* in that the power of the State is concealed in the art of steering at a distance, which is disguised in the external regulatory mechanism. This external regulatory mechanism has come to resemble the performativity of new managerialism. This external regulatory mechanisms bears a meaning of ‘self-empowerment’ in seeing individual subjects and organisations in terms of compliance with and fulfilment of objectives set in advance. In this way, individual subjects and organisations upon whom this external regulatory mechanism is imposed, are subject to self-regulating; self-activating; and self-internalising in order to continuously improve themselves to align with the externally set objectives.

government and professionals with the concept of *bureau-professional*. In this context, professionals’ experts and skills are placed in the foreground in association with the ‘machinery of State’ (Clarke and Newman 1997, p. 7) to social improvement for public good. This interplay relationship is carried out in the neutrality principle among two parties. This is to mean that professionals are entrusted with their expertise and skills within the overall control of the State (Clarke and Newman 1997). Kickert (1995), Hoggett (1996) described this as a ‘steering at a distance’ mechanism performed by government and professionals. A different perspective concerning the dual systems of control mechanisms within public services was developed by Hoggett (1996). In his analysis, Hoggett indicated the coexistence of the centralised and decentralised control systems which are conducted concomitantly or simultaneously, particularly in UK’s public service system. If Clarke and Newman used the construct of bureau-professional, Hoggett applied the term *post-bureaucratic* and *the bureaucratic management*, whilst Farrell and Morris (2003) preferred to delineate it as *post-bureaucracy and new public management*.

2.4. **New Public Management and its principles**

New Public Management is driven by an ethos of business-like management of the market which emphasises competition. It is mainly characterised by the practice of accountability to ensure effectiveness, quality assurance, and productivity. To do this, performance indicators have been included which are focused on measurable outcome assessments (Ball 2000, Olssen and Peters 2005, Lorenz 2012). The introduction of such conduct into academic communities has created tensions and has sparked much debate, as this practice has come to be seen to contradict the professionalism of academics. Academic professionalisms have been played out within their ethical conducts in the nexus of ‘trust’ (Trow 1996, Roberts and Donahue 2000). With the implementation of this practice, subsequently, ‘trust’, which has previously guided the relationship of academics with their supporting society (Trow 1996), has been supplanted
by the ethos of ‘accountability’ (Deem 1998, Ball 2003, Olssen and Peters 2005, Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007). Accountability, a market solution, has been offered and come to the fore to resolve problems encountered by many organisations (Ball 1998). This sort of solution has been referred to as the Logic Orthodoxy (Ball 1998). This logic orthodoxy has colonised the crux of academic work in the three functions of their work, such as in teaching, research, and community services (Ball 1998). To this extent, academic work has been subject to performativity, to borrow the phrase proffered by Lyotard (1984). Performativity is a construct to denote the trajectories of display, comparison, and judgement, which has been used as a means to measure productivity. Colonised within such a construct, academics are perceived as independent individual subjects ‘who can think, manage, and calculate themselves’ (Rose 1989, as cited in Ball 2003, p. 18) where their productivity is measured through performance targets in forms of \textit{ex-post} rather than \textit{ex-ante} (Olssen and Peters, 2007).

Apart from their debatable nature, performance indicators have attracted Western governments to include them in the management of higher education. Against this backdrop are the facts that they can (1) mediate the increase of accountability of academic performances; (2) improve the performance through feedback obtained (Taylor 2001a) and, (3) enhance the responsiveness of universities to the needs of society (Marginson 1993, Taylor 2001b).

However, as in many other countries, the introduction of performance indicators has yet to go smoothly due to the opposition demonstrated by academics (Taylor 2001a). Moreover, the effectiveness of performance indicators which are competition-oriented has not yet been made clear, although there have been strong arguments to apply them with the belief that they can become a potent tool to increase efficiency and accountability (Lorenz 2012). This argument has been supported by Marginson (1993). He cogently asserted that the application of market-driven management has not even promoted flexibility, rather it has promoted bureaucratic rigidity. In similar fashion, Maassen and Van Vought (1988) echoed that the application of
performance indicators may become an indication of invisible hands used by governments to steer universities to achieve their desired goals. It is a political-technology (Shore and Wright 1999) crafted by governments disguised within external control mechanisms to steer academics at a distance (Kickert 1995).

There has been a dearth of attention given in literature to the contested issues of the performance indicators vis-á-vis academic communities and the factors that have given rise to this debate. Other scholars tended to present their personal reviews on the proliferation of performance indicators in universities, such as Elton (2004) and Cave, Hanney et al. (1997) in the UK, Banta and Borden (1994) in the USA, and Roberts (2007) in New Zealand.

2.4.1. Performance indicators

What could count as indicators to measure performance has remained a debatable issue (Ball and Wilkinson 1994). A relatively most preferred definition of performance indicators is the one developed by Cave, Hanney et al. (1997). They defined performance indicators as follows:

... a measure – usually in a quantitative form – of an aspect of an activity of a higher education institution. The measure may be either ordinal or cardinal, absolute or comparative. It thus includes the mechanical applications of formulae and can inform, and be derived from, such informal and subjective procedures as peer evaluations or reputational rankings. (p. 24)

Performance indicators operate under the premise of measuring accountability through measurable outcomes. Their emphasis is on the input-output relationships to ensure the accountability, quality assurance, and productivity of organisations (Cave, Hanney et al. 1997). This practice of relationships conveys the idea that accountability is performed through ex-post in which market principles and quantifiable output measures become the driving tools to reward and punish performance which works based on contracts (Olssen and Peters 2005). Driven within contract systems, subsequently, achievement of pre-set targets and externally
imposed objectives are the basis for the punishment and reward of performance (Olssen and Peters 2005). This idea suggests that the discretion of input and professional roles pertinent to how objectives are to be achieved has been reduced to the notion of how to achieve goals and aims, particularly in Western societies (Marshall 1999, cited in Elton 2004). A shift has occurred, from a 'bureaucratic-professional form of accountability’ which is *ex-ante* in the sense that performance is measured in terms of process based on the expertise to ‘consumer-managerial’ forms of ‘ex-post’ accountability (Olssen and Peters 2005, p. 328).

Within input-output relationships in order to achieve goals and aims, the measures used are generally associated with quantitative indicators. Quantitative indicators constitute measurements which focus more on the quantifiable values of outcomes or output indicators (Shore and Wright 1999, Elton 2004, Chalmers 2008), which are physically tangible and are immediately measurable, than on qualitative values of process indicators. Quantitative indicators include input and output indicators. Input indicators are concerned with the material instruments or resources in given organisations, encompassing aspects of human, financial, and physical resources (Chalmers 2008). Output indicators, on the other hand, refer to the number of direct measurable ends produced and direct repercussions of activities undertaken to produce the final products (Burke as cited in Chalmers 2008).

Due to the constraining factor of quantitative values in defining quality in teaching and learning, which has largely relied on the numerical amount, quantitative indicators have come to be seen as unreliable tools as they may have a potential risk of neglecting other unmeasured elements, such as instructional; interactive; learning process; and the processes that provide academics with necessary knowledge and skills to undertake their tasks professionally (Elton 2004). As a consequence, these quantitative indicators have to some extent failed to demonstrate the quality of education and simply exhibit the quantities of its outcomes (Shore and Wright 1999, Chalmers 2008, Lorenz 2012).
Furthermore, Elton (2004, p.121) using Goodhart’s Law stated that ‘when a measure becomes a target, it ceases to be a good measure’. Further, Elton argued that ‘when PIS are used for control, they are unreliable as they do not measure performance itself, distort what is measured, influence practice towards what is being measured and cause unmeasured parts to get neglected’ (Elton 2004, p. 121). Parker and Jary (cited in Lorenz 2012) also confirmed this, by stating that efforts to manage appearances can allow the victims of this measure to turn appearance into a rewarding strategy. This condition, in turn, may give more opportunities for the victims to carry out manipulative behaviours (Lorenz 2012).

The influential effects of performance indicators in higher education have arguably had deleterious effects on the individuals’ autonomy and professionalism (Shore and Wright 1999). Referring to this, Alexander (2000) in his evaluation concerning the increased accountability and the tendency of the state to interfere with the universities in the UK, concluded that this is not because of the State’s desire to enforce its authoritative power to scrutinise the work of academics, which has been regarded as secret gardens, rather it is simply the care shown to ensure the effectiveness and efficiency of academic work, thus their work becomes accountable to stakeholders in terms of how resources have been utilised. Therefore, accountability is an appropriate means to show resources utilisation to stakeholders.

Similarly, Hoecht (2006) likewise agreed that universities need to be held accountable in order to provide a sense of certainty, confidence, and credibility. Viewed from the Agency Relationship theory, refer to chapter 7, section 7.4.1 this is reasonably understood given that in social organisations, a trust-based relationship is commonly impersonally exercised (Shapiro 1987, Hoecht 2006). Accordingly, the opportunity for deception, bribery, and misconduct is more likely to happen. Therefore, (Shapiro 1987) argued that control and accountability are necessary prerequisites to ensure the credibility of the agents’ role performances.
With respect to ‘trust’ embodied in relationships, Trow (1996) elucidated that there are three basic fundamental ways in which universities and colleges established their relations with their supporting societies, they are trust, market, and accountability. Trust seems to play an important role in this relationship as this is in line with the nature of professionalism held by scholar communities. It is interesting to examine what Trow (1996) advocated about trust. He provided a dualism of relationship between trust and accountability in terms of viable tools for control. On one side, trust can become an alternative to controlling and monitoring rather than accountability mechanisms. On the other side, accountability is ‘a constraint on arbitrary power, and on the corruption power, including fraud, manipulation, malfeasance, and the like’ (Trow 1996, p.3). The latter is premised on the notion that when universities and colleges are granted support from their supporting societies, it is visible that they are linked with the market. Guided with this market principle, subsequently economic exchange or transaction is in place as universities and colleges have to provide services in form of skills and knowledge in returns for their stakeholders. Thus, to ensure the credibility and validity of services provided, universities and colleges must be held accountable (Trow 1996). Therefore, accountability posits a necessary condition for universities and colleges to become accountable to strengthen their legitimacy (Shapiro 1987, Alexander 2003, Hoecht 2006).

Yet, if trust is really what academics need in establishing relationship with their supporting societies, the question then, who will guard the guardian of this trust? (Shapiro 1987, Hoecht 2006). Can the trust that links academics with their supporting societies be regarded as a legitimate tool of faith, certainty, and credibility? Who will have the right to endorse its legitimacy?

However, Alexander (2000), Hoecht (2006), Shapiro (1987), and Trow (1996) have seemingly not realised the idiosyncratic features of universities. Universities are scholar communities filled with professionals whose mastery of specialist theoretical knowledge differentiates them
from other public sector employees (Roberts and Donahue 2000, Lorenz 2012). These scholar communities have been characterised by their privileges of individual and professional autonomy in performing their practices and determining standards of operation independent from external audit and control (Lorenz 2012). Their professionalism is characterised by ’subject-directed power’(Olssen and Peters 2005, p. 325) which conveys the idea that subjects are given power to make decisions concerning their work (Olssen and Peters 2005). The idea, which combines laissez- faire values with a flatter structure, assumes maximum trust and collegiality (Deem 2006, Olssen and Peters 2005).

Cohen, March et al. (1972) and Weick (1976) described the idiosyncratic aspects of higher education institutional governance through the metaphor used in describing a university as ‘loosely coupled’ and ‘an organized anarchy’. Organized anarchies are characterised by a problematic preference, unclear technology, and fluid participation. This is a description of decision making processes in organisations under ambiguity and uncertainty of circumstances. It was influenced by the Contingency and Emergent Theory of Organisation and Management Theory where their tenets are based on the irrationality of decision making processes due to the changing and unpredictable external environment (Burnes 1996). According to these theories, environment provides the context in which organisations make and plan their strategies, particularly decision making processes.

Weick (1976) associated universities as ‘loosely coupled system’ as a metaphor used in terms of universities’ social structures. It is akin to the model of university governance advanced by Clark (1972) as a ‘collegiate system’. It is a description of the social structure of organisations based on the Differentiation and Integration theory. Drawing upon Differentiation Theory, social structures in organisations are differentiated by different hierarchical roles, such as top managers, middle managers, and lower managers, each with their distinctive tasks. Integration Theory of social structures integrates the differentiation or specialization in the language of
Weber’s bureaucracy in the organisational performance in order to achieve organisational effectiveness. As an organisation, universities are managed by academics with the auspices of administrative staff. Descriptions of jobs and different functions and roles are characterized by these institutions. The heads of universities, lecturers, administrative staff, students, and communities are part of university communities which have different functions and roles but they are not tightly organized, instead they are loosely coupled. This shows that universities in this model are featured with a flatter relationship and communication or quasi-autonomous-quasi-bureaucratic in their activities which cover a wide range of aspects in decision making processes, control mechanisms, and strategies. This is somewhat similar to the model proposed by Cohen, March et al. (1972) which views university as an organized anarchy.

With this in mind, it appears that even though the elements in universities perform different functions and responsibilities which separate them in different faculties and disciplines, they remain coalesced in one identity as members of a scholarly community. This principle is germane to the mechanistic and organistic theory of organisation, which the former is characterized with the hierarchy of power; division of labour; and procedures in university social structures, and where the latter is seen in the practices of adepts or scholars in performing their scholarly research; designing curricula; and the recruiting and selecting of personnel (Hatch 1997a). Hence, universities are both mechanistic and organistic organisations in terms of their social structures or as mentioned above, quasi-autonomous and quasi-bureaucratic.

2.5. New public management and its implications for academic identity

2.5.1. Identity

Identity or self-concept has been conceptualised in many ways drawn from different theories. Identity is not a static construct, rather it is a dynamic concept in the sense that it may change
through participation of self-individuals in their social contexts in which they interact with other individuals. Clegg (2008a, p.329) argued that ‘identity is understood not as a fixed property, but as part of the lived complexity of a person’s project’. It is a lifetime dialogical process (Valima 1998) which continues to develop and render the process of ‘who am I’ and ‘where do I belong to’ in given contexts. This process engages with the significant others (Valimaa 1998) of individuals’ embeddedness (Kogan 2000) influenced by ‘individual values, beliefs, and norms which intermingle with others’ (Valimaa 1998,p. 131).This concept of identity is very much influenced by the symbolic interactionism paradigm and Communitarian moral philosophy (Henkel 1997), in which the social world is constructed through social interaction through the use of symbols (language) to attribute meanings to objects (Mead 1934, cited in Henkel 1997).

For theorising academic identity in this study, I was influenced by the aforesaid approach. Referring to this, I viewed academic identity as an ongoing lifetime process. This process is shaped by three interrelated elements (individual, disciplinary, and institution) which form academic identity as a whole (Kuh and Whitt 1988, Becher 1989). Within these interrelated elements, there are embedded shared values, expertise, and standards primarily bounded within disciplinary culture (territory) as a way of knowing (Becher 1989). This disciplinary culture constitutes the main source of academic identity of the whole faculty in institutions (Kuh and Whitt 1988, Becher 1989). Embedded within each discipline, there are sub-units or departments which serve as a nexus that links disciplines and institutions. The principles driving academic communities in going about their scholarly activities in teaching; research; and scholarships are discipline-based, characterised by the power of autonomy and professionalism, held free from external interference.
However, academic communities do not only interact within their institutional boundaries, there is an external environment in which these communities are embedded (Kogan and Hanney 2000, Henkel 2005). Interacting with the external environment has been associated with the roles and functions of universities in what Henkel (2007) defined as ‘axial-structure’ roles where academic work is important for governments, industry, and society. Therefore, the notion of ‘ivory tower’, once attached to and characterising the image of higher education institutions, when it encounters a permeable and transgressive environment as Scott (1997) called it, has sometimes been challenged. Thus, ‘those who work in universities must now be open to argument about the values and practices embodied in them, as well as ready to justify their work to the wider society. Moreover, they cannot assume that their criteria for justification will be accepted’ (Henkel 2007, p. 97).

This interaction process can threaten the existence of academic identity. This issue has been raised by Harris (2005). In her review about the advent of neoliberal governance in governmentality refer to chapter 4, of higher education institutions, Harris asserted that this form of governance has reshaped the way people ‘see their world as individuals, academics, and professionals’ (2005, p.421). The new roles of academics under this neo liberal governance have come to be placed under economic perspectives, which relate to the economic competitiveness of nations, particularly for Western countries (Harris 2005).

Consequently, where economic principles are placed as the main drivers in policy making in higher education, their effects will be upon the creation of a more complex relationship among stakeholders involved in the provision of higher education. This is because everything is conceptualised and interpreted in the domain of economy, rather than in political terms (Harris 2005). Driven by the economic principles, academic identity will to some extent become aligned to these principles too, leading to the construction of a new academic identity in the
process of participation and interaction of academics in this complex boundary of economic-driven environment changes (Harris 2005, Henkel 2005).

The implication of such a practice has been said to have generated bad impacts on the well-being of academics, as there have usually emerged tensions when this practice is faced against identity formation or construction - occurring in the interaction at the individual, institution, and external environment level (Becher and Trowler 2001, Taylor 2001a, Winter 2009, Billot 2010).

International literature is brimming with this issue. Previous 1990s’ research on these issues reported pessimistic voices of academics responding to this economically-driven imperative. The overall pessimistic voices of academics revolved around the issue of diminishing autonomy, deteriorating salary and job satisfaction, intensifying workload and overloads, deteriorating working employment, and increasing barriers to gain promotion (Bryson 2004).

In recognition of this, Trowler (1997) summed up these daunting academic conditions with the term ‘Robbins Trap’, in which academics felt powerless, undervalued, dispirited, and demoralised (Trowler 1997). These phenomena have affected academics around the world as well.

- Diminishing autonomy

Diminishing autonomy is the theme replete in most literature when addressing the implications of market principles for academic work. This is due to the fact that autonomy is the heart of higher education institutions (McInnis, Anwyl et al. 1995). It specially characterises scholar communities which are guided and driven by specific ethical codes of conduct, produced by themselves. Autonomy and academic freedom of higher education date back to the medieval governance of universities, where universities were granted full privilege to run and govern
themselves, without external forces and controls, particularly from the church (McNay 1995). This concept continued to be sustained by Wilhelm von Humboldt, the founder of the University of Berlin, 200 years ago (McNay 1995, Elton 2008). Within Humboldtian autonomy and academic freedom, higher education is perceived as an autonomous institution, which has independent self-determination in defining its social and moral roles and functions, reflected in its all scholarly activities to create a better society. Within this, teaching, research, and community services have been obviously governed within ‘pure curiosity’ or ‘idle curiosity’ (Veblen 1918). This is in accordance with the Mertonian Concept\(^1\) of sociology of science (Bergquist 1992, Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008). This is to mean that the legitimacy of knowledge production can only be obtained if the ‘pure science’ is institutionalised within scientific communities insulated from other external elements. This is consistent with what Berstein (2000) called ‘inner dedication’ of academics which is drawn from the principle of ‘inwardness’, guiding scholars in search of knowledge through research (cited in Beck and Young 2005). Guided within this basic tenet, scholars pursue research in the notion of ‘for the sake of knowledge as an end not the end of knowledge’ (Delanty 1998, Bleiklie and Byrkjeflot 2002, Bleiklie and Powel 2005). This notion of knowledge search is stimulated within the ‘idle curiosity’ and ‘instinct of workmanship’ (Veblen 1918, p.7). Idle curiosity in the pursuit of science and scholarships means that knowledge is sought without any ulterior ends, without profit-making intentions that is, esoteric knowledge. Instincts of workmanship in the pursuit of scholarship endowed ‘the norms or the scheme of criteria and canons of verity, according to which the ascertained facts will be construed and connected up in a body of systematic knowledge’ (Veblen 1918, p.7)

\(^1\) It is a sociological perspective of the ethos and autonomy of sciences developed by sociologist Robert. K. Merton
In view of this, (McNay 1995) contended that the autonomy held by academics gives a source of satisfaction in their work, and allows them to be creative and reflective about ideas. However, much research conducted by scholars has exhibited the diminishing nature of academic autonomy embedded in the core activities. Diminishing autonomy can be clearly seen in the loss of disciplinary power in the pursuit of research, teaching, and scholarship - indicated by increased scrutiny of government within its external regulatory mechanisms (Harris 2005, Henkel 2005). This has been reported by empirical research carried out by Henkel (2005), Kolsaker (2008) in British universities in which departmental or disciplinary culture has lost its power (Becher 1989) in the process of selecting research agendas.

The loss of autonomy in determining research agendas has also been reported by Billot (2010) within New Zealand context. Research autonomy has also been challenged through the application of a Performance-based Research Funding scheme (PBRF). Billot’s research found that the implications of this research assessment criterion has brought about considerable impacts on the working life of academics (Billot 2010). Tensions arose between the need to maintain the existing (real) academic identity and the pressure to construct a forced (managed) new academic identity (Billot 2010, Winter 2009). These tensions have frustrated academics as they experienced many contradictions in carrying out these new roles (Billot 2010, Winter 2009).

Research has come to be seen as an activity which is most at risk, as this has been seen by government as having the most important contribution to the improved economic development of nations (Henkel 2005). As a result, the importance of any contribution of research to economic development has been formulated under utilitarian agendas which can be utilised directly by industry, business, and society. Following this, research agendas have come to be put under government control to meet the strategic development goals (Harris 2005). In the
case of the UK, as Harris showed, to achieve this goal, it is important to redefine the funding policy of research embedded in the Research Assessment Exercise (RAE). The main point of this RAE was to uphold the selectivity principle in channelling research funds to ‘centres of research excellence’ (Finlay and Gregory 1994, p. 641). Framed within the ‘strategic research’ premise, this funding regime has come to be regarded as a powerful agent in determining the success of research agendas proposed by researchers to generate income for their institutions (Harris 2005, Henkel 2005). As research agendas were embodied within the utilitarian importance, knowledge production was then changed to more practical or utilitarian ends to meet the demands of the market (Henkel 2005). The argument put forward by Gibbons, Nowotny et al. (1994) about the mode of knowledge production of mode 2 has been widely accepted and has superseded the mode of knowledge production of mode 1 which is a discipline-based mode.

- Intensifying workloads and overloads

Changing roles and augmenting pressures on academics in teaching and research have led to the increased workloads academics have to carry out (Currie, Harris et al. 2000, Tight 2010). But this is not all, while on one side academics are required to play multiple roles, on the other side, more demands have been imposed on academics to document and justify their activities; fill in forms and be subject to monitoring; evaluation; and assessment (Currie, Harris et al. 2000, Tight 2010). One of the manifest side-effects of this conduct has been the increased length of hours spent by academics to fulfil their commitments - which brought academics into laborious working conditions - leading them to be proletarianised by a ‘greedy institution’ (Wilson 1991, Ramsden 1998, Currie, Harris et al. 2000). Research conducted by Soliman and Soliman (1997), Bryson (2004), and Tight (2010) in the UK; Currie and Eveline (2010), and Currie, Harris et al. (2000) in Australia; and Paewai, Meyer et al. (2007) in New Zealand has
all indicated that intensification of academic workloads persists. This practice is not without a risk. The danger is that putting too much work on academics will impact upon their loss of creativity. This has been pointed out by Currie, Harris et al. (2007, p.271), who argued that ‘autonomy is undermined and academics experience loss of older internal rhythm which allowed them to be creative and reflective about ideas’.

Many academics reported that they have to commit to multiple roles which have created role conflicts, as these roles have to be conducted amidst the existing abundant academic roles and responsibilities for their teaching activities (Billot 2010, Winter 2009). Ironically, in the pressure to intensify research while teaching at the same time, academics are not provided with support by the institutions (Billot 2010). For example, there was a lack of the conditions provided prior to the changing roles of academics. Academics lacked funding as well to conduct their community services, for instance funding for seminars. Billot (2010) further reported that the fragmentation in teaching and research, and the greater priority given to research than to teaching has led academics to prioritise research. As a consequence, the dichotomy between those active as researchers and those not active is apparent, contributing to the situation of reduced self-esteem for those who are not active researchers (Billot 2010).

The changing roles and the increasing pressures on academic work, particularly with increased administrative tasks have created tensions in terms of managing and allocating time spent for doing the traditional activities of research and teaching. These issues have also been highlighted in much of the literature. Research carried out by Bryson (2004) in UK universities, for instance, reported that academics were faced with difficult situations, where they found it difficult to balance their time between research, teaching, and additional administrative-related tasks. Bryson further argued that this situation has contributed to the low level of job satisfaction academics have with their working conditions. This empirical
research agrees with the results demonstrated by Mapasela and Hay (2006), who undertook research in South African universities. Their research showed that while academics supported and appreciated the transformation occurring in their institutions, they demonstrated their concerns too on having their roles changed. In similar fashion, Mok (2003), who undertook research in Hong Kong, Taiwan, and Mainland China, has likewise demonstrated this phenomenon. The consequence of this condition has been further examined by Trowler (1998). He revealed that academic workload intensification impacted on academics’ life degradation. In his ethnographic study conducted in one university in the USA, focusing on the impacts of the implementation of credit framework system, it was revealed that many academics reported that their primary roles and responsibilities in teaching and research had been distracted and they could no longer focus.

- Deteriorating salary and job satisfaction

Ironically, the workload intensifications have not been accompanied by any increase in the salary, or consideration of recognition and reward. These three elements (salary, recognition, and rewards) together, make up the extrinsic motivations and the bases from which academics construct their identity, contributing to the extent to which academics feel satisfied and dissatisfied with their jobs (Oshagbemi 2000). Nonetheless, much empirical research reported that academics do not pursue their occupational satisfaction on the basis of external motivations, but largely on the basis of intrinsic motivations, such as being knowledgeable and being committed to teaching.

The work of Oshagbemi (1996, 2000) provided evidence as well that academics did not always relate their job satisfaction to external motivation such as salary and other economic incentives, rather most of them were driven by intrinsic motivations to perform their work. A case study conducted by Houston, Meyer et al. (2006) in a UK university context further
supported this evidence. In their study, it was revealed that the intrinsic motivators such as flexibility and autonomy are elements that attracted respondents to pursue university careers – whilst incentives related to salary and other rewards were solely viewed as the forms of appreciation for their dedication. This situation reflects that academics have experienced a hybrid condition between managed and imagined identities (Kolsaker 2008). Another research study carried out by McInnis, Anwyl et al. (1995) in an Australian context, supported that the satisfaction and motivation of academics towards their working conditions are important factors in the implementation of policy imperatives related to accountability.

- Hybridity between existing identities and newly prescribed identities

The hybrid condition of academic work was shown in research conducted by Kolsaker (2008) and Winter (2009). Their research demonstrated how managerial modes and professionalism can intermingle in the same sphere, supported by the pragmatic behaviour of academics manifested in the strategy deployed by academics in their workplace to mitigate the schism between their managed and imagined identities (Kolsaker 2008, Winter 2009). In this way, academics can still have a niche or a space to craft their identity and autonomy. Kolsaker and Winter are not alone, Henkel (2000) corroborated their findings. In her attempt to examine the impact of the State’s simultaneous pressure on teaching, research, and publication, Henkel found that in the midst of this increased pressure, academics can still manage to have spaces to retain their imagined identity. In this way, the old and new academics identity can sit side by side in their work. This issue has been addressed by Delanty (1998) as the process of the hybridisation of higher education institutions. The process was identified by Rhoades (1997) as the process of making academics into ‘managed professionals’.

The issue of hybridisation as explained above has highlighted the role of individual agency in enriching the creation of academic identity. The work of Jawitz (2009) and Clegg (2008b)
confirmed this reality. Jawitz’s study provided evidence of how individual agency in one department of a university contributed to the formation of academic identity. This has been exemplified in the trajectories of personal choices of career diverging in division of labour represented in the three communities of practices (COP).

If Jawitz presented the ontology or spectrum of academic identity formation in a local context (department) and the tension it brought, Clegg (2008b) on the other hand, proffered another spectrum of the construction of academic identity and tension, encountered through aspects of class, family, and gender, amidst the pressure of performativity imposed upon academic work, which has created a fragmented view between teaching and research. In her study, Clegg tried to analyse how individual values brought by respondents into their academic lives made important contributions to the formation of their academic identity in addition to teaching and research. In the process of identity formation in the sites where her research was carried out, it this proved that the state of hybridisation did take place. It seemed that the past traditional values held by academics can go hand in hand with their new prescribed values stemming from the enactment of government policy, performativity in particular. Evidence from her study demonstrated that under high pressure of performativity, academics can still have space to play out their traditional values of ‘principled autonomy’, thus creating a hybrid condition.

The ‘principled autonomy’ through which academics legitimate and construct their identity has been performed as well by academics to come to term with the impact of performativity upon their work. This issue has been examined by Archer (2008). Her research revealed that the process of ‘becoming’ and ‘unbecoming’ academics was closely associated with the ‘authenticity’ and ‘inauthenticity’ of what it meant to be academics. Framed within these notions, she continued to conceptualise what it meant to be academic for younger academics in British universities. From interviews held with some younger academics, she found that
performativity, particularly relating to something she called ‘producing the right products’,
enveloped in the research and publication portfolio has impacted on the stability and insecurity
of academic career and identity. This sort of pressure in research and publication subsequently
dismantled their true feeling of being academics, and has led them to the feeling of
inauthenticity; of being less legitimate as academics.
However, indeed, these academics were still able to legitimate themselves as ‘becoming’
academics from what Clegg (2008b) called a ‘principled personal project’. To this extent,
academics in Archer’s study established their personal ways of being authentic and being
successful by referring to intrinsic motivations in doing their academic work, for example
through improving skills and broadening knowledge to support their teaching activities. What
can be concluded from her research is that the role of individuals’ values (class, gender, and
family) should also be taken into account when thinking about the construction of identity in
academic settings, in addition to disciplines, professions, institutions, and external
environments.

- The creation of command and control (principal-agent line ) management

The impact of New Public Management is not only restricted within the construction and
changing identity of academics, but it has affected and has shifted the internal governance of
higher education institutions as well. This can be seen from the powerful role of management
in controlling academics, which has replaced the role of collegial, peer-governance. This has
given rise to the emergence of principal-agent line management refer to chapter 7 which is
very much the type of management proposed by neoliberal governmentality (Foucault 1982,
Olssen and Peters 2005). Within this conduct, the management line has a wider capacity to
impose pressure upon academics to increase their productivity to meet the externally
predetermined objectives. This conduct has obviously spawned much debate from academics,
as many of them believed that this has been a form of distrust in their autonomy and professionalism.

University autonomy and academic freedom are not only reflected in the pursuit of research and scholarships, but also reflected in its self-governance. A university runs its business on the basis of collegiality, trust, autonomy, and peer-regulation premises (Roberts and Donahue 2000, Olssen and Peters 2005). The ideology of NPM, therefore, which emphasises the control mechanism and assessment of performance, runs counter to the professionalism of academics (Roberts and Donahue 2000, Olssen and Peters 2005, Lorenz 2012). Therefore, in a strong and an explicit tone, Lorenz (2012, p.599) echoed the supposition: ‘If you are so smart why are you under surveillance’?

The tendency of studies undertaken by scholars as indicated by some of the research literature above has been predominantly dominated by the view of higher education institutions as closed systems separated from their external environment. This premise is carefully built upon the indications of the priority given to the internal dynamics of academic communities in constructing their identity and practising their activities, which are heavily dependent on the power of disciplinary culture as the main academic identity (Becher 1989).

The power of discipline, then, was regarded as the main source of academic identity of the whole faculty in institutions. Departments likewise, served as a nexus that linked discipline and institutions. Referring to this, therefore, research activities were mainly driven from the curiosity of researchers towards issues arising from their disciplines or what Becher called ‘pure-research based’, free from external interference to determine their research agendas. However, what is now taking place in almost all universities, particularly in Western contexts, has been distorted. The roles of departments as bases for academic identity have been lost, and their roles have been taken over by the institutions. Scholarly activities, such as teaching and
research have been fragmented and are no longer seen as one entity which makes up the identity of academics. Research agendas have been directed to market-driven principles to meet the demand for economic competitiveness of nations in the increasing economisation of higher education institutions. Consequently, elitism or the ivory tower notion, which has long guided scholarly activities, has been challenged or sometimes diminished in this permeable and transgressive environment (Henkel 2007).

- Segmentation of research and teaching

Teaching, research, and publication as segmented entities have been assessed through performance indicators (PIS). The application of PIS has impacted on the increased pressure for academics to carry out their teaching and research activities. Research conducted by Taylor (2001b) showed that Australian academics have suffered from the increased pressure to perform their research and teaching on the basis of the predetermined performance indicators, leading to changes in their approaches to doing these activities. Accordingly, many academics have sought other techniques to come to terms with this pressurised environment, which is sometimes at the expense of teaching as more rewards are given to research than to teaching. This finding is supported by Nixon (1996) who conducted research in two universities in the UK, an Old and a New one. His finding confirmed that ‘Excellence in teaching is taken for granted, rarely acknowledged and even more rarely rewarded’ (Nixon 1996, p.14).

Taylor (2001a), based on her empirical study, argued that in order to obtain credible performance indicators, it would be useful to engage academics to determine what elements may appropriately be included and used to measure their performance in teaching and research. Her research revealed that the PIS used by the Australian Government were perceived as having limitations, as they failed to cover the basic essence and far-reaching aspects of academic work. The respondents in her study raised several critiques which were
laid on several issues, such as the unbalanced nature of incentives and rewards given to teaching compared with research; the greater emphasis on quantitative than qualitative; and overlooking the nature of different disciplinary cultures between sciences and humanities disciplines. Academics still benefited, however, from the introduction of PIS on their scholarly activities in that they could enhance the level of certainty and the legitimacy of their work moderated by the increased accountability.

The danger to academics’ working conditions of segmenting and prioritising research over teaching was reported by Nixon (1996), Taylor (2001a), and Doring (2002). Taylor (2001a) argued that such conduct may lead academics to prioritise their research activities and pay little attention to their teaching activities. This is because research outcomes are more acknowledged and more rewarded than teaching. The unbalanced reward system research and teaching has been identified likewise by Doring (2002) who argued that ‘the reward structures in universities continue to give more credit for published research and external recognition than to teaching and contributions to internal administration’ (p.142).

The lower importance of teaching over research has been evident too in the domain of career promotion. Nixon (1996) asserted that teaching constitutes one of the important and primary scholar activities of academics, whose significance in the trajectories of career promotion both in the Old and New universities. Career promotion in these universities has mainly been based upon the research and administrative responsibilities (Nixon 1996). The greater weight given to research rather than to teaching can endanger the existence of any systematic notion of a research tradition which has long guided academic work (Nixon 1996).

Nevertheless, Fox (1983) asserted that research and publication are two important aspects in the life of scientists as well. Publication of research acts as a means of social process in the world of scientists. Publication is a way for them to communicate and exchange their ideas
and findings. It uses media to obtain recognition regarding the verification of the reliability of information they provide, to gain a feeling of being important people for having been able to contribute valuable and empirical knowledge, and to acquire critical feedback on their work. In addition to that, through publication, scientists can enjoy the sense of professional recognition and satisfaction; esteem; promotion; advancement; and funding for their incoming research (Fox 1983). Further, publication can give an indication of productivity in the work of scientists in the sense that the work can become ‘a work’ if it is in the form of a conventional, physical (published) by which it ‘can be received, assessed, and acknowledged by the scientific community’ (Fox 1983, p. 285).

- The impact on gender

The implication of market principles in scholarly activities of academics has impacted too on gender, and it triggers the creation of gendered identity (Deem 2003) and gendered effect (Barret and Barret 2010). Taken together, these have been seen as by-products of increased accountability, practised in masculine-dominated organisations, including higher education institutions. The gender issue has been identified as one factor that affected the careers of women in academia (Barret and Barret 2010, Currie and Eveline 2010). Research conducted by Deem (2003) in UK universities aiming at exploring the perceptions and experiences of women-managers and male-managers towards the implementation of new managerialism in their institutions, revealed that women’s roles of motherhood have really affected their career as opposed to the roles of fatherhood. Both men and women have undergone the same pressures and constraints towards workloads intensification, deprofessionalisation, rationalisation of work, audit culture and accountability, but women have really been affected more than men, as women had to commit to dual responsibilities. The brunt of these roles has been mostly imposed upon women with dependent children. This is also supported by Thomas
and Davies (2005b) and Currie and Eveline (2010) concerning the gendered identity and
gendered effect (Barret and Barret 2010) of femininity and masculinity in the workplace
during the implementation of NPM.

Similarly, Adler and Israeli (1994) cogently contended that there has been a predilection of
universities around the world to put more weight on the male characteristics as a basis for the
determination of success in career, academic achievement, and intellectual work. In this way,
the gendered nature of the division of labour has very much impacted upon women in terms of
the conflicting time of their sacrifice for their careers, leisure time, and their families. A
research study on the gendered nature of universities during the increased accountability
resulting from the rise of economy education in Australian universities, carried out by Currie
(1996), and Currie, Harris et al. (2000), revealed that women were in a struggle to devote their
time to both careers and families. Within this situation, according to Currie (1996) and Currie,
Harris et al.(2000), academic women were increasingly devoured by their greedy institutions
through the multiple roles and responsibilities that they must take on, as Currie, Harris et al.
pointed out:

In much the same way as mothers who cannot love enough, cannot give enough to
their families, academics cannot give enough to their teaching and research. There
are always students who need more help. There are always more books and
articles to read. There is always more research that needs to be published. There
are always ideas that need to be researched. (2000, p.271)

The review of the literature above identifies a schism in academic identity as it interacts with
its institutions and external environment. The shared values, expertise, and standards primarily
bounded within disciplinary culture (territory) as a way of knowing (Becher 1989) and
constituting the main source of academic identity have been displaced by an obligation of
shared tasks (Becher 1989). The disciplinary culture as a way of knowing has distinct research
styles and characteristics which Becher (1981) divided into ‘Rural’ (Soft-pure science) and
‘Urban’ (Hard-pure science) research. Rural research is characterised by research that requires holistic description, analysis, explanation and understanding of phenomena being studied, while urban research is research which examines, analyses, and understands phenomena separately (Becher 1981).

The former constitutes the principle driving academic communities in going about their scholarly activities in teaching, research, and scholarships free from external interference. Referring to the issue of the shifting academic identity into more corporate-like principles as described above has been contested by (Marginson 2000). He argued such conduct has not been good to be applied in higher education institutions. He further argued that ‘the maintenance—and in some universities the restoration—of academic control over teaching and learning, within institutionally determined priorities, is crucial to the long-term health of universities’ (cited in Henkel 2007, p. 97). Similarly, academic control over the evolution of scholarship and research, again within broad institutional priorities, is vital to the future (Dearlove 1995, Marginson 2000, Scott, Coates et al. 2008).

However, Marginson (2000), Scott, Coates et al. (2008) and Dearlove (1997) tended to overlook the environment in which academic communities reside and interact. Academic communities are shaped by three interrelated elements (individual, disciplinary, and institutions) which form academic identity as a whole. However, academic communities do not only interact within their institutional boundaries, there lies an external environment in which these communities are embedded (Kogan 2000, Henkel 2005). In this changing era characterised by the social and economic transformation triggered by the advent of information technology, academics working in universities could no longer maintain their status as exclusive institutions or as a closed system. They have to be able to adapt themselves with this changing environment, making the most of technology to enhance their
productivities in teaching, research, scholarship and their management system in order to provide quality service for the public good, to survive and not to be stranded in a moribund state (Altbach 2004, Bates 2010).

2.6. Resistance

In organisation theory, research on resistance has developed from the contradictory functionalist and interpretive studies (Hollander and Einwohner 2004). The resistance per se has become an elusive concept to define within these two studies which have been differently influenced by the two theoretical frameworks. The functionalists were born out of the Marxist Labour Process Theory which views resistance as resulting from the domination of capitalist economics of the reproduction process. Referring to this, resistance is perceived as an oppositional action against the structural class of the reproduction process. In the second framework, interpretive proponents, the economy is not the factor contributing to the emergence of resistance, but simply the awareness of the colonisation of subjectivity (Foucault 1982).

Thomas and Davies (2005b) argued that for the purpose of understanding, explaining, and formulating resistance exhibited by academics it would be immensely important to give a clarification on the different forms, extent, and nature of resistance. This premise is very much influenced by the growing interest in a new direction in theory to study what counts as resistance and what resistance counts (Thomas and Davies 2005b). In understanding what counts as resistance, Labour Process theory has been the influential bearings used by many scholars to conceptualise resistance. Within this theory, resistance is conceptualised as ‘collective, conscious, and organised responses of blue collar male (or genderless) workers, in factory settings’ (Thomas and Davies 2005a, p. 685). So these forms of responses are sometimes manifested in the manifest collective actions such as strikes and sit downs. This
conceptualisation of resistance is seen simply as an act of resisting hegemonic power imposed upon subordinated or powerless people. This premise has been drawn on from the influence of the theory of ‘Power and Subjects’ proffered by Foucault (1982). In addition to Foucault’s theory of Power and Subject, resistance can also be understood through ‘Hegemony and Domination’ proferred by Gramsci (1971). In this theory, resistance is assumed to be political awareness towards individuals’ current circumstances due to the rise and the development of ‘good sense’ out of ‘common sense’ Gramsci (1971) to allow them to critique, demystify and act against hegemonic systems of power. ‘Common sense’ and ‘good sense’ developed out of the framework of philosophy of praxis by Gramsci is to denote the category of men in viewing their world. Common sense posited the ‘incoherent set of generally held assumptions and beliefs common to any society, while good sense is the philosophy of criticism and the superseding of religion and common sense. It is with and in this ‘good sense’ domain that men are able to diagnose and identify their current condition in the system of hegemonic power relations, the struggle against the objectivising of subjects (Gramsci 1971).

The work of Foucault on the notions of Power and Subject has become the major influence and foundations for other scholars whose interest is in developing resistance from the viewpoint of subjectivity of powerless subordinated groups and micro-political resistance. Scott (1986) is a scholar who laid a strong foundation to proliferate the study of quotidian resistance known as infrapolitics resistance. Scott (1986) divided the forms of resistance shown by the subordinated groups in dealing and interacting with the powerful groups into ‘public transcript’ and ‘hidden transcript’. Public transcripts are ‘the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate’ (p. 2). These public transcripts are characterised by the use of language, custom, and behaviour. Hidden transcripts are ‘discourse that takes place off-stage beyond direct observation by the power holders’ (p.4) which features the use of languages, jokes, and criticism.
Scott (1990) argued that individuals can demonstrate their compliance, when it is observed at the public level within the surveillance of power holders. This situation can trap individuals in their false consciousness, as he argued that ‘slaves in the relative safety of their quarters can speak the words of anger, revenge, self-assertion that they must normally choke back when in the presence of the masters and mistresses’ (p. 18). What is evident from this argument is that individuals have always found ways to survive in a constraining situation, which according to him usually takes place secretly at the backyard of private domains (Murphy 1998). So, public discourse is not only the means to understand individuals’ way of surviving but also to understand their private discourse of survival (Murphy 1998).

Other widening and extending of Scott’s infrapolitics resistance has come to the fore of organisational studies, which focus on the micro-politic which emphasises its focus of resistance on the individual and subjective level (Thomas and Davies 2005a), and Decaf strategy (Contu 2007). In this respect, resistance is conceptualised subsequently as ‘routinised, informal and often inconspicuous forms of resistance in every day practice’ (Thomas and Davies 2005a, p. 686). In similar fashion, Scott (1990) has also borne this issue as ‘Hidden Transcript’ of the Weapon of the Weak’. This hidden transcript is a form of action that usually takes place at the back stage, behind the back of the dominant power. The transcripts are only articulated among fellow subordinates in given organisations or contexts, and serve as discursive resistance rather than as actual acts of resistance (Anderson 2008).

Resistance to policy implementation exhibited by academics has been frequently associated with the rejection of a powerless subordinated group towards a hegemonic ideology played out in the relations with power holders (Anderson 2008). Its forms have come into existence in obvious manifested in frontal and direct reaction – a more actual act resistance and subtle ways – a more discursive resistance manifested in everyday talk or in a ‘hidden transcript’ as
called by Scott (1990). The growing move towards the latter has increased its popularity that captures the attention of many scholars. Gina Anderson (2008) is one of the scholars who deployed this everyday form of resistance in her research to find out the response of Australian academics toward the implementation of managerialism in their institutions. Utilising the concept developed by Scott and Foucault, she elaborated how Australian academics exhibited a combined form of resistance of hidden and public transcript. The former were articulated within invisible, disguised, and under the surface resistance through their protests, critiques, refusal, avoidance, and compliance articulated among themselves by which these were sometimes made public as well as manifested in the protests by writing books, direct opposition to the head of their institutions and so on. The results of her study revealed that in dealing and coping with policy trespassing their moral values or ideology, Australian academics in her study applied what Scott (1990) depicted as ‘the weapon of the Weak’ through the guerrilla tactics of the people’ (de Certau 1988) used to evade and to accommodate managerial demands. In this practice, these academics demonstrated the patterns of responses as denoted by Scott (1990) in behaviours of *feigned ignorance, footdragging, forgetting, avoidance, compliance that was partial, reluctant or superficial* (Anderson 2008).

Thomas and Davies conceptualised resistance as ‘a constant process of adaptation, subversion and reinscription of dominant discourse which is stimulated by contradictions, weaknesses and gaps between alternative subject positions’ (Thomas and Davies, 2005a, p. 686). On the other hand, Fleming and Sewell (2002) utilising the work of Edward et al. (1995) argued that resistance as an oppositional act may have two functions, that is to say ‘(1) it allows employees to express dissatisfaction and discontent, and (2) it enabled them to create the space to exercise autonomy - no matter how limited…’(p. 862).
The literature sought to examine the implementation of New Public management upon academic work and their institutions have reported that many academics have resisted it reflected in their everyday forms of resistance conceptualised as hidden transcripts of weapons of the weak (Thomas and Davies 2005a, 2005b, Anderson 2008, Page 2011) which are performed and circulated among their peers at the backstage beyond direct observation of power holders. By studying academics’ resistance in the context of universities, I was prompted to perceive that universities, as other organisations, are sites where power is exercised over conflicting interests.

2.7. Conclusion

The management and the governance of Indonesian higher education, was previously a product of traditional Weberian bureaucracy garnished with Indonesian traditional administration, the so-called Patrimonial system - a traditional form of administration (Weber 1978). Within the traditional Weberian bureaucracy, the cult of management of universities had been characterised by clear hierarchical structures, pre-defined job descriptions, detailed rules and regulations, and impersonal relationships. Following the tenets of Weberian bureaucracy, for the most part, subsequently, the entire managements of universities were centrally controlled and regulated by the then ruling government (New Order Regime). In the meantime, patrimonial values markedly featured with their exploiting power in the absence of clear separation between what has to be known as ‘private’ and ‘public’ spheres, were infused into the extant traditional Weberian bureaucracy. This infusion was at the expense of higher education autonomy and academic freedom. This was undertaken by restraining and confining academics in the political whirlpool to serve the interests of the ruling regime in order to maintain its control. The process of what has come to be known as ‘the politicisation’ of higher education which emerged as an aftermath of the past increased, continuous critical and active actions launched by university communities to criticise government policies - has, in
many respects, resulted in the reordering of traditional social, moral functions and roles of universities – from serving public good to political functions and roles of serving the interest of the ruling elites to ensure their control.

Entering a democratic era, unfolding changes to universities’ management to keep pace with an external rapidly changing and volatile environment have surfaced. Under a new president, the introduction of neoliberal agendas in higher education began to take place. Through the Higher Education Act (1999), neoliberal agendas had been manifested in the endowment of full campus autonomy. At its initial implementation, it was only endowed to a limited number of universities in Java, acting as a pilot project. Under full campus autonomy, selected universities were endowed the status of *State-owned legal institutions* (BHMN) to fully run and manage their institutions in the absence of the State, including, amongst others, the imposition of tuition fees.

The implementation of this autonomy, however, has stirred much debate in public spheres. As a consequence, two differing factions, of those rejected and those supported emerged. Due to the increased tensions and objection from the public, the implementation of full campus autonomy was banned by the Supreme Court. The revision of the Higher Education Act (1999) was put forward, and the Higher education Act (2012) was born. This newly enacted Act has placed the State as a central actor to ensure, arrange, and take responsibility for the provision of higher education. However, this Act has not assuaged public anxiety, due to the fact that there are still neoliberal agendas hidden in it.

Within this 2012’s Higher Education Act, universities in Indonesia have been governed within New Public Management with the injection of business-like models. Whilst the governance of higher education has been highlighted within New Public Management alongside its business-like models, it is evidently clear that the State still plays its primary role to steer higher education with its rules and regulations. The latter has been closely related to
the principles of the Neo-Weberian state. Through New Public Management and the Neo-Weberian state, higher education management has been decentralised from the hands of universities themselves, and at the same time has been centralised into the hands of government.

With Neo-Weberian principles, governments act as designers and facilitators to rebuild and help resolve problems arising from external threats, brought by globalisation and the knowledge-economy society. To this extent, the modernisation of bureaucracy is implemented by keeping hold of and at the same time modifying traditional Weberian tenets. This can be implemented through the reorientation of its emphasis from compliance with rules or bureaucracy to external/outward orientation (Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008). Further, within Neo-Weberian tenets, the legitimacy and strong hands of government as designers to steer higher education have been further reaffirmed, and this has placed higher education under the control of government.

However, within the precepts of New Public Management with its corporate-like principles, the governance of the higher education system has lent itself to rational scientific management. This can be clearly indentified in the increased audit culture of accountability and performance indicators to measure Indonesian academic productivities. To this extent, the performance and productivities of lecturers have been conceptualised in measurable outputs and performative criteria, to meet the external objectives set by government.

Taken together, these practices have immensely impacted on the nature of academic work and professional identity. More pressures to carry out the three cores of scholarly activities to satisfy stakeholders are apparently forced upon academics. As a consequence, this has contributed to the deterioration of workplace quality, which can be seen from workload intensification; deterioration of autonomy and academic freedom; erosion of trust; and
deterioration of occupational satisfaction. This deteriorating situation has, indeed, spurred rejection from academics which takes in different forms of rejection - from frontal to back-stage forms of resistance.

The deterioration of autonomy was felt by academics through the existence of a command and control mechanism imposed upon them complemented with the sanction and reward mechanisms. In this way, academics are subject to report their activities and are subject to be assessed, monitored, and evaluated by government. Being managed in this way, subsequently, has made some academics feel that they are being dictated too by government to do what they should do, leading to the stultifying of the sense of creativity; the assassinating of their characters; and of being treated like little children.

This sort of process of assessment has augmented the workload of academics and has reoriented the nature of their scholarly work into administrative-related jobs. This practice has subsequently distracted most academics to concentrate on doing their core work in research, teaching, and community services. This situation has resulted in an array of deteriorating and daunting workplaces, experienced by academics in light of their diminishing professional satisfaction; the deteriorating trust held by academics; constraining creativity; enhancing the principal-agent line of management; and reorienting professional identity. With regard to this, Indonesian academics have undergone some paradoxical realities between their existing managed identity and their new prescribed economic identities.

The means to measure academics’ productivity in research, teaching, and community services are framed within performative criteria in which performance indicators are utilised. Through performance indicators, the work of academics has been altered to so-called ex-post accountability, which emphasises the measurable outcomes, rather than the process (ex-ante). This ex-post accountability is visible in the audit culture carried out in performativity
(performance indicators), monitoring, and surveillance - imposed upon three functions of higher education (teaching, research, and community services). Governed within this conduct, academics were polarised in two differing factions. Those who disagreed argued that this type of accountability disregardsing the humane sides of learning, teaching, and scientific quest *per se*. There are more valuable matters than just numbers in assessing the quality of teaching and research which have been obviously neglected by government, such as the time devoted by academics to preparing material for teaching, and the time devoted to enhancing and broadening their knowledge.

With respect to research, its productivity is measured against the number of publications published in international journals, and is used as incentives for promotion and for generating research funding. Consequently, the fragmentation in research and teaching is taking place, where originally, teaching and research were two inseparable core activities of academic communities. There has been a tendency as well to direct and transform lecturers’ roles into a utilitarian perspective, the roles requiring lecturers to have direct economic usefulness to society.

For others, the existence of such accountability is needed to give a strong sense of credibility to the work of academics to avoid fraud and misdeed. This is because the relationship between academics as agents and government as principals is played out impersonally. In this way, therefore, government does not have full capacity to monitor and survey the role and performance of academics. Therefore, the presence of accountability through a set of measurements imposed by State to help design the process of change is apparently needed.

The presence of the State as designer in the process of change has impacted on the models of policy implementation. A blended model of top-down and bottom-up approaches being implemented between central government and universities is in place. From the top-down
model all policies including rules and procedures pertaining to academic work are formulated and distributed from the actors at the centre down to ground level. To this extent, the vital role of determining the success of a policy enactment, which has been assumed to occur at the interaction between implementing agency and the policy, has been overlooked.

In examining the Indonesian higher education context, the ideas, theories, and concepts explored in this literature review are of acute importance. In chapter 4, a description of the nature of changes experienced within Indonesian higher education system is provided, highlighting the neoliberalism agenda and its derivative policy of New Public Management along with its techniques of control (accountability and performance indicators); the Neo-Weberian State model; neoliberal governmentality; performativity; resistance; academic identity; policy implementation and the economisation of higher education. These are the ideas, particularly important both theoretically and practically, to understand the changes in higher education in Indonesia.

As can be seen from the literature review, these issues are prevalent and are affecting academics worldwide. The same situations are happening in Indonesian higher education systems and to Indonesian academics. Thus, the issue of reforms in higher education, driven by neoliberal market principles with their prominent policy of New Public Management – which is in concertive use with the Neo-Weberian State with its State legitimacy and capacity - has become an oxymoron. Central to this point is the debatable issue pertaining to the role of multiple actors in inter-organisations involved in the implementation of the policy enacted during the reform process. This issue then leads to the web of complicated relationships played out amidst their disanalogous interests, particularly between the role the State should play in civil society arrangements. This applies too with higher education, where the nature of their culture of autonomy and academic freedom reflected upon collegial, peer-regulated, and
trust-guided practices has to a large extent collided with or impinged on the control mechanism set by government.

However, on the other side, there are certain groups of academics in higher education who do believe in the important involvement of the State to regulate and guide their activities, particularly those from non-democratic system contexts. Therefore, to fill the gap between these contradictory views, it would be wise to put policy into effect based on the local contexts in which policy dominates. This review of the literature provides indications that research on higher education reforms has signalled an important research focus.
CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

THE METHODOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES

Locating the methodology and research design

3.1. Introduction

‘How can an inquirer persuade his or her audiences that the research findings of an inquiry are worth paying attention to?’ (Lincoln and Guba, 1985, p. 290)

The question posed by Lincoln and Guba (1985) above inspired me to write my methodology chapter, and accordingly acted as my point of departure to demonstrate the quality of my research which was highlighted in the research process in terms of the tying of specific theories, and paradigms (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, Maxwell 2005, Creswell 2008).

In elaborating the methodological perspectives which will inform and guide my research, I was basically influenced by the four elements of research process proffered by Crotty (1998). Those elements are ‘epistemology’, ‘theoretical perspective’ (philosophical stance or ontology), ‘methodology’, and ‘method’. In this way, it was important to provide a clear process (research process) in how I chose the philosophical stance or paradigm that informed the choice of methodology and method (how I proceeded with research procedures). Arguably, this process of research, indeed, is assumed to have impacts on the strength of research designs which at the end contribute to the production of legitimate knowledge - thus leading to a contribution to related literature (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, Crotty 1998, Creswell 2008).

To be specific, the purpose to elucidate this process is to show some phases of process in carrying out the research to exhibit my inquiry results are worth paying attention to. Those phases encompassed selecting the analytic devices to analyse qualitative data; factors influencing me in the course of selecting the appropriate epistemology, theoretical perspective, methodology, and method; and how these fours interwoven elements of research process
shaped my ways in analysing the data. To strengthen the trustworthiness of the chosen methodology and method, previous empirical research drawn from the relevant literature was presented along with an audit trail pertinent to the transparency and credibility of the research process (Tracy 2010).

To do so, this chapter is divided into six sections. The first section is concerned with the research process on choosing the appropriate interrelated methodology, method, theoretical perspective, and epistemology. In this way, an intertwined hierarchical relationship of these four elements was elaborated to demonstrate a clear picture of how they inform one another, and the reasons to choose each of the chosen elements. The second section is referred to the methodology which describes the plans and actions of this research and the guiding philosophical stance embedded in it. The third section deals with procedures and techniques to carry out the research. Section two and three also serve as the ‘audit trail’ as they referred to the transparency and credibility of the research process. In this way, all processes which had been carried out, started with the data collection, data analysis, and data reporting process are explained in details. By so doing, the issues pertinent to subjectivity or bias, reliability and validity of my research can be evidently addressed and overcome. The fourth deals with the role of theory, and the fifth and the sixth sections proceed with the ethical consideration and the issues of reliability and validity respectively.

3.2. The research process

There are many styles or variants in qualitative research, such as survey, case study, ethnography, and experiment (Lincoln and Guba 1985, Robson 1993, Silverman 2011). These styles of research have their own purposes, foci, paradigms, and approaches in studying phenomena (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). Due to the nature of these styles, scholars have proposed ways in planning and executing qualitative study. Cohen, Manion et al. (2011),
Maxwell (2008) and Denzin and Lincoln (1998) argued that defining the specific purpose of research constitutes the ground to begin to design qualitative research.

Bearing this in mind, as a starting point, I began my research process by determining the research purpose and intention to bridge to appropriately select the sort of methodology and method I embarked on. The purpose of my research is to provide a rich description, explanation, and understanding of the experiences, and actions of academics in their subjectivity or in their own context or through the ‘emic’ perspective - and the meanings they gave to the government-driven change processes or reforms on higher education in Indonesia - embodied in the effectuation of the Higher Education Act 2012. Such reforms have been organised within the notion of the *economisation* of higher education in the economy and knowledge society brought forth by the advent of Neoliberalism. The agenda of neoliberalism is implicitly identified in the Higher Education Act 2012. The reforms have just gone into effect recently (2012) in all universities across Indonesia and have been assumed to be a contemporary phenomenon occurring in Indonesian university contexts. Referring to this supposition, I decided to choose a case study as the methodology (Stake 1995, Bassey 1999, Yin 2009). Then, from the chosen methodology, I planned what instruments I used to collect data to answer the research questions (these were provided in the introduction chapter under the section of ‘research questions’).

In view of the research questions, it can be concluded that they are the ‘how’ questions which explicitly suited to explore in qualititative research, rather than quantitative research (Merriam 1998, Yin 2009). There are main methods for data collection in naturalistic inquiry which fit with this type of question, they are participant observations, interviews and conversations, documents and field notes, accounts, and notes and memos (Hammersley and Atkinson 1983,
Robson 1993, Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). For my research, I selected to apply three instruments for collecting data, such as interviews, observations, and document analysis.

So far, I have identified the methodology and method to employ. However, choosing the methodology and the method for my research is not merely an action of aligning them with research questions, rather it transcends the boundary of my assumption about the reality I brought into my research. It is the way we look at our world and make sense of it (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, Crotty 1998). This has something to do with the philosophical stance that lies behind this chosen methodology, used for the justification of the chosen methodology. Crotty (1998) called ‘Theoretical Perspectives’ or ‘Ontology’ as called by Denzin and Lincoln (1994). The theoretical Perspectives are an assumption of ‘what human knowledge is, what it entails, and what characteristics do we believe that knowledge to have’ (p.2), while the ontology is related to the question of ‘what is the form and nature of reality and, therefore, what is there that can be known about it? (Denzin and Lincoln 1994,p. 108). The combination of the epistemology, theoretical perspectives or ontology and methodology makes up the construct of a paradigm. The paradigm is ‘a set of basic belief system (or metaphysics) that deals with ultimates or first principles’ (Denzin and Lincoln 1994,p. 107). Before providing my chosen Theoretical Perspective that informed my chosen methodology, it would be immensely useful at the outset to understand the varieties of interpretive research to know its underlying assumptions in viewing the world.

Cohen, Manion et al. (2011) provided us with two general kinds of terminology used in distinguishing between positivists and subjectivists research. The first was represented with the ‘normative’ and the latter was represented with ‘intepretive’ terminology. I will only focus on the latter in relation to my research. One important issue in understanding the interpretive school of thought is to come to know its underlying principles in viewing the world or
phenomena being investigated. In this case, interpretivists view phenomena being study as subjective to human experiences. Therefore, in order to come to understand human experiences, efforts are made to get inside their world and understand them from within (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). Therefore, knowledge or reality is not out there, but in here in the subjective experiences or minds of participants Hatch (1997a).

There are wide varieties of interpretive research, ranging from phenomenology, ethnomethodology, and symbolic interactionism (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011, Silverman 2011). These are the study of human beings experiences but they are embedded with different ideology to study lived-experience of human beings. Phenomenology for example, focuses on the description of people being studied at face value ignoring external and objective described reality (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). Ethnomethodology is the study of people methods of constructing reality in everyday life. Unlike phenomenology, this approach is very much concerned with how social realities are constructed in social interactions (Silverman 2011). The ethnomethodological approach is very much similar to the symbolic interactionism in that the social world is constructed through social interactions through the use of symbol (language) to attribute meanings to object. Through the use of language, people come to share the same meaning and understanding in their social interactions (Mead 1934, cited in Beatty 2002). In this way, the ‘I’ and ‘me’ intermingle to create common understandings in their social interactions. The ‘I’ is the personal individual within given society or organisations which he/she interacts with the ‘me’ as other individual in the same given society. The ‘I’ and the ‘me’ then develop interactions to understand each other through the use of symbol (language) attributed to objects. Thus, they can understand each other through the process of meaning making to create their culture. Symbolic interactionism is embedded in constructionism where the world or knowledge is developed and transmitted through interactive human community or through the significant of others.
Referring to this, my study which constitutes the study of lived experience of people through understanding their social world comes in the interpretivism domain which served as my theoretical perspective. This theoretical perspective is further justified with knowledge which is referred to the issue of epistemology. The Epistemology is ‘a way of understanding and explaining how we know what we know’ (Crotty 1998, p. 3). The constructivism posits the epistemology which informs the interpretivism. The constructivism believes that truth or knowledge is not separated from human beings, rather it is integrated in the social context through which knowledge is co-constructed.

Taken together, these three research elements work like this. For example, a researcher’s choice of the epistemology is the constructivism, the theoretical perspective he or she applies could be the interpretivism. The Interpretivism associates its concept with the Weber’s concept of the ‘Verstehen’ which means understanding something in its context (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, Crotty 1998). Researchers working in this theoretical perspective will study phenomena through analysing meanings participants associate with them (Denzin and Lincoln 1994). This theoretical perspective will be implicit in research questions and guide the methodology or plan of research and analysis of data. The research questions then dictate the method of data collection and analysis (Yin 2009).

To easily understand and see the relationships of these four elements of the research process in my research, and how they inform one another, are depicted in the hierarchical description as depicted in the figure 1 and 2 below:
According to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), researchers who decide to work within the vein of constructivists, they are relativist, transactional and subjectivist. The relativist stance holds an assumption that ‘there is no objective truth to be known’ (p.54) and emphasises the diversity of interpretations that can be applied to the world on the account of subjective experience of respondents. Crotty (1998) did not apply the term of ontology to his paradigm as opposed to Denzin and Lincoln (1994), rather introduced the term of theoretical perspective that is informed by and embedded in the epistemology.
3.3. The methodology

My chosen methodology is the case study. My methodology to explore the issue raised in my research is drawn from the research questions, the specific purpose of my research, and the epistemology and ontology that I adopt (constructivism and interpretivism).

The purpose of my study was to provide in-depth and rich descriptions, explorations, and understandings of the reform process in higher education systems in Indonesia resulting from the enactment of economic-driven policy (The Higher Education Act 2012) set up by Indonesian government. To explore this process deeply, the formulation of three research questions using ‘how’ and ‘what’ were put forward. These types of questions helped me both provide a descriptive and an exploratory interpretation of the phenomena being studied through social interactions, experiences, and actions of Indonesian academics and, how they gave meaning to this change process. To this extent, it required me to closely pay attention to the context in which these elements took place. In the interpretivism perspective, there appeared to be an array of methodologies that can be used to study human experiences. Amongst of these, the case study approach is deemed to be suitable to guide to establish techniques and procedures to proceed with my research, because the study of change process in Indonesian higher education poses a contemporary phenomenon and cannot be separated from its context. The case study approach is considered as an ideal approach when we want to understand holistically ‘a contemporary phenomenon (e.g., a “case”), set within its real-world context—especially when the boundaries between phenomenon and context are not clearly evident’ (Yin 2009, p. 18).

The context and phenomenon have become inseparable components in a case study. The context provides a medium to better and deeply understand the case or the contemporary phenomenon in particular (Yin 2009). The closeness of examination of these interrelated
elements in their natural settings is aimed at producing deep understandings and the appreciation of the case (s). In addition to the context itself to understand the contemporary phenomenon, there are other complex conditions embedded in determining the understanding of the cases being studied. With this caveat comes the expectation of extracting a new learning about a real-world behaviour and its meaning (Yin 2009).

In view of this caveat, my desire to get deep understandings about the contemporary phenomenon or the case about the implication of the implementation of higher education reform embodied in the enactment of the Higher Education Act 2012 can be facilitated by examining the real-world or original contexts of Indonesian higher institutions. The first step in the design process to obtain the answers for the problems raised in my research was to define what ‘the case’ is. When employing ‘the case’ or unit of analysis (Yin 2009), I was dictated by the definitional notion proffered by Yin (2012, p.6) that:

a case is ‘generally a bounded entity (a person, organisation, behavioural condition, event, or other social phenomenon but the boundary between the case and its contextual conditions—in both spatial and temporal dimensions—may be blurred, as previously noted. The case serves as the main unit of analysis in a case study.

In regards to this, I determined that the main case or unit of analysis in my research was the economically-government-driven reforms on higher education embodied in the enactment of the Higher Education Act 2012 to elevate the economic competitiveness of Indonesia. This policy imperative enactment required me to collect data from academic communities through several sources of data in the three universities to understand deeply the impacts or implications of this policy for their academic identity and their institutions. The inclusion of this practice made my case study has a nested unit (embedded subcases) within the main unit (Yin, 2009). To gain invaluable and deep understandings about the case, I examined the context in which this phenomenon took place. To do so, understanding the context about Indonesian higher education and economic current condition and development was highly
important. Considering all the facts above, I concluded that my case study was classified as
the *embedded multiple-case study*, where the boundaries between the case and its context were
blurred.

To provide a clear picture about the vagueness or opaqueness of the boundaries between the
phenomenon being studied and its context, I illustrated it in the figure 3 as depicted below.
The dashed line demonstrates the blurred boundaries between the case and its context (Yin
2009).

![Figure 3. Embedded-multiple case study source: Cosmos Corporation (cited in Yin 2009)](image)

The multiple case study is substantially important to increase the robustness of methodology
and enable the generation of theory (Miles and Huberman 1994, Yin 2009). In addition, for
my research, the multiple case study can cover the questions of ‘how’ or descriptive and
exploratory interpretations of the research findings through the comparison of cases in light of
the implementation of the policy and academics responses to this.
After defining the case or unit analysis of my research, I turned to other important factor of self-reflexivity in relation to the positionality (Louis and Barton 2002) in this research. This is important to address a potential ‘bias’ in interpreting the data resulted from my first-hand knowledge about the situation and context where my research was carried out. I carried out my research in the three state universities in three different cities in Indonesia. Two out of these three universities (The University of Mawar and Anggrek) were perfectly unknown territory to me. Accordingly, this constraining condition forced me to apply techniques in order to gain an in-depth understanding about participant thoughts and behaviour grounded in their own context or real life. This can be achieved through a prolonged immersion and close interaction into their contexts, being as a native (Geertz 1973). In this way, it is expected that the ‘emic’ interpretation of observed behaviours and thoughts can be accomplished.

This situation directly contributed as well to define my positionality (Louis 2002) as a researcher. My positionality, subsequently, is categorised as an outsider researcher ‘etic’ (Stake 1995, Salmons 2010). I, as the outsider because I was detached from them, serving as the outside onlooker who brought in questions in order to explore problems in my research questions (Salmon 2010).

In one university (Melati) which is well-known to me, my positionality as an insider researcher is basically built upon our membership as university staff. This situation may have implication on the assumption I make in the interpretation process of observed events in the institutions, even though in interpretive research is acknowledged that the subjectivity and the phenomenon being studied are intertwined and inseparable elements (Denzin and Lincoln 1994, Bryman 2012). The position as a researcher is important to conduct in a qualitative research (Louis 2002, Salmons 2010). The choice of the position of whether we are as an outsider or as an insider would affect the trustworthiness of our research, particularly related
to the problem of bias of our findings, due to the influences of our values, experiences, perceptions and meanings may intervene our interpretations in the data (Louis 2002, Salmons 2010). However, the choice of the philosophical stance may help negotiate this problem (Maxwell 2005, Creswell 2008), refer to chapter 8 on limitation of this research.

Given the aforesaid issues, therefore, the methodology that is appropriate to apply is the case study approach with interviews, observations, and document analysis as instruments to collect data. The Case study research on higher education reforms, triggered by the economisation of higher education institutions has been carried out by many scholars. Trowler (1998) for instance, used the case study to explore how academics interpreted and responded to the changing environment as a result of the government-driven policy. In investigating this issue, he applied three instruments to collect data, such as interviews, observations, and document analysis. In South African context, the case study research was likewise carried out by Mapasela and Hay (2006) in their endeavour to investigate how the changing environment affected on academics’ satisfaction. Some scholars in New Zealand, such as Houston, Meyer et al. (2006) also used the case study to examine the impacts of changed and increased workloads of academics on their identity. In a similar vein, such issue was investigated as well, using the case study put forward by Hornibrook (2012) in UK’s university contexts.

Nevertheless, nearly all these case studies were undertaken within the single case study in one particular university. Above all, almost all these were conducted in Western contexts where liberal democratic values have been solidly grounded. My case study offered a unique example of how neoliberalism-oriented reform in higher education is put into effect in a country, like Indonesia, in which the transition from the patrimonial to democratic systems is taking place.
3.4. Methods of data collection

As mentioned above, I used three instruments to collect data as a triangulation. These three instruments are useful to strengthen the validity of data obtained (particularly with construct validity issue). Therefore, I cannot rely only on the participants’ perceptions and take them as the truth evidence of their academic world.

3.4.1. Sampling procedures

Sampling procedures to choose multiple cases in this study were the concerted applications of both the premise of a ‘replication logic’ (Yin 2009), and a ‘purposeful sampling cluster case framework’ (Patton 1990). The replication logic consists of a literal and theoretical replication. The literal replication is concerned with the selection of cases from similar settings to produce similar results, while the theoretical replication is used to select cases that have different settings to obtain different results (Yin 2009). While the replication logic with its two approaches as mentioned above does not methodologically provide guidances for a multiple case selection, the ‘three cluster case framework’ developed from the 16 purposeful samplings and purposeful sampling strategies proffered by Patton (1990) was utilised for the sampling.

The three general cluster case frameworks developed by Patton (1990) are (1) significant vs ordinary case cluster; (2) different vs similar case cluster; (3) predetermined vs ad-hoc case cluster. These three purposeful samplings have purposeful sampling strategies to select multiple cases (Patton 1990, Sakir 2002). The table below illustrated these three cluster frameworks (Patton 1990, Sakir 2002).
Table 1. The three-cluster framework of purposeful samplings

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Purposeful sampling cluster</th>
<th>Purposeful sampling strategy</th>
<th>Is contrasted to</th>
<th>Purposeful sampling strategy</th>
<th>Purposeful sampling cluster</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Significant cases</td>
<td>Extreme case</td>
<td></td>
<td>Typical cases</td>
<td>Ordinary cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Intensity case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Critical case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Politically important case</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Different cases</td>
<td>Maximum variation</td>
<td></td>
<td>Homogenous</td>
<td>Similar cases</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Random purposeful</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Stratified purposeful cases</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fieldwork determined cases</td>
<td>Snowball</td>
<td></td>
<td>Convenience</td>
<td>Ad hoc cases selection</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Opportunistic</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Criterion</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Theoretical</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Priori theory determined cases</td>
<td>Confirming and disconfirming</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Referring back to the purpose of my research as elaborated earlier (to gain an in-depth and rich description, exploration, and understanding of reform process in Indonesian higher education system), my sampling procedures cut across diverse and similar characteristics of groups involved. With regard to this, the case selection was grounded on the combination of the purposeful ordinary case sampling with typical case sampling strategy, and the purposeful maximum variation sampling with stratified purposeful sampling strategy. Although the maximum variation sampling can be problematic, particularly in a small sample with high heterogeneous characteristics of cases, this sampling strategy, though can increase the strength of the results - as Patton (1990) argued ‘any common patterns that emerge from great variation are of particular interest and value in capturing the core experiences and central, shared aspects or impacts of a program’ (p. 172). Therefore, I decided to use this sampling procedure to recruit a small sample in each university. In addition, the selection of the small sample is in line with the purpose of my research which is to gain the depth of the research findings (Patton 1990).

Because my research purpose was also exploratory in nature and adopted multiple case study approach, the typical or ordinary case is considered appropriated to describe ‘what is typical’ (Patton 1990, p. 173) in the process of reform in Indonesian higher education systems. The second sampling strategy addressed the issue of maximum variation for the purpose of obtaining ‘a wide range of variation on dimensions of interest’ (Patton 1990, p. 182). The maximum variation sampling was appropriated in my study to select universities in Indonesia to investigate the implementation and implication of higher education reform that has gone into effect in 2012 to all Indonesian universities across Indonesia. Considering Indonesian universities spread across the archipelago with different characteristics and classifications based on research performance as determined by the DGHE (2012), the issue of geographical and classification representation can be overcome with this sampling strategy.
With regard to this, three state universities from different parts or islands in Indonesia, representing three geographical regions (the Western, the Central, and the Eastern regions) were selected to take part in this study based on the classification of university types taken from the DGHE (2012). Based on the research performance, universities in Indonesia are classified in four clusters (Independent, Main, Middle, and Nurtured clusters). The Independent cluster are those associated with research universities, and the Main, the Middle, and the Nurtured cluster are associated with non-research universities. With the stratified sampling strategy, I selected three universities in three clusters to represent the types of universities. Through the stratified sampling strategy as well, I set the criterion of only those universities that perform good or better research performance were included. Therefore, indeed, the Nurtured clusters of universities, which were categorised as poor research performance, were opted out. From stratifying the performance of universities in research, subsequently, one Independent research (The University of Mawar), one Main non-research university (The University of Anggrek), and one Middle non-research university (The University of Melati) were chosen. The purpose of a stratified purposeful sampling is ‘to capture major variations, or to produce theoretical replication (Yin 2009), rather than to identify a common core, although the latter may also emerge in the analysis’ (Patton 1990, p. 174). The use of pseudonyms to denote the universities was intended to preserve the anonymity of universities under study. Further maximum variation sampling was applied to locate embedded units in each university. Referring to Becher (1998) who argued that academics are affected by their epistemological stance in perceiving their work and the nature of their work, the selection of embedded units was grounded on the two different disciplines which represent the ‘soft’ and the ‘hard science’. In this case, the Language and Literature/Cultural studies, and the Engineering Faculty were selected.
The selection of participants in each university was carried out differently from those of university selections. The purposeful sampling undertaken was the ‘fieldwork determined cases with the snowball purposeful sampling strategy’ in order to locate information-rich cases (Patton 1990). In this way, I made endeavour to seek respondents who know a lot about the reform process in their universities through the information of other participants in the field. Through other participants’ information, the participants partaking in my research got bigger and bigger. Based on this sampling, thirty academics from two different disciplines (the Engineering faculty and the Language and Literature or Cultural studies faculty) and from three state universities participated in this research assuming different kinds of roles. Twelve respondents are females aged between 39-62 and the other eighteen are males aged between 40-63. All females respondents are teaching staff while three of male participants are the heads of department and the other three are the deans of the faculty within three universities under study. The remaining twelve of the male respondents are also teaching staff. The Language and Literature faculty in the University of Melati and Cultural studies in the Universities of Mawar and Anggrek are the same disciplines, only universities under this study have used different names. To denote these two disciplines, abbreviations were applied, namely the ‘Eng’ to refer to the Engineering faculty, the ‘Lit’ and ‘Cult’ to denote The Language and Literature faculty and Cultural studies faculty respectively. The tables below depicted the summary of participants demographics account.

**Table 2. Lecturer participant demographics and biographical data summary of the University of Mawar**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No.</th>
<th>Participant pseudonyms</th>
<th>Sex</th>
<th>Age</th>
<th>Years of experience</th>
<th>Role</th>
<th>Faculty</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Santoso</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Dean</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Nisa</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>No.</td>
<td>Participant pseudonyms</td>
<td>Sex</td>
<td>Age</td>
<td>Years of experience</td>
<td>Role</td>
<td>Faculty</td>
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<tr>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>1.</td>
<td>Alimuddin</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>Dean</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2.</td>
<td>Angga</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>45</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.</td>
<td>Sanusi</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.</td>
<td>Darma</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>62</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.</td>
<td>Tati</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Eng</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6.</td>
<td>Salim</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>55</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>Dean</td>
<td>Lit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7.</td>
<td>Hanafi</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Lit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8.</td>
<td>Hambali</td>
<td>M</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Lit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9.</td>
<td>Nina</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Lit</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10.</td>
<td>Bunga</td>
<td>F</td>
<td>39</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>Lecturer</td>
<td>Lit</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3. Lecturer participant demographics and biographical data summary of the University of Melati
3.4.2. Identification and recruitment of respondents.

Access to the site of the research was sought from the deans of each faculty whom acted as my contact person. In the process of negotiating entry, I provided the contact person with detailed information about my research including what instruments I used to collect data, and how confidentiality and anonymity were strictly protected. Once access from the contact person was granted, I contacted the administrative office (faculty office) in each university to provide me detailed information about academics. Through a close examination of this information, in each faculty I selected some academics to interview. By contacting them via email and telephone, I invited them to participate in my research. In this way, I introduced myself and the nature of my research through Participants Information Sheet (PIS) which I attached to
their emails. Once they agreed on this, I provided them with the consent form which I sent through their emails, and set up a schedule for interview at their convenience. The iterative process of ethics procedures was carried out during each interview. I sought other participants from each of these respondents.

My interview schedules were arranged in each faculty. My first interview was held on 03/September 2014 with the Dean of Cultural Faculty in the University of Mawar. In each interview I held with academics, I reiterated about my research; the nature of the respondents’ participation; how data were used, kept, destroyed; and how confidentiality and anonymity were strictly protected.

3.4.3. Interview procedures

Semi-structured interviews with open-ended questions, refer to appendix 1, were used to collect data. These interviews are considered an ideal method in understanding and exploring respondents’ experiences, attitudes, meanings, and actions (Tierney 1991). Since this research was informed by the constructivism paradigm where social realities are perceived as socially constructed, the experiences, activities, and the phenomena by each respondent are assumed to be the sources of social realities and could only be probed deeply using interview instruments (Merriam 1998).

The Semi-structured with open-ended questions interview lasted about 45 minutes to one hour with 15 minutes in-between-interview in order to allow me to have more time for the next appointment of interview. The choice of this form of interview enabled me to have a list of questions as my ground to inquire. This was considered ideal for me as a novice researcher. The list of questions became the guide for me to ask questions to the respondents so the interviews could stay focus on the topic being discussed (Robson 1993, Merriam 1998).
The interview took place in the office of each respondent to help respondents feel comfortable and this likewise gave me more room to do an observation, for example (how respondents expressed opinions, the gesture, dress, body language, and language they use). All 30 interviews were recorded using a tape recorder unless participants object to recording. The key themes of the interviews focused on the problems as stated in the research questions. I did a short note-taking activity during the interviews and soon after each interview I reviewed the notes and wrote summary or memo about the interviews, particularly regarding what topics or themes seemed to be important. The themes emerging from the interviews were used as tools to observe events, behaviours, meetings, organisational settings, and documents in addition to the literature review. These topics or themes were compared to each other to seek the convergence of data obtained from the three instruments utilised. So, here the process of comparing and contrasting between data to data and event to event as the characteristics of interpretive studies (Tierney 1991) took place.

3.4.4. Observation

The purpose of the observation in my research was to learn and see patterns of behaviour, values, and beliefs of academics overtime. In order to obtain an in-depth understanding about their values and beliefs, I immersed myself to participate in their daily routines and develop ongoing relationship with academics being studied (Hammersley 2011). To borrow the word from Geertz (1973) I had to be a native in the selected research site (Geertz 1973). Following this, I spent approximately four months in the selected research site. I spent 40 days in the University of Mawar, 35 days in the University of Melati, and 40 days in the University of Anggrek. I was present in each university during the week day (five days). This long immersion added to the trustworthiness of my research findings. This long immersion helps contribute to the ‘thick description’ of my research as well (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). My participation in the three universities brought different nuances in terms of the feelings of
comfort I experienced. I found it was more challenging to be in the Universities of Mawar and Anggrek given that I had no previous contact and relationship with them (it is a strange territory to me). This situation put me in a feeling of discomfort to begin the interaction at the initial stage of my data collection process. Fortunately, the pilot study which I carried out prior to my actual data collection had given me some valuable lessons and trainings to come to term with problems I faced in both universities, particularly on conducting interviews and getting started to approach respondents and building close and trust relationship with them.

This pilot study had helped me in gaining and honing my skill in collecting data through interview and written documents, negotiating entry, approaching and recruiting research participants to understand academics’ responses toward changes triggered by the higher education policy enactment. The eight interviews conducted had given me an insight understanding pertaining to the phenomena being studied, found out how respondents reacted during the interview processes and how they answered the questions. The pilot study also contributed to the testing of methodology, method, and interview questions used which were in fact all worked well. The most challenging part of these interviews was how I could probe to gather rich information and made my participants talked more about their feelings, experiences, and actions, without leading them to answer the questions as I wished. My first interview was sort of awkward because I had to occasionally peek at the semi-structured questions I prepared in advanced. It was successful though

My interaction with the data in the process of initial coding which at the end produced core or general themes had given me a better understanding on capturing what is going on in the data and making sense of them. I consciously applied my skill of theoretical sensitivity during this process by remaining continuously grounded on the data of respondents’ voices and concerns.
I tried as possible as I can to derive concepts purely from the text while using my personal and professional experiences, and knowledge of literature in extracting codes line-by-line.

Overall, this pilot study has given me a better way to proceed with my main fieldwork, particularly in the implementation of the chosen method and methodology I will utilise in my main research.

Nevertheless, indeed, the use of observation could not effectively be utilised to collect rich new data, due to unexpected circumstances in which I had not been able to control, for example the nature of the events observed (feelings and emotions) of respondents which are too abstract to observe.

**3.5. Types of observation**

The type of observation which I conducted was naturalistic and participant observation (Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). Since I had not been cognizant about what people say about what they do and believe and the condition of settings, I had not been able to define what to observe. Therefore, I constructed my observation into unstructured-observation (Patton 1990, Fetterman 2010) which means that events to observe will emerge from the interaction of myself with the settings and the people (*selective observation*).

The first five interviews conducted in the University of Mawar along with preliminary results of the pilot study I conducted prior to my actual research helped me to map the themes and events to observe. So, in the interview carried out to explore what people say about what they believe and do could directly lead to the observation of participants. The observations were recorded in the field note or logs or diaries. I observed seven events in each university, such as *the faculty meeting, the artefacts, the classroom observations, the participants’ leisure time*
activities in common rooms, the submitting report mechanism of performance, the internal office layouts, and the interview observations.

3.6. My role in the observation

This is an important issue, as this will influence the trustworthiness of findings and also address the ethical issues. After considering the premise put forward by Pollner and Emerson who pointed out that ‘no field researchers can be a completely neutral, detached observer, outside and independent of the observed phenomenon’ (Emerson, Fretz et al. 1995, p. 2), I then decided to position my role as an observer-as-participant.

In conducting the observation, there are several things that need to be taken into account. First, the implication of my presence in participant institutions can disrupt and change participants’ natural patterns of behaviour. To overcome or to mitigate the impact of this, I cannot simply become a fly-on-the-wall researcher as it may lead to an unethical conduct.

Second, since I had to get closer to them, involved in their daily lives, the issue of acceptance and trust relationship was crucial that I paid close attention to. My personality and characteristics played an important role in dealing with the issue in addition to the one I mentioned above. Third, how I noted and wrote down of what was going on and what was important of these events being observed. I cannot just simply become a passive observer by just noting and writing down everything. I had to produce descriptive accounts through the process of interpretation and sense-making. Reflexivity then, becomes the important issue in helping makes sense the events observed.

3.6.1. Documents

To strengthen the information I obtained from interviews and observations, I conducted a cross check analysis with other document analysis. During the data collection process which
lasted for four months, a large number of documents, ranging from official to unofficial documents were collected from the three universities under study. The collection of documents was carried out without predetermined criteria. In this way, I collected as many documents as possible which I thought would be important for data analysis. Interview results helped me sort or select the relevant documents which I will use to triangulate with interview and observational data. The reading process of the documents was important for me to give more knowledge and understandings about the case being studied.

At the later stage of the process, the number of documents were decreased as interview data were analysed. Those documents were the Lecturers Workloads Guidance, the Government Stipulation, the Circulated letters of the DGHE, the annual working program, the strategic planning of Rector’s document, the assessment of lecturers’ performance document (the Document of guidance for academic quality assurance; Curriculum and students Higher Education, the National Accreditation Board (BAN PT), the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reformation, the National strategy and policy of research in higher education document 2013, the Vision and mission, the curriculum, and the artefacts. The analysis of these documents allowed me to understand the histories, procedures and rules, structures, curricula, change programmes, and the strategies which have been applied to change processes. These all forms of documents were used in enhancing the credibility and validity of the data obtained from the faculty’s member informants (Robson 1993). The permission from the faculty was sought before using these documents (Creswell 2008).

3.7. Method of data analysis

Coffey and Atkinson (1996) suggested that there is no single analytic approach in analysing qualitative data. Cohen, Manion et al. (2011) suggested that one should abide by the issue of fitness for purpose. Denzin (2003b) even encouraged researchers to become what they called
a ‘bricoleur’ (p.6). This suggested that qualitative researchers have to be innovative and creative in terms of fitting their research to any circumstances, including any constraints. To integrate the fitness for purpose into my data analysis, I have to, then, determine what is my purpose in analysing my data, will it be to describe? to interpret? to portray? or to generate themes? Looking back again to the purpose of my research as mentioned earlier, I decided that the purpose of my analysis is to describe, explain, and interpret the culture of academics.

I preferred to provide data in the summary form instead of in verbatim taken from the respondents. If I chose to present verbatim in my data analysis, this will mean that I have to work in the narrative approach and this approach fits with the purpose of my research, that is to say to understand the meaning respondents give to their world. However, systematic approach is also suitable for my research purpose as this approach is also interpretive in nature and requires reflexivity from researchers (Becker and Geer, as cited in Cohen, Manion et al. 2011). This approach features procedures in proceeding with data analysis which are relevant to the method I used. For example, this approach can be proceeded with:

1. Comparing different groups simultaneously and over time
2. Matching the responses given in interviews to observed behaviour
3. Assembling and providing sufficient data that keeps separate raw data from analysis

Drawing from this premise then, I analysed my data using systematic qualitative data analysis proposed by Miles and Huberman (1994). The interview, observation (field note texts), and document were analysed in the same procedures through coding process to generate categories and themes. In producing codes I was guided by the research questions. The original interview transcripts (in Indonesian language) were kept and used as primary sources to code categories and themes. The Indonesian transcriptions resulted in 60 pages long, typed in single spaces. The generation of codes, categories, and themes was based on these transcriptions. After
coding process, the generated categories and themes were translated into English. The content of the interviews, fieldwork texts, and document texts were reviewed, analysed, and then categorised. After categorising, the data were coded and themes were generated. The themes were applied to each sorted data from the three instruments of data collection utilised. These themes then were tagged and were used to describe the whole sentences. Drawing on this procedure, the themes under each category were compared to all interview transcripts in each department and then put them in the same group. In this coding process, 50 codes were produced with 10 categories and subcategories in the initial process of coding, refer to appendix 2-4. As the process of sorting and refinement went on, the number of codes was decreased to two general concepts: (1) shift in the governance or mode of coordination or control in Indonesian universities; (2) Shift in the system of accountability and quality assurance of lecturers’ performance, refer to matrices in appendix 2-4.

3.8. Theoretical framework

The role of theory in the case study research is pivotal and this makes it different from other research methods, such as ethnography and grounded theory (Yin 1999). The theory is an explanation of phenomena being studied. The theory can be drawn from a different field of studies of disciplines, such as anthropology, psychology, linguistics, organisational theory, etc. The theoretical framework in research serves as a lens to study the phenomena. It helps to stretch ones’ mind into understanding of the story about what is going on in organisations being investigated (Anfara and Mertz 2006). Maxwell (2005) defined the theoretical framework as ‘the system of concepts, assumptions, expectations, beliefs, and theories that supports and informs your research’(33).

For case study researchers, Yin (2009) recommended to conduct an initial theory building, prior to entering the field to collect data. The theory development is essential to provide a
Theoretical supposition or hypothetical theory about why the events, acts, and thoughts occur. Thus, this helps pave clear clues and paths to ‘explore what is to be explored, the purpose of the exploration, and the criteria by which the exploration will be judged successful’ (Yin 2009, p. 37). With regard to this, I built my theoretical hypotheses as follows:

The case study will demonstrate what changes taking place when the economic language of neoliberalism is represented in the reforms on higher education, and why such reforms have bad implications for academics or professional identity of academic communities (Olssen and Peters 2005).

When this practice is taken, the policy implementation is best practised within rational process of scientific management, and why this scientific process gained resistance from professional communities (Olssen and Peters 2005, Lorenz 2012). Refer to the literature review chapter).

Drawing upon this, I then adopted Neoliberalism theory, the Neo-Weberian State model, Academic identity, and Resistance theory. With these multifaceted theories I proposed, would contribute to the soundness of the face and content validity (Tracy, 2010) of my research.

3.9. Ethical considerations

Ethics in research is germane to the judgement in light of the rightness, appropriateness, and wrongness of actions applied in the whole research processes (Miles and Huberman 1994, Tracy 2010). Due to the nature of interpretivism research is to explore and understand the social world of phenomenon being studied in which close relationship and engagement must inevitably be built, the issue of ethics plays a vital role to protect and prevent people from any harm arising from the relationship between researchers and participants (Miles and Huberman 1994, Tracy 2010, Hammersley and Traianou 2012). To mediate the exploration and understanding of the social world of participants, researchers usually employ a set of data instruments to collect data i.e. interviews, observations, document analysis. These sets of instruments are directed at obtaining a rich and deep exploration and understanding of human social world where direct involvements and close relationships in the context in which
phenomena being studied, are needed (Miles and Huberman 1994, Bryman 2012, Hammersley and Traianou 2012).

However, qualitative data collection and analysis are not simply a technical matter of building close relationships with participants in natural settings and of seeking the quality of knowledge, but there are more than that need to be fully taken into consideration - particularly in terms of how these conducts are ethically performed. As noted by Miles and Huberman (1994):

Qualitative data analysis is more than a technical matter. We cannot focus only on the quality of the knowledge we are producing, as if its truth were all that counts. We must also consider the rightness or wrongness of our actions as qualitative researchers in relation to the people whose lives we are studying, to our colleagues, and to those who sponsor our work (Miles and Huberman 1994, p. 288).

In addressing about ethics in the research process, some prominent scholars have proposed the theory of ethics. One of them is Flinders (1992), who developed four frameworks of ethics theories (1) utilitarian perspectives; (2) deontological perspectives; (3) relational perspectives; (4) ecological perspectives. The utilitarian perspectives are closely related to the procedural ethics (Tracy 2010) which deals with the issue of procedures undertaken in the fieldwork in relation to the participants’ recruitments. The basic tenet which governs the recruitment of participants is highly grounded on the protection of participants from any harms, protection of confidentiality, and protection of the rights of participants to voluntarily participate in research (Flinders 1992, Miles and Huberman 1994, Tracy 2010). The deontological perspectives, on the other hand, emphasises the reciprocal relationship between researchers and the researched in the process of recruitment which takes the form of avoidance of wrongness, and of fairness in the reporting process in the first place. Within the relational perspectives, the process of recruitment of participants is vested on the principle of collaboration in terms of an equal position between researchers and the researched (Miles and Huberman 1994, Tracy 2010). The
ecological perspectives are closely concerned with the cultural sensitivity in the context of phenomenon being studied (Miles and Huberman 1994, Tracy 2010).

While Flinders offered four ethical procedures in conducting research, Tracy (2010), on the other hand, proposed three sorts of ethical procedures, they are (1) procedural ethics (similar with utilitarian); (2) situational ethics (respecting the context of research); and (3) exiting ethics (informing participants on the way data will be handled upon leaving the research sites). I was interested to deploy Tracy’s forms of ethics to explain the ethical procedures undertaken in the process of my research.

In response to the procedural ethics, my research was conducted under the approval of ethics of the Manchester Institute of Education Ethics Committee in Research involving Humans no. 7785543-B1. All procedures were applied with careful and high awareness of implementing research integrity as referred by the Guidelines advocated by the Ethics Committee. In many respects, the procedural or utilitarian, the relational, and the ecological perspectives on ethics had been applied in the process of participant recruitments, actions in the fieldworks, and the reporting mechanisms and procedures which put a greater priority on the principle of respect for others (Miles and Huberman 1994).

Based on the Tracy’s (2010) ethical procedures, I framed my research ethical procedures as follows:

1. Procedural ethics
   - Permissions were sought from the authority in each university prior to conducting data collection.
   - The respondents were made available about all information related to this research through Participants Information Sheet (PIS). This sheet contained
information about the purpose of the research; the nature of respondents’ participation which was highly on the basis of voluntariness; their right to withdraw at any time during the ongoing research activities without providing any reasons and without any harms; their right to know any likely risks arose from their participation; the right to know how data will be handled, analysed, and destroyed; and the right to decide whether to participate in the research or not through the signed informed consent.

- The nature and procedures of the research were reiterated in each interview.

2. Situational ethics

- During data collection in each university, I made an attempt to not interrupt daily activities of the university.

- As well, I made any endeavour to respect the culture held by each university and adapted my manner to that culture.

3. Exiting ethics

- Upon leaving the research site, I informed participants about how the data collected and their privacy will be handled.

- To preserve anonymity of both respondents and their institutions, the use of pseudonyms was applied.

- To ensure confidentiality, all data obtained were strictly protected both in a private password-laptop and university computers. The data were only accessed by me and my supervisors. The data will be destroyed after five years.

- To ensure transparency of research process, the audit trail was undertaken and presented in a detailed explanation, encompassing all processes that had been gone through during the research process.
3.10. Reliability and validity

Reliability is closely related to the notion of ‘replicability’ or the consistency of research findings (Miles and Huberman 1994, Babbie 2003). There are two types of reliability, they are internal and external reliability (Miles and Huberman 1994, Babbie 2003). The internal reliability is concerned with the extent to which two or more researchers using particular methods and instruments on studying the same phenomenon can produce the same results or findings in different contexts (Babbie 2003, Bryman 2012). The external reliability refers to the extent to which a researcher can replicate the findings of another, using the same methods and conditions at different times and conditions.

In qualitative research this issue is problematic as reality or human behaviours are changeable. Denzin and Lincoln (1994), used ‘dependability’ instead of reliability to show the quality of qualitative research, especially those who work in the interpretive and constructionist paradigm. The researchers discern reality as changeable. Therefore, results can vary in line with the changing context (Blanche and Durheim 1999). The most important thing in the interpretive and constructionist framework is the detailed and rich descriptions of the context in order to convince readers that such an event really occurs in reality.

Because meaning or truth is socially constructed and consensually validated, meaning or truth is relative. Relative means that reality is temporary. It can change through time and place, ‘never absolute across time and space, this reluctance to generalise and the suspicion of generalizations asserted by others’ (Patton 2002, p. 100). The interpretivism provides a deep and detailed description of context in order to give meaning. With a case study the case is an object of interest in its own right, and the researcher aims to provide an in-depth elucidation of it. ‘Measurement validity, internal validity, external validity, reliability, ecological validity and replicability depends in large part on how far the researcher feels that these are
appropriate for the evaluation of the case study research’ (Bryman 2012, p.69). What is more pivotal in my case study is the relatability (Bassey 1999) which emphasises the ability of my research findings to invite judgement from readers, so that the reader could relate them to her own situation.

Validity refers to the accuracy of the research findings. As with reliability, validity likewise consists of two types, internal and external validity. The Internal validity refers to the extent to which the findings are able to be interpreted accurately (Bryman 2012). The external validity deals with the extent to which the results of research are able to be generalizable (Bryman 2012). Again, the issue of validity in interpretive study is also problematic because the subjective nature of this research, where researchers are primary instruments to collect and analyse data.

Apart from this, my research has a sound internal validity because it utilised multiple sources of data collection (interviews, observations, and official document analysis). In addition, the case selection in which this research was conducted required me to spend much time in investigating the appropriate case. Furthermore, I was involved in a long immersion with the Faculties to collect data through interviews, observations, and to gather official documents. The internal validity of this research was strengthened as well from interviewing multiple sources of people and triangulating their stories or triangulation within the case (Stake 1995).

As for the external validity of this research, it was informed within the norm of social constructivist paradigm which embraces the interpretivist method in interpreting human experiences. The interpretive method is a method that tries to describe and interpret people’s feelings and experiences (Blanche and Durrheim 1999, p.123). To ensure the external validity of my research, I provided rich and thick descriptions and the interpretive method is an ideal tool in providing such descriptions (Denzin and Lincoln 1994).
The issue of validity in qualitative research has been a subject of debate among scholars. The key area of debate has been on the matter of how knowledge is obtained in order to yield a legitimate knowledge. The proponent of qualitative research tries to response to this issue by providing criteria or strategies to determine the trustworthiness of the research. Denzin and Lincoln (1994), for example put forward four components in addressing the validity of qualitative research. Those four elements are ‘credibility’ which parallels with internal validity, ‘transferability’ which parallels with external validity, ‘dependability’ which parallels with reliability, and ‘confirmability’ which parallels with objectivity (in Bryman 2012, p.390). Internal validity can be achieved by using a ‘triangulation’ which consists of four types, i.e. multiple investigators, multiple theories, multiple sources of data and multiple methods to confirm emerging findings. External validity refers to generalisability which can be attained through rich and thick descriptions (Merriam 1998). My research is squarely placed within the paradigm of constructionism which holds an assumption that the knowledge or truth is co-constructed by the researchers and the participants. Therefore, knowledge or truth is subjective construction of subjective experiences from respondents through their association of meanings they attach to their experiences. Here, the role of the researchers is seen as a primary instrument in collecting data to make sense of the phenomenon being studied. Because my research is a case study, the generalisability will depend on the capability of my research to invite judgement from readers that the phenomenon is suited their context (Bassey 1999). By advancing this argument, the technique of establishing and enhancing the trustworthiness of qualitative research as mentioned above may solve the problem.

At the end, I have provided a credible research process in my research by tying of specific theories and paradigms. Thus, it would make my research produce legitimate new learning of real-world behaviour and its meaning.
3.11. Conclusion

The process of research which involves four interrelated elements to proceed with research is important to produce legitimate knowledge. This can be achieved through reciprocal links amongst ‘epistemology’, ‘theoretical perspective’ (philosophical stance or ontology), ‘methodology’, and ‘method’. The choice of epistemology can enhance the credibility and trustworthiness of research as researchers may have a good understanding on what knowledge or reality is, how it is constructed, and where it should be investigated. To this extent, researchers can build their research approach through an appropriate lens to select an appropriate methodology and a method which suit the purposes and goals of research.

The multiple-embedded case study approach is substantially important to explore and understand contemporary phenomena holistically through the examination of meanings of subjective individuals in their real contexts. In addition, this approach has a strong sense of trustworthiness because the application of multiple instruments to collect data. The next chapter provides the local context of Indonesian socio-cultural, historical, economic, and political system which can assist to understand the meanings academics give to the change process occurring in their institutions as a result of the economically-driven imperatives set by the government.
CHAPTER 4  INDONESIAN CONTEXT

4.1. Introduction

This chapter provides accounts about indigenous Indonesian historical, cultural, economic, and societal contexts to show how these have changed and influenced the development of Indonesian bureaucratic systems. To do this, this chapter is composed of several sections to describe the historical, societal, economic, and political backgrounds of Indonesia, during colonisation, and decolonisation era. This chapter likewise highlights the process of the current bureaucratic reforms taking place in the democratic era, including higher education systems.

4.2. Indonesian history and society

Indonesia is a diverse, multicultural, multi-ethnic, and secular democratic country with the largest Muslim population in the world (The World Bank 2014). It is an archipelago which has 17,000 islands, stretching across the chain of the equator line. This archipelago is inhabited by approximately 252.8 million of population in 6,000 populated islands (The World Bank 2014). This archipelago country has five main islands and two major archipelagos. The main islands consist of Sumatera, Java, Borneo (Known as Kalimantan in Indonesia), Sulawesi, and the New Guinea (Papua in Indonesia); and major Archipelagos include the Nusa Tenggara and Moluccas (Maluku) islands (Moffat 2012). The Indonesian population is characterised by approximately 300 ethnic groups, ranging from indigenous to foreign ethnic groups (Chinese, Indians, and Arabic), acculturating in Indonesian people’s social interactions (Indonesia Investments 2013). While these ethnic groups have their own particular characteristics in terms of language, religions, and culture, they have likewise stringent similarities in traditional cultural patterns in governing their life which are grounded in the principles of family, friendship, mutual cooperation (gotong royong), patrimonialism, and collectivism (Chalmers
These ethnic diversities are epitomised and strengthened in the motto ‘Bhinneka Tunggal Ika’ (Unity in diversity).

The pre-colonial times, before the coming of the colonialists (the Portuguese, the British, the Dutch, and the Japanese), there had already been native ethnic groups and traditional kingdoms, such as the Sundanese, the Batakinese, the Javanese, the Buginese, the Balinese, the Makassarese, and the Minangkabau, etc, inhabiting and spreading across the archipelago (Silaen and Smark 2006) - with distinctive well defined-territories, language, and native religions (Bachtiar 1972). These ethnic groups were ruled within empires which largely based on primordial systems. These primordial societies were united and built upon similar backgrounds in ethnicities, religions, and loyalty to regions (Berger 1997). Amongst these primordial societies, the traditional Javanese made up and make up the largest ethnic groups in Indonesia and have given strong colours and characters in the evolution and development of socio-economic, and political systems in Indonesia (Bachtiar 1972).

The strong colours and characters of the Javanese traditional kingdoms were seen in the practice of Patrimonialism, a traditional administration of domination, which fitted well with Weber’s concept of Patrimonialism (Weber 1978). Patrimonial government, in the classic definition by Weber was characterised by ‘lacks above all the bureaucratic separation of the ‘private’ and the ‘official’ sphere’(p. 1028-1031). Patrimonial rulers may exploit their power as if it were their ‘personal property’, unconstrained by ‘binding norms and regulations’ (Weber 1978, p. 1028-1031). The ‘office and the exercise of public authority serve the ruler and the official on whom the office was bestowed, they do not serve impersonal purposes’ (Weber 1978, p. 1028-1031). Weber, further argued that these characteristics that had distinguished this traditional patrimonial administration with rational-authority bureaucracy,
with the latter is practised based on impersonal relationships, and not based on the private or personal interests.

Patrimonialism, an indigenous Indonesian administration, remained in place when the Dutch merchants under the VOC (Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie) came to look for export commodities to be traded in Europe at the beginning of the seventeenth century (Anderson 1983, Silaen and Smark 2006). The reason for this was because the Dutch merchants did not dismantle it as they did not have much interest in the political and economic systems of the indigenous, rather they adapted these political and economic systems to their own commercial interests to obtain enormous benefits by exploiting cash crops from Indonesian peasants (Lev 1985, Silaen and Smark 2006). To do this, the Dutch traders imposed new Laws concerning the land leasing and demanded a greater monopoly of trade for cash crops (sugar, coffee, indigo, and pepper plantations) from the Javanese aristocrats to gain enormous funds (Lev 1985, Silaen and Smark 2006).

Patrimonialism had and have characterised the State bureaucracy in Indonesia, notably in the New Order regime. This practice was coloured with the practice based on the serving personal or private interests of the ruling regime, which was achieved and endured by the loyalty of the ruling elites along with the exclusion of the masses or society. The reason for this exclusion was based on the perception that the masses were clients without any significant positions, as they did not possess a significant large amount of wealth (Webber 2006).

4.3. Economy

The Dutch colonialist’s legacy in economy had influenced the development of Indonesian economy, particularly after the independence period during the reign of Soekarno (the Old Order regime), and continued in Soeharto’s era (the New Order regime) (Anderson 1983, Emmerson 1983, Lev 1985). The legacy of what well-known to Indonesia during and after
colonialisation time, as a ekonomi kolonial (translated in English, Colonial economy) was characterised by its dualistic goals (Chalmers and Hadiz 1997). These dualistic goals can be seen from the contradiction between a little attention paid to the development of economy entirely, and the enhancement of foreign investment, which largely focused on the sectors of lucrative plantations and minings (Chalmers and Hadiz 1997). Apart from these dualistic nature, the Dutch colonialist had introduced and paved a rudimentary market, liberal-economic system into the Indigenous Indies. This practice was initially introduced by the implementation of the Cultivation System (Cultuurtelsel) - where landowners and farmers were obliged to put aside their lands for plantation of exporting corps, such as sugar, indigo, tea, coffee, and spices (Crouch 1979, Emmerson 1983).

It is clear that the Western liberal culture had been forced to apply, which according to Haque (1997), had been incongruent with the traditional culture of colonies (developing nations). The backdrop against his argument was premised on the fact that the colonies’ social, political, and cultural systems were still underdeveloped (particularly for Indonesia with its patrimonial bureaucracy) - and where the Western colonialist’s contexts and colonies’ had undergone a different evolution and development of bureaucracy. The former had basically emerged from their original cultural and historical contexts resulting from the scientific and industrial revolutions (Haque 1997). These changes, occurred in Western societies, had changed the landscape of socio-cultural, economic, and political systems, which emphasised the tenets of rationalism, individualism, economic rationalism, and the separation of religion from the State (Haque 1997).

The economic liberalism, as the legacy of the Dutch had continued well toward the end of the Dutch rule in 1945. After the independence of Indonesia, specifically during the Old Order regime of Soekarno, the shift in the economic orientation began (Liddle 1991, Chalmers and
The shift from *economic colonial* to *economic populism* was substantially driven by the then situation which was still influenced by the euphoria of the spirit of revolution and nationalism (Chalmers and Hadiz 1997). The foci of economic development in this time were upon improving social, economic, cultural, and political condition through a diversification of economy and an equal distribution of wealth which had extremely ruined as an aftermath of the prolonged recessions, wars, and revolutions (Chalmers and Hadiz 1997).

The economic populism was very much influenced by Marxist principle of communitarian or collectivism, rather than individualism in promoting just and prosperous society for the new Indonesian state (Chalmers and Hadiz 1997). The economic system of the then government, dominated by nationalist politicians, was managed and controlled within the view of common goods and interests which could be achieved through a mutual cooperation (*Gotong royong*), based on the familial principles (Anderson 1983, Liddle 1991, Chalmers and Hadiz 1997). To achieve the common goods and interests, the role of the State was seen as important in controlling economic resources. The State was regarded as the principal actor mastering and controlling economic resources used for the prosperity of the Indigenous Indonesia (Anderson 1983, Chalmers and Hadiz 1997). Here, the episode of the *Statist-economy* began to emerge and continue well at the latter part of Indonesian history in Soeharto’s regime - and even in the reformation, democratic society (Anderson 1983, Chalmers and Hadiz 1997). This conduct stands in contrast to neoliberal economy in which the premise of the *free market economy* is strongly emphasised in allocating economic resources on the market as a more efficient mechanism (Olssen and Peters 2005).

In the Old, the New Order regime, and today, in the democratic society, the social stratification has vanished. In the democratic society, Indonesians have enjoyed an extensive political freedom, freedom of information, check and balance between the executive and
legislative branches of government, and a depoliticised military’ (Bhakti 2004, Webber 2006). Currently, Indonesia is also enjoying a rapid economic growth, and posing Southeast Asia’s largest economy - and is increasingly mentioned as an appropriate candidate to be included in the BRIC countries (Brazil, Russia, India, and China) as the country of rapidly showing signs of similar newly advanced economic development (Indonesian Investment 2013, World Bank 2014)

4.4. Polity system and reforms on public governance service in Indonesia

This section is concerned with the examination of public governance reforms at macro level in Indonesia. In this way, the exposition of these reforms is aimed to provide an initial understanding on how reforms at all levels of bureaucracies in Indonesia have been initiated. Thus, it was felt important to describe the reforms on public governance at national level to map the understanding on higher education reforms as one of the public services in Indonesia.

In my attempt to denote the process of public governance service reforms in Indonesia, I will deploy and refer to a concept of a ‘bureaucratic reform’ and a ‘bureaucratic polity’. When I refer to the bureaucratic polity in this study, I was very much influenced by the notion brought forth by Jackson and Pye (1980) who argued that:

a bureaucratic polity is a political system in which power and participation in national decisions are limited almost entirely to the employees of the state, particularly the officer corps and the highest levels of the bureaucracy, including especially the highly trained specialists known as the technocrats (p.3).

The embeddedness of the ‘bureaucratic polity’ in the ‘bureaucratic reforms’ in this study was triggered by a consideration in my mind that this has been a construct that has made up the governmental system and public service delivery during the course of Indonesian public governance history, from Soekarno regime to reformation or democratic government (Prasodjo 2007, Hendarto 2012). The spirit of this still resonates with the process of ongoing bureaucratic reforms in Indonesia up to the present time, taking its distinctive
recontextualisation characteristics of policy transfer (Halpin and Troyna 1995), in its implementation which is tailored with the contextual background of Indonesia’s political system, cultural, and socioeconomic condition. With this was in mind, it was reasonably felt relevant to provide a description on general bureaucratic reforms in Indonesia to show what forces that have fuelled Indonesian government to reform its system, what models of reform has been applied, and how these reforms have been effectuated in public service sectors, including higher education institutions within Indonesian specific contexts.

As a newly established democratic country, Indonesia is in its transition period of moving towards the achievement of creating a more accountable, efficient, effective, neutral, professional and transparent government system within an envisioned democratic society (Prasodjo 2007, Hendarto 2012, Hermawan 2013). These visions and movements have marked the end of the politicisation of bureaucracy by the then powerful ruling regime of Soeharto, where he utilised the bureaucracy as his political vehicle to endure his power of supremacy (Thoha 2002). Consequently, the bureaucracy in Indonesia had lost its actual functions and paths as public services for public goods. It was no longer intended to serve public, rather this was altered to serve the interests of the ruling elite through the arms’ length of its political party and the supporting regional government at both provincial and regencial levels (Thoha 2002, Prasodjo 2007, Hermawan 2013). The participation of people to engage with national decisions was stultified and excluded, supplanted by the hegemonic power of the ruling elite, represented by the State officers who served the interests of the ruling elite. Thus, the face of bureaucracy in this period was characterised by the practice of the bureaucratic polity (Jackson and Pye 1980, King 1982, Emmerson 1983, Osborne and Gaebler 1992), and the traditional patrimonialism form of domination (Weber 1978, Crouch 1979, Robinson 1981, Anderson 1983).
The characteristics of bureaucratic public services in this era were featured by the strong hands of the government (state-centred); civil servants; big portions of government officials, formalisations, rule-bound, internal orientations to follow and comply with rules and procedures rather than emphasis on the external results of public services and parsimonious use of resources (Hood 1991, Thoha 2002, Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007, Pollit 2009). To strengthen and endure the political power and position of the ruling regime, it was not only solidified through hierarchical bureaucracies with their partisan State officers, but also through the integration or embeddedness of military forces of Armed forces of the Republic of Indonesia (ABRI). This marked the rise of politics-of order as another form of a requirement for the modernisation of State in addition to the growth in economy and socio-culture (Berger 1997).

This complexity had given rise to the debate and analysis on what type of the government system that Soeharto regime had applied. King (1982) argued that Indonesian bureaucracy under Soeharto regime was suitably named a ‘bureaucratic authoritarian regime’, characterised by ‘the willingness to work within a framework of an apathetic acceptance of the regime by mass of the population and a corresponding lack of interest on the part of the ruling elite in mobilising mass support on a continual basis’. Emmerson (1983) on the other hand argued that the bureaucratic system in Indonesia was a hybrid system, ‘neither monistic enough to be totalitarian, nor pluralistic enough to be democratic’ (p. 122).

In the era of reformation, the process of depoliticisation of the bureaucratic polity has been strongly encouraged, manifested in the decentralisation and autonomisation as part of the restructuring process of the public bureaucracy, which has long been contaminated by political interests, has been hailed into being. The need to adopt a new way or mechanism to organise, design, and regulate how government should work is needed amidst the increased global
competition, the advent of new technologies, and neoliberalism (Thoha 2002, Hendarto 2012). One of the manifest actions has been taken by the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reformation (hereforth Kemenpan-RB) through the so-called ‘a Grand Design of Bureaucratic Reform’ (The Kemenpan-RB 2013). The formulation of the bureaucratic reform has been firmly focused on the reformulation of the role of the government in designing and organising the work of government and its apparatus, encompassing aspects of local, regional, and national governmental level through the process of decentralisation or through the practitioner model of agencification (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004). To materialise this, the government has made efforts to become both marketisers and modernisers to reform the State bureaucracy (Dreschler 2009, Pollit and Bouckaert 2011). To become marketisers, the government has promoted the process of a ‘good governance’ (Pollit and Bouckaert, 2011, p.21), through a wide and active societal and actors participation in the policy making, in addition to government itself. The good governance has been explicitly found in New Public Management (NPM), and in what Osborne and Gaebler (1992) called ‘New Public Governance (NPG)’. Within these two concepts, a society’s steering can be said effective if it is involved with networks and partnerships amongst government, business corporations, and civil society associations. Osborne and Gaebler (1992, p. ix) called a ‘catalytic government’ or a ‘reinventing government’ in which the role of the government as entrepreneurial agent is highly recommended. In a sense that the government role is best conceptualised as ‘steering’ rather than ‘rowing’, based on the premise of the ‘community-owned government’ (Osborne and Gaebler 1992). It is a construct which is closely related to the concept of the civil society in which non-political relationships are strengthened through the process of the hollowing out of the State (Schofield and Sausman 2004). Accordingly, the autonomy is widely given for all levels of authorities to manage their institutions and their local governments to disaggregate from their core parents (Ministry).
New Public Management and New Public Governance are two substantially identical terms (Du Gay 2000, Pollit and Bouckaert 2011), developed by Osborne and Gaebler (1992) in the context of the USA features the Network Principles as their underpinning tenets in practicing relationships. These constructs were fundamentally developed out from democratic-society values. Therefore, the relationship between the State and society was built upon the premise of the participation and empowerment of the society by the State to self-govern themselves (Osborne and Gaebler 1992, Dunn and Miller 2007, Dreschler 2009). This society’s democratic-participation was effectively practised through the elimination of a bureaucracy (anti bureaucracy) which was supplanted by flat hierarchies, minimal states, customer orientations, competition, and depoliticisation (Dunn and Miller 2007, Dreschler 2009).

Further manifestation of the entrepreneurial government in Indonesia has been realised in the adoption of New Public management’s elements as proffered by Hood (1991), Osborne and Gaebler (1992). New Public Management is a term coined in the late 1980s to denote a new (or renewed) stress on the importance of management and ‘production engineering’ in a public service delivery, which were often linked to doctrines of economic rationalism’ (Hood 1991, Pollitt 1993). In the case of Indonesia, this concept is being implemented too in all departments. The introduction of corporate principles of management, such as performance-based payment and performance indicators through remuneration programmes are amongst others that can be seen from this reform process.

In the context of Indonesian state bureaucratic reforms, including higher education institutions, although, NPM principles have been adopted, but this does not mean that the entire NPM’s ideologies are practised out. Given an unstable and not-solid socio-cultural, economic, and political condition as a result of the transition from the New Order Regime (authoritarian and patrimonial bureaucracy) to the democratic society, the State has to function
as a designer through its presence and steering in a structured, solid bureaucracy of democratic administrative law to provide rules, formalities, strong ethical standards, and laws. The reaffirmation of the State functions poses fundamental bases to bridge the transition process in shifting the existing patrimonial societal behaviour, resulting from the prolonged practice of the bureaucratic polity or patrimonial bureaucracy as the legacy of the New Order Regime towards achieving the democratic society which is built primarily upon democratic values. The bureaucracy, then, is not abandoned, but still maintained through the process of modernisation (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004, Dunn and Miller 2007, Lynn 2008, Dreschler 2009).

This is reasonably understood, due to the fact that ‘NPM does not provide for a strong State that can manage the many internal and external challenges facing newly independent states, including civil services plagued by domestic ethnic strife, hyper-pluralistic political party systems, weak systems of economic, health, and environmental regulation…’(Dunn and Miller 2007, p. 350). With regard to this, therefore, Indonesian government views reforms in Indonesia have come to be a State action, supporting and facilitating the process of these reforms.

To become modernisers, the Indonesian government needed to modernise the existing traditional Weberian bureaucracy embedded in the patrimonial bureaucracy. For Weber, bureaucracy was regarded as a requirement to build an effective and cost-effective administration, through its rational values, manifested upon the setting of offices, filled with appointed civil servants who are selected based on merits, impersonality, divisions of labour, written forms, and legality (cited in Dreschler 2009).

Referring back to the reforms in Indonesia, it is clear that the practice of the Neo-Weberian State (NWS) has been hailed into existence. This is undertaken with efforts in making the
traditional Weberian bureaucracy more professional, efficient, and citizen-friendly (Pollit and Bouckaert 2011). The ‘State is still perceived as the main facilitators to solve problems as the consequence of globalisation, technological change, shifting demographics, and environmental threat’ (Pollitt and Bouckaert 2004, p.99). Within this situation, the involvement of the State can become a backbone for Indonesian reforms to counterbalance arising social problems. As a manifestation of the strong State, the process of these bureaucratic reforms is concretised in the role played by the State to design and organise the procedures and the implementation of the bureaucratic reforms, provided in the ‘Book Guidance of the Grand Design of Bureaucratic Reform’, formulated by the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment and Bureaucratic Reform (2010-2014). By so doing, the roles and functions of the representative democracy have not changed radically, indicating the preservation and modernisation of the Weberian concept of the State to the Neo-Weberian State (Kickert 1997, Pollit and Bouckaert 2004, Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007).

The Neo-Weberian State entails the Weberian concepts of bureaucracy with additional new elements, as follows:

4.4.1. Weberian elements:

- Reaffirmation of the state as the main facilitator of solutions to the new problems of globalization, technological change, shifting demographics and environmental threat;
- Reaffirmation of the role of representative democracy (central, regional, and local) as the legitimating elements within the state apparatus;
- Reaffirmation of the role of administrative law suitably modernized in preserving the basic principles pertaining to the citizen-state relationship, including equality before the law, legal security, and the availability of specialized legal scrutiny of state actions;
• Preservation of the idea of a public service with a distinctive status, culture, and terms and conditions.

4.4.2. Neo elements:
• Shift from an internal orientation towards bureaucratic rules towards an external orientation towards meeting citizen’s needs and wishes. The primary route to achieving this is not the employment of market mechanisms (although they may occasionally come in handy) but the creation of a professional culture of quality and service.
• Supplementation (not replacement) of the role of representative democracy by a range of devices for consultation with, and the direct representation of, citizens views (this aspect being more visible in the northern European states and Germany at the local level than in Belgium, France or Italy).
• In the management of resources within government, a modernization of the relevant laws to encourage a greater orientation on the achievement of results rather than merely the correct following of procedure. This is expressed partly in a shift to the balance from ex ante to ex post controls, but not a complete abandonment of the former.
• A professionalisation of the public service, so that the bureaucrat becomes not simply an expert in the law relevant to his or her sphere of activity, but also a professional manager, oriented to meeting the needs of his or her citizens/users.

The trajectories of the bureaucratic reforms in Indonesia have likewise reverberated in the domain of higher education institutions, with similar tendency to the adoption of NPM and the NWS doctrines, as depicted above. For the description of the face of the higher education reforms in Indonesia, the following chapter will trace the marriage of NPM and the NWS
doctrines in the management of higher education institutions, covering the aspects of the role of the State (government). This will be pictured in the combined practices of a hollowing out the State or a minimising State (Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008), and the reaffirmation of the strong State (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004) in shaping the relationship between State-universities and between State -academics.

The reaffirmation of the State has particularly been disguised in the external mechanisms of the regulatory State, using techniques and technologies of corporate principles, wrapped in the language of accountability and audit culture, quality assurance, performance indicators, transparency, and efficiency. By so doing, the State can steer Indonesian universities from a distance (Kickert 1995), obscuring the State’s direct hand in the management of universities and academic communities. Shore and Wright (1999) related this practice as a ‘political technology’. This political technology, since is concealed in control mechanisms using corporate principles of markets, has enabled the marketiser and the moderniser roles played out by Indonesian government to blur and obscure with each other (Shore and Wright 1999). This will be elaborated later in the next section. The depiction of this reform will firstly proceed with the historical trajectories of Indonesian higher education development, starting from the Dutch colonialist era to date in the reformation, democratic time. This is felt important in order to provide pictures of how Indonesian higher education institutions have undergone a significant metamorphosis both in their roles and functions in different times.

4.5. Reforms on higher education in Indonesia

4.5.1. A brief history

Modern forms of higher education institutions in Indonesia were introduced by the Dutch in order to provide professionals for their colonial government and such institutions limited their access only for aristocratic families of native Indonesian, leading to a construction of elitism
and a closed society (Tajuddin 2002). The provision of higher education to produce professionals had signalled that a nascent emergence of economic, market-driven purpose of higher education institutions in Indonesia had been paved by the colonialist government (Sulistyono 2007).

During the colonial time, due to a strong social stratification which very much favoured aristocratic families, there were only estimated 200 students from elite society enrolled in the higher education institutions (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011). After gaining the independence from the Dutch colonialist, the massification of higher education in Indonesia caused by the growth of student enrolments due to demographic changes and economic growth, triggered by the oil booming from the 1970s to the 1990s has been breath-taking. The higher education institutions in Indonesia have expanded at a significant rate in terms of number from just one to 120 state universities and 3000 private universities during the period of 1945 to present day, across Indonesian archipelago - with the total number of students enrolled in both state and private higher education is 3.5 million (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011).

Higher education in Indonesia has gone through transformations in its roles and purposes which can be discerned and understood in three distinctive periods of regimes. These regimes are named after the Old Order regime in Soekarno era, the New Order regime in Soeharto era and the reformation era in several presidents (B.J. Habibie, Abdurrahman Wahid, Megawaty Soekarno Putri, Soesilo Bambang Yudhoyono, and the newly elected president (Joko Widodo). In these three regimes, the importance of higher education institutions has been aligned with the conditions and interests of the elected presidents. The following sections will deal with such issues.
4.5.2. The Old Order regime (1945-1965)

In the Soekarno’s Old Order regime, the main purpose of higher education was closely related to his political agendas in which the interwoven embodiment of the values of economically independent, politically sovereign, and nationally culture-driven personality were enforced (Tajuddin 2002). This was meant to foreground the significance of developing Indonesia without relying on the Western capital, thus paving a concrete ground for Indonesia to formulate its own boundaries in devising its reflationary, political, and educational policy. This era was clearly marked with anti-Westerns economic assistance. In this way, international ties had been limited to a one-axis relationship which was strongly indicated by the establishment of the Jakarta-Peking axis.

Within the political purpose of higher education as described above, it has been evident during this regime that the development of human resources had been mainly focused on producing and kindling young generations to hold substantially high spirit of nationalism, garnished with nation character buildings which were in accord with Indonesian national culture characteristics (Widohariadi and Permono 1983). These sorts of human capitals were badly needed to foster the development of Indonesia socially, culturally, politically, and economically which had just successfully gained its independence from the imperialist. Additionally, the aftermath of a prolonged colonisation had resulted in the ruination, demoralisation, and destitution of Indonesian people’s lives (Widohariadi and Permono 1983, Tadjuddin 2007). Here, the important role of higher education was positioned as a symbol of the unity of nation and was expected to actively become a pioneer in improving a ruined condition of people.
4.5.3. The New Order regime (1966-1998)

In the New Order regime, the purposes and roles of higher education had shifted. Higher education institutions in this era had dual roles and functions. First, they become likewise the political vehicle of the government to endure its rule (Altbach 2001). Second, they were set as sites for the production of knowledge and skilled human resources needed for the development of Indonesia in the midst of the powerful influence of capitalist ideologies (Sulistyono 2007).

Altbach (2001) further argued that the politicisation of higher education has attacked academic freedom and autonomy serving as the very core of the mission of universities. This has a serious implication for the higher education in that it reduces its completeness as academic freedom is an essential element to teaching and research (Kogan and Hanney 2000, Altbach 2001, Henkel 2005).

The diminishing of academic freedom and autonomy had further been reinforced in the status given to academics as civil servants. With this status, it was clear that academics were regarded as the State corps, the status which was very much the same as other public services. In Soeharto’s regime, this status was known as a ‘State apparatus’ to serve the interest of the State. This propaganda was a means to protect and ensure the longevity of the ruling elite by gaining political supports from academic communities. By so doing, the higher education institutions had been engaged with the bureaucratic polity of the ruling elite (Sulistyono 2007).

The strong hands of the government were gripped in the management of higher education institutions by placing them under the control of the Ministry of Education and Culture to determine the boundaries of higher education in Indonesia. In this way, academics work and their communities were regulated and controlled by the government, represented by the Directorate General of Higher Education as the arms’ length of the government (Sulistyono 2007). This centralistic situation led to a prolonged curtailment in the lack or even the...
negation of academic freedom and autonomy. This curtailment was a consequence of past events triggered by a mound of protests launched by students who criticised policies issued by the government at the time of the initial periods of the New Order regime took their office during the 1970s. Being uncomfortable with the rising tide of protests, the government needed to confine and curb academic freedom and autonomy through a stringent military force in order to create a stability (politics-of order) needed for the development of Indonesia. When this policy was in effect many focal Indonesian academics and politicians ended up in jail (Altbach 2001). Ever since, the activities of academic members in Indonesian universities became recondite and buried.

Further constraints of academic freedom was concretised in the policy of a ‘Normalisation of Campus life’ and the establishment of a ‘campus coordinating body’ (Beerkens 2008). Under this policy, all student activities were under control by the government, and the political expression of students was banned (Beerkens 2008). Consequently, all campus-based activities were under supervision and control of university rectors.

The constraint of academic freedom culminated in the 1980s, when all academic communities were subject to security surveillance. In this way, the security of the State intelligence was present in campuses, undercovering and monitoring campus activities. The other forms of repression of academic activities were the forces imposed to conform with the control over promotion decisions, the denial of travel privileges to critical professors, the monitor of academic seminars, press, and the book censorships (Beerkens 2008).

The World Bank (2000) have argued that the absence of autonomy and the sense of community within higher education communities can result in the lack of accountability and responsibility to society. This situation has adverse impacts on the provision of the higher
education in Indonesia in terms of the quality and the low level of efficiency, as argued by Wicaksono and Friawan (2011).

The poor quality of higher education can be seen from the low levels of qualification of the teaching staff, inadequate laboratory facilities (especially in the private HEIs) and limited library holdings. Meanwhile, low efficiency is best demonstrated by the extended enrolment period in which a typical undergraduate—in both public and private HEIs—spends about five to six years completing their studies instead of the four years required. Low internal efficiency can also be seen from the low student–teacher ratios of about 12:1, limited utilisation of physical space, and the low number of student/staff contact hours (p.171).

Together, the situation explained above had made the higher education in Indonesia centrally operated and the academic issues became the matters of the government, indicated by the presence of the State in the management of higher education. As a consequence, there was no discretion for academic communities to define and determine their own boundaries to construct their identities. In this situation, the higher education in Indonesia is extremely difficult to practice its missions as a moral force coupled with the lack of an accountability and an innovation (Sulistyono 2007).

In the meantime, the authority to manage collective resources was negated as they were managed directly by the government. The funding of the higher education institutions was heavily relied on the government’s subsidy which at the expense of academic autonomy and freedom. This relationship had put the government as the sole financier of the higher education institutions played out within the notion that sacrifices academic autonomy and freedom, rather than within the notion that emphasises the exchange of expertise, skills, and professionalism of academics (Clarke and Newman 1997). Trust was scarcely found within this sort of relationship which linked higher education to its society in which it resides. Trow (1996) asserted that trust is one of the three fundamental ways that connects higher education with its supporting societies.
It is evident from this practice that the rational-bureaucracy of Weber embedded in the existing patrimonial systems of domination was visible in the management of higher education institutions. From the rational bureaucracy of Weber, universities were seen as machines through the machinery of the State which were run with a clear hierarchy and a predefined job description with impersonal relationships, and with the absence of an appreciation for academics professionalism embedded in their mastery of specialist knowledge and theory (Burnes 1996, Clarke and Newman 1997, Roberts and Donahue 2000, Lorenz 2012). The mechanistic nature of classical theory or Taylorism scientific management (Burnes 1996, Hatch 1997a) was widely applied through its view of human nature conceptualised in a mechanical sense, disregarding the nature that humans are emotional rather than economic (Burnes 1996, Hatch 1997a). In short, the management of higher education in this era was largely inward-looking rather than outward-looking, emphasised in the compliance with and achievement of rules and procedures. Burnes (1996) confirmed that the consequence of this practice can constrain the ability of organisations to rapidly and adeptly adapt to a rapidly changing environment as this system can only be applied to a placid or a stable environment and within small-scale organisations (Burnes 1996, Hatch 1997a). Referring to this supposition, subsequently, Indonesian universities were trapped in the low level of ability to effectively adapt to a fast changing environment. This fact has come to be seen as the weaknesses of the traditional bureaucracy where its orientation was mainly focused on the compliance with internal rules and procedures, rather than with an external orientation on producing results or outcomes (Burnes 1996, Hatch 1997a).

It has been clearly noticed that the bureaucracy adopted to manage and organise the work of academics was the derailment of the true Weberian rational bureaucracy which has promoted an effective, efficient, and fair treatment of employees in organisations. The most significant aspects of the Weberian rational bureaucracy that were absent in Indonesian bureaucracy were
impersonality and selectivity in the process of recruitments, divisions of labour, and promotions of the employees (Du Gay 2000). Therefore, throughout the course of Indonesian higher education, there had not been any spaces granted to determine its boundaries. The role of the government with its patrimonialistic values had been always present in regulating and managing higher education institutions in Indonesia. Such a practice continues to persist even today in the reformation and democratic era, eventhough this practice has been challenged.

4.6. Indonesian Higher education in the reformation era of democratic society (1998-now)

Post turbulent era of a democratic movement reverberating in all parts in Indonesia in 1998, had given rise to the importance to reform Indonesian higher educational system. This reform was a response to the fast changing environment in higher education sectors around the globe, as the impact of globalisation and neoliberalism coupled with the liberalisation of education under the WTO proposal. The WTO determined that higher education sectors were one of the tradable and commodified services. Indonesia as one of the world’s communities and the member of the WTO ratified this scheme, leading to a dilemma encountered by most universities which have been seemingly ill-prepared to compete internationally. The predicament has resulted from a long-standing perfunctory attention paid to the quality standard in running universities and the politicisation of universities by the government (Brodjonegoro 2002).

Having realised the predicament faced by Indonesian universities, a chorus of voices urged to reform the system has been voiced by many parties in order to withstand with the global vies. Academic freedom is the theme pushed to the fore for changes. This means that Indonesian universities have to step outside from the government’s intervention to perform their self-determination and self-governance. As a rejoinder to this issue, the then government issued a
liberalisation policy through the autonomisation of higher education through the endowment of the BHMN status (the state-owned legal institutions) which was enacted through the Higher Education Act 1999, which later became a controversial issue.

The Education Act 1999 was enacted to transform the status of higher education institutions into so-called a 'legal entity' (Badan Hukum, BHP) (The HE Act 1999). Within this status, the running and provision of higher education were carried out to be uniform; for-profit orientation (liberalisation and commercialisation); and no financial subsidy from government. A pilot project to implement this was carried out through the endowment of campus autonomy or BHMN status to five universities in Java in 2000.

The implementation of campus autonomy in Indonesian state universities which was implemented in 2000 has become an oxymoron. It is a contentious issue which has polarised educationalists into two different factions. For some, they believed that only with academic freedom Indonesian state universities may develop and advance their standards in learning and teaching. Thus, they are able to keep pace with and position themselves on a par with other international higher institutions. In materialising this ideal, the reduction or the elimination of the State’s intervention through the introduction of campus autonomy is regarded as the most appropriate means (Brodjonegoro 2002, Irianto 2012). For others, they claimed that the introduction of campus autonomy may lead to a liberalisation and commercialisation of higher education institutions, which in turns sparks a far-reaching impact on the high imposition of tuition fees on students (Brodjonegoro 2002, Irianto 2012).

The frenzies of pros and cons regarding the application of campus autonomy in Indonesian higher education institutions were basically grounded in the premises that the adoption of managerial models will bring injustice to students from low-income families to access quality higher education institutions; the retreat of the government from supporting and subsidising
public education; the intervention of foreign capitals in education, such as the IMF, the World Bank, and the WTO; and the possibility for education to be held under neoliberal agendas (Sulistyono 2007).

The implementation of campus autonomy in Indonesia has meant that the role of the government as the main financier for higher education institutions was eliminated and devolved in the higher education institutions (Sulistyono 2007). This situation had led universities to seek their own funding through several schemes or programmes (Sulistyono 2007). One of the schemes was to increase tuition fees even doubled than before. This conduct stirred fierce debate among educationalists as it may have potentially become an edifice that hinders students from low-income families to enter quality universities (Sulistyono 2007). Thus, this can violate the Article (33) clause (1) of the Indonesian Act (UUD 45) which says that the whole citizens are entitled to quality and an equal access to education. The rise in tuition fees has come to be seen as the conduct that only favours students from rich families who financially afford to pay for the expensive tuition fees (Lynch 2006). As a result, universities tended to target them through an offer of prestigious and most favourite faculties or disciplines through a ‘special passage’ (Jalur Khusus) to access, providing that they could afford to pay the fee determined (Susanti 2010). Thus, there had been a propensity to commercialise the universities as tradable services that could only be enjoyed by middle-high class students (Susanti 2010).

From this situation, it has been clear that students from low-income families had been more marginalised or disadvantaged to get access into higher education than students from high-income families. Nevertheless, indeed, the imposition of high tuition fees could benefit low-income-family students. The scheme of so-called a ‘cross subsidy’ (subsidi silang) which was obtained from the payment of high tuition fees from high-income-family students who
enrolled into higher education institutions through ‘special passage’ was expected to become the source of subsidies for low-income-family students. This scheme must be implemented in each BHMN university by allocating 20% of proportion or quota for low-income-family students (Susanti 2010, Wicaksono and Friawan 2011).

However, many educationalists had doubted this scheme. They argued that universities in Indonesia will continue to become elite institutions where advantaged more students from high income families to have access into higher education. Moreover, who can guarantee that the 20% of quota for low-income students can proportionally be implemented? (Sukemi 2012).

Drawing upon this premise, those who positioned themselves as dissidents applied for an appeal to the Court of Constitution for judicial review in the implementation of the BHMN. As a result, the Court of Constitution granted the appeal, and annulled the BHMN. Therefore, the government of Indonesia must be subject to this decree and called for the assigned BHMN universities to revert to their previous status as public services. As the substitution of the Higher Education Act 1999, a new Act of 2012 has been enacted and has become the legal source of the provision of higher education in Indonesia.

The concerns shown by those who disagreed with the implementation of BHMN universities had been further supported by the fact that the there had been a highly low gross participation rate of students from low income families to access higher education. Data from the Statistics Central Bureau (BPS 2014) reported that only 5% of low-income family students of total population had access into higher education. In the meantime, the total gross participation rate of students in higher education in 2012 was only 12% of total population (Ministry of Education and Culture 2014). This proportion increased to 33% in 2014, which means that there was 67% of population aged 19-23 (these age groups are considered as ages for students to begin and complete higher education in Indonesian universities) who were unable to access
higher education (Ministry of Education and Culture 2014). Consequently, higher education in Indonesia was and is still predominantly dominated by elite groups in society which contributes to the nature of elitism for Indonesian higher education.

The low level of participation in higher education has been caused by socio-economic condition of student families (including low level of educational background); Geographical location (remote areas); gender; the low level of senior high schools graduation; and the constrained and limited capacity of state universities to admit more students. To deal with this situation, Indonesian government has implemented strategies to make higher education more accessible to other groups in society. Steps have been taken to expand the capacity of state universities; the construction of new universities; the conversion of private universities into state universities; and the provision of scholarships for students (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011). The conversion of private universities into state universities is conducted because private universities tend to be expensive so that to reduce or block the access for students of low-income families.

The protection of the negative impacts of commercialisation and free-trade for disadvantaged students is embedded in the Higher Education Act 2012. This Act confirms the role of government as a designer who provides a regulation umbrella to ensure that higher education is not commodified and liberalised – and to ensure the guarantee that students from middle-low level income bracket can have access into higher education. This is further confirmed by the regulation to provide 20% of quota in each university for middle-low income family students. Furthermore, the development and advancement of State and Private universities in Indonesia can be achieved through the assistance of government. As well, this Act provides autonomy to universities to develop academic culture which will be based on (1)
accountability; (2) transparency; (3) non-profit; (4) quality assurance; (5) effectivity and efficiency (The HE Act 2012).

The fact depicted above has been self-evident that the strong State is needed to backup the shift process from the existing patrimonial systems of higher education towards neoliberal ideology of markets. This is due to the fact that Indonesian socioeconomic, political, and cultural fundamental condition was and is still weak and fragile. To let higher education institutions determine their own management could be risky, as human resources available whose managerial skills are still underdeveloped. Here, the State is required to play its architect role to promote, guide, and regulate a new mechanism of the structural shift of transforming academic’s roles to quasi-market manners as advocated by New Public Management as the precondition to implement the free market principles of neoliberalism embodied in New Public Management. Moreover, the role of the State is significantly important to protect higher education in Indonesia from the adverse external influence, resulting from the powerful influx of globalisation, neoliberalism, International organisations, such as the IMF and the World Bank. Therefore, the maintenance of the representative democracy (central, regional, and local) as the legitimating elements within the state apparatus, and the maintenance of the role of administrative laws is highly important (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004, Dunn and Miller 2007, Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008). The enactment of the Higher Education Act 2012 has been seen as the manifestation of the State’s legal responsibility to assist higher education institutions to develop and advance amidst increasing external threats.

In this way, ‘the State has assumed its monopoly on power, force, and coercion on one side, and its focus on the public good’ (Dreschler 2009, p. 9). One manifestation of this has been the engagement of schemes to punish and reward academics, acting both as the behavioural
stimuli and the power imposed. These are one of the requirements to have an effective application of a policy in order to gain compliance and avoid resistance from academics (Sabatier 1986, Kricket 1991). To effectively implement and achieve the goals of the government-driven policy, the formulation and implementation process of the policy have been seen to be appropriately implemented from a top-down approach (Sabatier 1986, Yanow 1987). In this approach, policy making is focused on the identification of reciprocal effects between change processes and individual behaviour which can affect the policy implementation. Trowler (1998) called this mutual adaptation.

Nevertheless, the enactment of this new Act has yet to satisfy educationalists of both factions, notably from those supporting the liberalisation of higher education institutions. In this Act, there is still the notion of campus autonomy held by universities, but its implementation will be controlled and guided by the government. Those wishing to obtain an ‘autonomy’ under the status of the BHMN will be processed and determined by the government (The HE Act 2012). The combination of the minimising and the reaffirming role of the government is evident.

In providing a portrayal and giving a better understanding of the reforms taking place in this period, I was very much fascinated to integrate New Public Management and the Neo-Weberian agendas and look at how the political technology and the steering at a distance, embedded in behavioural stimuli through incentives and disincentives are exercised by Indonesian government in its endeavours to accelerate the change processes in Indonesian universities. To do so, I will integrate these aspects in seeing and analysing the reform agendas in the shift of internal governance and accountability. The latter will be analysed in terms of performative measurements, such as performance indicators, the procedures of evaluation, the research funding schemes, and the quality assurance and accreditation.
4.7. Shift in the governance of higher education

At present, the Indonesian higher education institutions are regulated under a new law on education (Law no. 12/2012). This new law constitutes a revision of the previous Higher Education Act no. 9/ 2009 which endowed a more autonomy to Indonesian universities to regulate and manage their own institutions. Within this new Act of Higher Education, the roles and functions of higher education have been reshaped into a market-driven orientation which has demanded universities to transform and behave in a more corporate actors and organisations. The backdrop against the enactment of this Act has been very much influenced by the desire of government to improve the quality of human resources development needed in the economic development. By so doing, the economisation of higher education institutions has firmly taken its forms. This tenet can be seen in the preamble of this Act which says ‘that the provision of higher education in Indonesia is intended to increase the nation’s competitiveness in the globalised world in all aspects of life through producing skilled human resources mastering knowledge and technology’ (The HE Acts: 2012, The Renstra DIKTI 2010-2014).

In addition to the economisation of higher education as indicated in the HE Act 2012, the tenets of the Neo-Weberian State can be traced as well. A strong state is there, taking position as a primary agent which has a full authority in the arrangement, planning, and assessment of the higher education provision. The fact that the government does act as a controlling agent in the relationship it plays out with the academics and the higher education has been confirmed further in the document of the Higher Education Act 2012. In this document, there is a statement which says that the government is the actor whose full responsibilities for the provision of higher education. In this way, the responsibility conferred to the government has meant that it is entitled to arrange, plan, supervise, monitor and evaluate the activities of academics and the provision of higher education.
The responsibilities of the Minister of Education in the provision of higher education encompasses aspects of the arrangement, planning, supervision, monitoring, and evaluation coupled with aspects of the development and coordination (article 7:2)

The role of the government as provided above needs to be concretised in order to give a strong legal foundation to execute its rights towards the provision of higher education, as the document said:

So as to guarantee the provision of higher education, it needs an arrangement as a foundation and a legal assurance (HE Act Preamble section)

To seek the achievement for the aforesaid goals, the government through the arms’ length of the Directorate General of Higher Education (the DGHE) has designed and formulated the strategic plannings (hereafter Renstra DIKTI 2010-2014). In these, there was a need to provide a most fundamental ground for the implementation of the reform initiated by the DGHE. The most important issue in these strategic plannings is the endeavour to manage the culture of academic communities through the reconstructing and reshaping the identity of Indonesian universities. This can be achieved by devolving authorities to local universities to manage their own institutions. In this way, the role of the DGHE as the representative of the government is reshaped from controllers to facilitators. The latter are closely related to the catalytic function of government through its rowing capacity to create and provide a conducive environment needed for the creativity, high commitment, and innovation occur.

This enabling function is one of the characteristics of neoliberal governmentality (Foucault 1982) in which the government is perceived as part of the governed or the conduct of conduct. The conduct of conduct reflects the way to govern of others (subjectification) and govern one’s self (subjectivation). In this scenario, the objects of the government to govern are seen as active people who are governing themselves (self-government) in certain ways. Here the role of government is to act on behalf of the self-government (Simons and Masschelein 2006).
By so doing, the government is committed to grant autonomy as widely as possible to Indonesian universities as mandated as well in the Higher Education Act 2012.

The process of reshaping and retreating role of the governments is conceptualised through a decentralisation and an autonomisation, and these have changed the map of socio-politics in Indonesia from a centralistic to a participative and regionalisation. In this context, higher education is expected to become a bridge to unite the nation and to guard the process of democratisation through the process of community learning (Renstra DIKTI 210-2014, p. 2). Higher education is also expected to become a role model in a clean, efficient, and accountable management (Renstra DIKTI 2010-2014). A similar tone has been echoed by the Minister of State Apparatus Empowerment to reform higher education in Indonesia with a core point is targeted to an effective and efficient management system.

The retreat of the government from the management of universities has been very much influenced by the need to make the government as entrepreneurs to empower other local organisations or units to seek and enhance the sources of income (Hood 1991, Osborne and Gaebler 1992, Pollit and Bouckaert 2004). To materialise the implementation of the entrepreneurial government, universities must be repositioned and altered in corporate actors or organisations to enable the market, rationalistic management occur (Boer, Enders et al. 2007, Lorenz 2012).

In altering and reconstructing the identity of universities, the strengthening of autonomy is seen important as a necessary condition that can be carried out through the self-management of university boundaries; the control of collective resources; and the definition of identity that make them special as organisations (Boer, Enders et al. 2007). In the case of the Indonesian universities, the devolving authority or decentralisation has been endowed, except for the determination of university boundaries, and the definition of identity as special organisations.
The government has still dominated the boundaries of universities, mirrored in the stipulation and regulation enacted, such as in determining the student access requirements, tuition fees, and the entry qualifications.

Even though the autonomy has been given to universities, but in fact, in the implementation, there are still strong hands of the government in the rationalisation of universities management through the government’s regulations and evaluations to ensure the accountability and quality assurance of the provision of higher education, and the services it provides. These mechanisms of control have been further concretised in the audit culture in forms of monitoring, controlling, and reporting mechanisms to uphold a credibility for stakeholders. The establishment of an Internal and an External Board of quality assurance in each university has been the real manifestation of the spirit of a half-hearted autonomy endowed by the government to academic communities in Indonesia. In this situation, the academic communities have witnessed and experienced far more hands-off government which are concomitant with the hands-off mechanisms, permeating in teaching, research, and community services. The hybrid mechanisms of hands-on and hands-off systems have come into existence. In this case, the reaffirmation of the State is visible amidst the endeavour of minimising or even diminishing the roles of the government. This fact has fitted well with the steering at a distance (Kickert 1995) and the political technology (Shore and Wright 1999) as depicted earlier in this chapter.

The aforesaid phenomena are further manifested in the official documents of the Higher Education Act (2012) and the Guidance and Procedures of Teachers’ Workload Systems (2013). Both Written documents clearly demonstrate the predominant roles and guidances played by the State to regulate and ensure the quality of work performance of academics through audit mechanism of their routines. The work audits are summed up in the words
‘accountability, fiscal transparency, quality assurance, accreditation board, board of quality assurance, internal assessor, external assessor, and government control’.

The quality in Indonesian university has also been affected by market-ideologies traced with the emergence of economisation of education. Within the economisation of education, the education services are seen as the process of an economic transaction in which sellers and buyers exchange products (Lorenz 2012). In the case of Indonesian universities, this issue is promiscuous as well embedded in the assessment and purpose of upholding the quality assurance. Within the Higher Education Act 2012, the quality of education is assessed on the premise that the quality of education is the one that is able to go beyond the standard of national education and culture and meet the need for the customers. The emphasis on customers has indicated that the end products of higher education services should to a larger extent benefit higher education service’s users in the exchange of money they have invested to gain skills, diplomas, and qualifications as passports to enter workplace (Lorenz 2012). Referring to this premise subsequently, the quality of education set by the government has been placed in the domain of quantitative rather than of qualitative reflected upon the end products of the education process, which can be seen, amongst others, from their alignment between the mastery of skills provided with graduates and the provision of manpower needed for marketplaces.

There has been a tendency towards a shift of the knowledge production too in the context of Indonesian higher education from traditional purposes of higher education to provide theoretical-related knowledge mastery to practical-related knowledge productions. Gibbons, Nowotny et al. (1994) have identified this as a change from a mode 1 of knowledge production, where the goal is knowledge as an end (Delanty 1998, Bleiklie and Byrkjeflot 2002) to a mode 2 of knowledge production with the end of knowledge (Delanty 1998,
Bleiklie and Byrkjeflot 2002). The mode 2 of knowledge production is clearly solidified within Indonesian government to call for universities to become more vocationally oriented. This call has been enthusiastically responded by universities by opening vocational study programmes which go in tandem with academic study programmes. This is manifested in the current higher education systems in Indonesia which operate in a binary system —i.e., there is an academic stream and a vocational/professional stream. The vocational stream consists of the polytechnics and the akademi (The DGHE 2012). Programmes offered in the vocational stream are 1-year, 2-year, 3-year, and 4-year diploma programmes (D-1, D-2, D-3, and D-4), ranging from accountancy to engineering, information technology, language, and nursing programmes.

The academic stream (sarjana programs) consists of 4-year undergraduate (S-1), 2-year master’s (S-2), and 3- year doctoral (S-3) programmes. The academic stream also includes academic professions like medical doctors or accountants (The DGHE 2012). Higher education in Indonesia offering both academic and vocational streams can be differentiated based on the levels and study programmes offered, such as Universities, Institutes, Colleges, Polytechnics, Academies and Community Academies (The DGHE 2012). The purposes of higher education remains within the three function of higher education (Known in Indonesia as the Tri Darma Perguruan Tinggi) in teaching, research, and community services.

The Minister of Education serves as the highest responsible agency in the provision and control of higher education institutions through its arms’ length of the Directorate General of Higher Education (The DGHE). The legal mandate of the Minister of Education and the DGHE to hold responsibility for the provision of higher education is further concretised in the 2012’s Act.
4.8. Performance indicators as a rationalisation process

In the process of change effectuated by the DGHE, the process of constructing rationality has been introduced through performance indicators, performance targets and measurable outputs to ensure the accountability and quality assurance of the services provided by higher education, applied in the three functions of higher education (teaching, research, and community services). Lecturers’ work has been subject to this rationalisation management process. It is monitored and evaluated by agents inside and outside their communities. The following sections are concerned with the Taylorisation or rationalisation of academic workloads and how these workloads are measured and held to be accountable.

4.9. Workloads and the procedures of measurements

The main roles of lecturers in Indonesia are to carry out the three functions of higher education (Tri Darma Perguruan Tinggi), embedded in teaching, research, and community services (The HE Act 2012). This notion has suggested that these three cores of scholarly activities are integral and inseparable elements that contribute to the formation of academic identity. The academic workloads have to proportionally be distributed and gauged to ensure that they have been effectively measured. The measurement of these is used to indicate a unit of lecturer workloads and is conceptualised in the unit of Semester Credit System (Known in Indonesia SKS). In this way, the main roles of academics in teaching, research and community services are measured in this unit of SKS. The maximum number of SKS academics will have to carry out is between 12 and up to 16 SKS in each semester (The LWGD 2013). One SKS is equivalent to 1-2 hours of teaching in class rooms or in laboratories every week, and three SKS is equivalent to one community service activity (The DGHE 2012). Lecturers have to carry out their core activities until cumulative points of 12 or 16 SKS are accumulated in one semester (The Minister of Education stipulation, 78/ 2013).
Amongst the three cores of scholarly activities, research and publications in accredited good impact factor international journals have the highest credit points, which is as much as 40 credit points (The DGHE 2012). To attract and motivate lecturers to intensify research and publications, a framework of incentives is set up. What is notable from this practice has been the proclivity of the segmentation between research and teaching, indicated by the more rewards given to research than to teaching (Finlay and Gregory 1994, Nixon 1996).

The development and promotion of academic careers will highly depend on the achievement and the accomplishment in teaching, research, and community services. The career development of lecturers is determined in a hierarchical ascendancy in academic rankings, such as IIIA-IIID to IVA to IVE. As for academic posts of lecturers, they are determined in a different level of positions, such as asisten ahli, lektor, lektor kepala, and professor. If lecturers have reached the level of IVA-IVE, have published research in accredited international journals, and have reached determined cumulative credit points (usually 850), they can get a promotion to become a professor, the highest level in the academic post (The LWGD 2013).

As part of the professional development of lecturers in order to become professional lecturers legally, a certification programme has been introduced. The process of certification is undertaken by each university and the results are determined by the DGHE. Lecturers who have successfully passed the certification process will have the rights of (1) obtaining a certificate serving as a formal indicator of becoming professional lecturers; (2) obtaining an authority to teach in universities; and (3) obtaining fiscal benefits of certification (The LWGD 2013, The Minister of Education Stipulation). A certified lecturer has to conduct scholarly activities within the framework of accumulative points of 12 or 16 SKS in each semester (The PermenPan 46/2013). Therefore, as a form of accountability, lecturers are required to report
workloads each semester. To maintain the credibility of this reporting, lecturers are required to include some proofs, such as a letter of teaching assignment, and a signed registration form which is always signed at the end of each lecturing (The Certification Guidance Book 2012). Those who fail to meet this requirement, the fiscal benefits of certification will be terminated, and the ascendancy to the next ladder in academic rankings will be postponed (The HE Act 2012).

Teaching and research productivity have come under the scrutiny of the government. Lecturers’ teaching performance is increasingly assessed and evaluated in quantitative or calculable indicators. For example, performance indicators used to assess teaching are those relating to the amount of time spent in teaching in each semester and the number of students able to complete studies within a set length of time. The assessment of lecturers’ workloads is regulated in the Lecturers’ workloads Guidance document (The LWGD 2013). The purpose of the application of this performance assessment is to enhance the improvement of lectures’ professionalism through the introduction of incentives and disincentives. The incentives for career promotion, ascendancy to a higher ladder in academic rankings, and fiscal benefits of certification will be given to lecturers who can meet all requirements defined in the LWGD (The LWGD 2013).

The high importance of assessing and evaluating the work of academics is embodied within market-driven principles. In these principles, the important roles and positions lecturers play are seen in relation to the achievement of national development goals in the 21st century, which is featured with the rise of the knowledge-based society through their roles as knowledge transformers to students. So, to materialise this, it is important to cultivate and develop lecturer academic careers and professional development. Therefore, academic workloads and assessments are important to be managed to produce quality academics
achieved through the development of pedagogic competence, personality, social, and professional competence to achieve national standards of education.

This conduct also applies to research. Research productivity is measured by performance indicators in relation to the number of publication produced in highly accredited international journals, and the capacity to create licences and patents used by industries (The HE Act 2012, LWGD 2013). In view of this, research and teaching have become instruments for careers promotion in which the former gains more weight over the latter. The disparity in the rewards given to research and teaching has been discerned within the number of credit points given to publications and incentives as opposed to teachings (The DGHE 2012).

The pressure to intensify research while at the same time to carry out teaching activities is to allow the achievement of 2025 the DGHE’s goals of becoming quality international higher education. The ground towards this achievement has paved the way to the importance of table leagues and university rankings.

4.10. Procedures of evaluations

The evaluation process is based on the self-evaluation held by lecturers, supported by relevant documents. This evaluation is then sent to the internal assessor at faculty levels who will assess and verify the documents and the evaluation. If everything is met, the assessment will be then handed in to Deans who will endorse and compile all data from across the faculties. The next step is at the level of Rectorate who will compile and verify all the data at the university level and endorse them before sending to the Directorate General of Higher Education. The presence of New Public management and the Neo-Weberian State doctrines is also visible in this procedure. Academics have been given more freedom to carry out their self-evaluation, through peer- review processes (Internal board, Dean and Rectors assessment) along with the central authority assessment.
However, since 2012 onwards, a new online system of assessment has been introduced. The procedures are basically the same as previously, only, lecturers do not longer send hard copy documents to the DGHE, rather they simply input their working performance online. Figure 1 below describes procedures of the evaluation of lecturer performance, prior to the implementation of the online assessment system, and figure 2 describes the online assessment procedures.

**Figure 4. The assessment procedures prior to 2012; Source the DGHE 2012**
4.11. Research Funding Schemes

The assessment of lecturers performance is also important to benefit institutions as a whole, particularly to gain a large amount of research funding allocation. In Indonesia, the system and mechanism of research funding operate in three main funding mechanisms, they are: the national competitive research which consists of (Prominent research for strategic national, Main research for universities and industries, Overseas collaboration for research and publications, Competency research, Research of strategic national, and Research and master plan for acceleration and expansion of Indonesian economic development); the Decentralisation research programmes which encompass (Prominent research for universities, Competitive research grants, Fundamental research, Postgraduate team research, Research for inter-universities collaboration, Doctoral dissertation research, and Research for beginner lecturers); and the Community service programmes which cover (Knowledge and technology for society, knowledge and technology for entrepreneurialships, for export products, for campus...
creativity innovation, and for regions). The management of these research mechanisms is regulated by the Directorate of Research and Community Service (Known as LINTABMAS).

Universities in Indonesia are categorised in several clusters, such as Independent, Main, Middle, Nurtured and Non-nurtured clusters based on research performance which is assessed through online reporting mechanisms. The position of universities in these clusters will impact on the amount of research funding which will be allocated. Below is the percentage of research allocation allocated for universities under each cluster.

### Table 5. Allocation of research funding scheme

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Allocation</th>
<th>Funding</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Independent universities</td>
<td>100%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Main universities</td>
<td>60%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Middle universities</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nurtured universities</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>State polytechniques and non-nurtured universities</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: Simlitabmas (2013)*

This research funding mechanism has directed universities to competition, where excellent research universities in this case, are categorised as Independent cluster universities will benefit more than those in the lower level of clusters. The involvement of the Directorate of Research and Community Service (DITLINTABMAS) in selecting and granting funds for research proposals has come to be seen as an act of upholding a selective process for efficiency and effectiveness of channelling research funds. Therefore, collective attempts of academics in universities will be very important to obtain good grades in order to move up to the upper level of research cluster. By so doing, the role of departments is being challenged and is taken over by the powerful role of institutions.
In 2013, the assessment of research performance was carried out which was based on the four main components with different weight. Those four components are: research resources which weigh 30%; research management weighs 15%; research outcomes weigh 50%; and revenues generated from research weigh 5%. The assessment of research performance is undertaken every three years based on the target indicators set up by the Directorate General of Research and Community Service of the DGHE. Those indicators are *inter alia* the availabilities of foreign researchers, supporting staff, supporting facility units, research grant from Ditlitabmas, no-Ditlitabmas grants, scientific forum events, the number of journal publications, and the number of international intellectual property rights.

In order to enable universities to gain as much research grants as possible, the filling in of the online research performance assessment will be very important. All universities willing to gain the research grant must fill in and submit research performance assessment promptly, otherwise they will not be placed in the categorisation of higher education research, and this will impact on the decrease in the upcoming year’s research grant (Simlitabmas 2013).

**4.12. Conclusion**

As a developing country possessing its distinctive historical, political, cultural, and socioeconomic condition which have been strongly constructed upon its traditional patrimonial values, shifting the existing academic behaviour into quasi-market manners as advocated by NPM can be a complex and arduous undertaking. As such process of shift certainly needs assistance and guidance from the State, in order to provide fundamental grounds to achieve the goals of change process. Since NPM tenets do not acknowledge the power of the State in the provision of public services and citizen activities, the process of change in Indonesian universities, adopting corporate techniques is ideally carried out under the guidance and steering from the State. Thus, the process of higher education reform, to refer
to Dreschler’s (2009) work can be said as a State action, characterised by ‘its monopoly on power, force, and coercion on one side, and its focus on the public good’ (Dreschler, 2009, p. 9). This will be discussed in chapter 8 of discussion where the dynamics of implementation of New Public Management and the Neo-Weberian principles have polarised Indonesian academic responses.
CHAPTER 5  THE PROFILES OF THE THREE UNIVERSITIES

5.1. The University of Mawar

The University of Mawar is located in Java Island, precisely in the city of Yogyakarta. The city endowed with a special administrative status in Indonesia in terms of the direct appointment of its governor which is historically headed with the ‘Sultan’ (the title of the kings who have been historically ruling this region). This university was established on 19 December 1949 and posits the oldest university in Indonesia, and was the Indonesian-established University. From the beginning, this university only had six faculties, and have now developed into 18 faculties, with one school of postgraduate (S2 and S3), and one vocational school. This university attracts many students from 34 provinces across Indonesia to study. This contributes to the high rate of annual increases of the student enrolment. The number of active students covering undergraduate and postgraduate (S2 and S3) is 50,000, of which 1234 are postgraduate students.

The University of Mawar gained its BHMN status under previous Higher Education Act 1999 which granted a full autonomy to self-regulate and self-manage its institution, before being abandoned and reverted to its previous status as the public service university. Nevertheless, in the Higher Education Act 2012, the arrangement and regulation to become BHMN universities are determined by the government through a set of defined requirements. Any universities capable of meeting these requirements can obtain the BHMN status. In regards to this, the University of Mawar has obtained its BHMN status. Today, the University of Mawar constitutes a research university, and in 2014, a report released by the Webometrics rankings placed this university as the best university in Indonesia, with a good international reputation in research. The total of research carried out in 2013 was 2,000 with the number of international publications was 1542 (The Research and Community Service of the University of Mawar 2013). At Asian level, this university is on the position of 100 the most popular
universities (Webometric Ranking 2014). Some indicators used to claim that this university is a research university has been explained by its Rector. The indicators used inter alia half of its lecturers have held doctoral degrees, each level of the study programmes has been provided with doctorate programmes, have produced 50 doctoral students per annum, and have spent research funds as much as 40 million dollar annually. The amount of minimum research funds is 30% of the total of the University of Mawar’s annual budget.

The scholarly activities of this university remains in the three functions of higher education (tridarma perguruan tinggi), which are embodied in teaching, research, and community services. The University of Mawar is in the Independent cluster and its research funding allocated is 100%.

5.1.1. The vision of this university:

To become the pioneer of a prominent world class and innovative national university, to serve the interests of the nation and humanity which is guided with the values of the nation’s culture based on Pancasila (national ideology of Indonesia).

5.1.2. The Mission of this university

To provide education, research, and community services and the preservation and the development of a high level of knowledge and contribute to the benefit of society.

5.1.3. The university structure and management

As a BHMN university, the structures and management of the University of Mawar are composed of four governing boards, they are; 1) The Board of trustee (MWA); 2) The Academic senate (SA); 3) The Rector/President; and 4) The Board of audit (DA). The MWA members are drawn from the SA, the Rector, and the DA which make up the memberships of the MWA. The MWA is the highest position controlling the performance of the SA, the Rector, and the DA.
The memberships of the MWA are derived from the element of communities, such as the representation of the Ministry of Education, the alumni, the businessmen, the staff of universities, and the students (Wicaksono and Friawan 2011).

5.2. The University of Melati

The University of Melati is situated in Makassar, the capital city of the South Sulawesi Province. The province which sits in Sulawesi island of the eastern part of Indonesia, the biggest city in the eastern of Indonesia. The University of Melati was established on 1st August, 1961, but gained its official status on 31 August 1965. This university had undergone several changes of status, before it was changed into a university. It was born out of the Institute of Education for Teacher Training (IKIP Makassar) of Hasanuddin University in 1961, before it changed again into IKIP of Yogyakarta of Makassar’s branch in 1964. The independence of its status as IKIP Makassar was obtained in 1965 based on the Presidential decree. The Institute status had changed into University in 1999, based on the Presidential decree.

Although, its status has shifted into a university, this university still maintains its educational-related study programmes. The Engineering faculty is amongst faculties in this university where educational-oriented study programmes are still sustained. As a university, today the University of Melati has nine faculties with one school of postgraduate (S2 and S3). With six campuses, this university has 30,000 active students, studying in undergraduate (S1) and postgraduate programmes (S2 and S3). Its national ranking stands at the position of 72 (Webometric Ranking 2014), while its international ranking is at the level of 6250 with the very small of research and international publications as opposed to the University of Mawar.

As common practices in Indonesian universities, the scholarly activities of this university are focused on the three functions of higher education which are embodied in teaching, research,
and community service. The University of Melati is categorised as a Middle-cluster in research performance determined by the DGHE and its research funding allocated is 35%.

5.2.1. The vision of this university:

As the centre of education, research, and education development, science, technology, and arts with excellent academic and entrepreneurial conception to produce highly professional graduates.

5.2.2. The mission of this university:

1. Producing professional human resources in education and non-education
2. Creating conducive climate and culture academically for students
3. Providing services to communities to enhance the quality of community’s life, the nation, and the state
4. Developing the university as the teaching and research university which meet the needs of the development of the nation.

5.2.3. The university structure and management

The University of Melati is a Public Service institution (known in Indonesia BLU university).

The executive boards consist of a Rector and four Vice Rectors. The structures are as follows:

1. Rector
2. Vice rector for academic affairs
3. Vice rector for general administration and finance affairs
4. Vice rector for students affairs
5. Vice rector for development and cooperation affairs.

5.3. The University of Anggrek

The University of Anggrek resides in Bali. A very famous tourist island in Indonesia, characterised by its striking Hindu religion and tradition. The University of Anggrek was established on 9 August 1962. Previously, it was a part of Airlangga University since September 1958. Initially, this university only opened six courses in 1962, but today it has expanded into several courses within 12 faculties.
The University of Anggrek has quite a good reputation in Indonesia. This is further confirmed in its national ranking which sits on the 21st position and its 2835 international ranking (Webometric 2014). Based on the data taken from the Research and Community Services (P2M of the University of Anggrek), the number of its publications in accredited international journals in 2014 was 196. With this condition, the University of Anggrek was put by the Simlitabmas in the Main cluster of research in 2012. With this position, subsequently, this university is entitled to obtain 60% of the research allocation.

Occupying two main campuses, this university has 25,000 active students (S1, S2, and S3). This university is striving to improve its quality in order to achieve its goal of becoming a world class university too. One of the actions which has been so far undertaken is the development of international classes which have attracted 2230 international students from 10 different nationalities.

5.3.1. The vision of this university

To materialise the goal of becoming higher education institution producing excellent, independent, and civilised human resources.

5.3.2. The mission of this university

1. To provide the provision of higher education through a quality learning system, and produce graduates whose moral/ethics, and high integrity in accordance with the demand of local, national, and international communities.
2. To develop research and community services in accord with the interests of the society and the nation.
3. To empower the University of Anggrek as higher education with the emphasis on the development of knowledge and technology and the values of socio-culture.

5.3.3. The university structure

Since the University of Anggrek poses Public Service institution as well, its organisational structure consists of a Rector with four vice rectors catering different affairs. Those vice rectors with their roles are:
1. Vice rector for academic affairs
2. Vice rector for finance affairs
3. Vice rector for students affairs
4. Vice rector for development and cooperation affairs.

5.4. Conclusion

This chapter has provided information on varied characteristics of university types, research performance, national and international rankings, and the research funding allocations. It can be clearly seen from this information that these universities have uniform missions and visions to become research universities and serve for public goods. The most striking differences of these universities are the different level in university status (BHMN vs BLU), research and non-research university, Independent research cluster, Main research cluster, and Middle research cluster which determine the allocation of research grants endowed.

These uniformities and varieties in characteristics are important elements in analysing and comparing the responses of academics regarding the implementation of the policy set by the government. The following two chapters (7 and 8) present findings and responses from these three universities.
CHAPTER 6 FINDINGS AND ANALYSIS

6.1. Introduction

This chapter presents findings on (1) the principal changes that have been experienced by academics in their own institutions; (2) how academics perceived these changes; and (3) how academics resisted and accommodated the changes resulting from the implementation of the Higher Education Act (2012) - from which the constructs or premises of Neo-liberal agendas have been embodied. The influence of the agenda of neo-liberalism in this Act has been shown in its tacit embodiment of Human capital theory, reflected in the economisation of higher education institution reforms in Indonesia. This economisation has been juxtaposed with the pursuit of the realisation of the fulfilment of quality and skilled human resources needed for the development of Indonesia’s Strategic National Development and for the accomplishment of the goals of the government to produce world class universities (HE Act 2012, preamble section). This economisation attempt from the government can be interpreted as an economic investment strategy and as a rejoinder to the challenges encountered in the growing global competition to elevate the economic competitiveness of Indonesia (HE Act 2012).

Findings were drawn from 30 participants of three state universities using three data sets of interviews, observations, and written documents. The details of these academics were presented in Chapter 3 on methodology, see Tables 1, 2, and 3. The convergence of data from the three data sets was sought and presented in the data analysis.

6.2. Academics talked about the principal changes taking place in their organisations.

Two general concepts emerged from the process of coding in data analysis in relation to the principal changes taking place in the universities under study. A previous literature review serving as a ‘theoretical construct’ was used to assist in generating concepts and core themes of the phenomena under study. The processes of tagging or labelling of the core themes were
named accordingly. Those concepts are: (1) shift in the governance or mode of coordination or control in Indonesian universities, (2) shift in the system of accountability and quality assurance of lecturers’ performance. These two general concepts have several categories. The following sections continue the elucidation of the phenomena of changes within the domain of higher education institutions and the under life of their academic communities.

6.3. Shift in the coordination modes of control

6.3.1. Changing role of government played out with academics

With regard to this issue, the deans and senior male academics from the University of Mawar shared similar perceptions. They described how the role of government, in this case represented by the Directorate General of Higher Education (The DGHE) has partially shifted. They depicted how the government’s role is no longer played out in balance between their previous role as main agents to enable self-managing practice of higher education, and their current roles as controlling agents. These respondents perceived the DGHE as having put substantially more weight on their current controlling roles than on their enabling roles, as Ali, an older male senior academic, concluded:

It was the recognition of the distinctive features of higher education that made the DGHE previously place themselves as ‘regulator’ and ‘facilitator’. Therefore, the DGHE gradually devolved the management of higher education into the hands of higher education institutions based on their capacity. Unfortunately, the above point of view has changed, and the DGHE have played their roles more as controllers than as facilitators (Cult lecturer, Dean, The University of Mawar)

This was corroborated by Tono, another older male senior academic, saying:

The present DGHE are not like the previous one. In the past, the spirit of the DGHE was to empower higher education, and gradually devolve more autonomy into the hands of higher education. Now, everything is withdrawn to the central authority (Cult lecturer The University of Mawar)

Another impression was voiced by Santoso, an older male senior academic. He believed the current roles of the DGHE have come to be perceived as interfering too much in the core lives
of academics, which had been clearly indicated by the endeavour made to take care of everything:

We do not know, what else will happen tomorrow. The point is the DGHE wish to take care of everything. My question is simple: is that necessary? I have no idea of the reason why the DGHE want to place a grip of strong control on academics’ activities (Eng lecturer, Dean, The University of Mawar)

Further document analysis of the Government Stipulation (PP) reinforced the view that the government did position themselves either as regulators or controllers. The legal responsibility of higher education provision is delegated to the Minister of Education, as stated in the document:


6.3.2. Twin mechanisms of control set by government

In a similar fashion, each dean in two non-research universities (Melati and Anggrek) and one younger female lecturer also reported the changes experienced by academics in their work which has been subject to surveillance, reflected in monitoring; controlling; and the reporting system set up by the government. This task of surveillance is undertaken by an Internal Board of assessment established in their institutions. This Internal Board of assessment must work with the DGHE in assessing and reporting on academics’ work. In this way, academics are given discretion in self-assessment of their performance, represented by this Internal Board. The evaluation of this Internal Board will be reported directly to the DGHE. Below were academic voices represented by Nisa, a younger female middle academic; and older senior males Salim and Radi, respectively:

All our scholarly activities relating to the three functions of higher education, such as teaching, research and publication, and community services are controlled by the DGHE. We have a particular board in our university whose tasks are to monitor, evaluate, and assess our performance periodically - and the results of this
Board’s assessment are directly reported to the central authority (Eng lecturer, The University of Mawar).

The DGHE do not fully control and manage us, there is still an Internal Board of assessors within our institutions (Lit lecturer, Dean, The University of Melati).

…… Our teaching is monitored and evaluated. We have a Board of Quality Assurance at the faculty level which monitors lecturers’ activities, for example what they teach, what the output of their teaching is and so on (Lit lecturer, Dean, The University of Anggrek)

Data from the participant observations carried out in the University of Mawar, confirmed this situation. Discussions on monitoring and evaluation were subjects amongst others talked about in an informal round up amongst academics in their common rooms during recess time. The subjects of discussion suddenly changed as one female academic, Santi, began to tell colleagues about her preparation for teaching in this semester, which had just started - and how she would have to be kept busy again with the administrative-related tasks of assessing. ‘I have prepared materials to be taught in this semester and get ready for the assessment and the evaluation for what we have done at the end of this semester’. This informal chat revealed a telling point: that toward the end of each semester academics have to be prepared to devote much time and effort to providing evaluation of their academic activities (observation in The University of Mawar 25/09/2014)

6.4. Shift in accountability and quality assurance

6.4.1. Online assessment and evaluation of academic performance (Online controlling system)

The online assessment to evaluate lecturers’ performance poses another change experienced by academics. Several academics particularly those male senior and middle academics in the Universities of Mawar, Melati, and Anggrek where this research was carried out, shared their similar perceptions. They described how the forms of assessment, monitoring, and evaluation for their work performance must be directly submitted or
reported via the online system to the DGHE. A younger male middle academic, Sucipto, reported:

Recently, lecturers in Indonesia have been surprised by the instruction from the DGHE to fill in the online forms that assess, record, evaluate, and monitor the work performance of academics in order to ensure the quality of their work. (*Eng lecturer The University of Mawar*)

Academic respondents in the University of Melati likewise expressed the same situation as in the University of Mawar. Academics no longer send documents or papers to the DGHE, as commented by Hanafi, an older male senior academic:

Now we no longer need to send hard copies directly to the DGHE to report our activities. Now we have the online assessment mechanism. (*Lit lecturer The University of Melati*)

This was endorsed by a small number of academics from the University of Anggrek as well, amongst others by Satria, an older male senior academic, saying that:

The DGHE have launched a new system of performance assessment. We have started to use it since last year. It is an online system. (*Eng lecturer, Dean, The University of Anggrek*)

The analysis of the circulated letters gathered from the Universities of Mawar, Melati, and Anggrek fleshed out the purposes of the online assessment. It is established to develop lecturers’ careers as part of lecturers’ workload programmes. The document read:

The DGHE are implementing the information system of lecturers’ career development to all higher education in Indonesia as a manifestation of lecturer workload programmes. (*Circulated letters of the DGHE/2013*)

The practice of online monitoring and reporting was further confirmed with one respondent’s observation. This observation clearly pinpointed this newly emerging additional mode of lecturers’ assessments. One female respondent, Rini, observed in the University of Anggrek, was looking engrossed in working in front of her computer in her room. This then aroused my curiosity of what had made her so intent at her desk for quite a long time. As I investigated
further, I could see that she was scanning and uploading many files as preparation for submission into the system (Observation 28/11/2014).

6.4.2. Mode of regulation is accompanied by sanction and reward mechanisms

It is interesting to note that the regulation implemented by the DGHE is always accompanied by what two respondents from the University of Mawar called ‘threats’ and rewards. It is interesting to note that both males and females responded similarly to this policy. They saw that the threat is applied in order to seek compliance from academics to follow the instructions of the DGHE. The form of the threat usually touches the very core of academics’ interests in relation to their careers and financial well-being, such as a delay in moving up to a higher ladder in the academic rankings and the termination of financial benefits. One of them, Ali, an older, senior male remarked that:

Regulation released by the DGHE is sometimes accompanied by sanctions or using my rough term ‘threats’ and rewards to push us to comply with what they told us to do. The form of threat for example is the termination of our financial benefits or a delay in moving us to the upper level of ranking in academic ladders (Cult lecturer, Dean, The University of Mawar).

In similar fashion, some respondents from the Universities of Melati and Anggrek delineated the consequences of disobeying the regulation. It can impact on the termination of their fiscal and academic benefits; below are examples of their responses, as represented by Nina, a younger female middle lecturer from the University of Melati and one younger male middle lecturer, Hendra, from the University of Anggrek, observing that:

If we do not comply with this regulation, we will get our fiscal and academic benefits terminated (Lit lecturer The University of Melati)

We have to comply if we want to keep our financial benefits going and achieve better academic rankings and positions (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek)

The analysis of the Lecturers’ Workload Guidance document (The BKD) justified this condition; the document read:
Lecturers who do not meet the requirements predetermined in the performance assessment will be given sanctions. The sanctions take the form a delay in rankings ascendancy – and the delay or termination of financial benefits, particularly those who have had certification benefits (The BKD document 2013/p. 3).

6.4.3, Performance indicators of teaching

- *Amount of time spent for teaching in each semester*

Academics from the three universities, irrespective of their gender and length of working experiences shown indications of the changes of assessment in the teaching activities. Teaching performance of lecturers is measured by the amount of time spent teaching in each semester. This experience was mostly put forward by female senior academics. They have to teach at least 12 semester credit systems (SKS) and up to 16 semester credit systems, as reported by a number of participants in the University of Mawar. One female older senior lecturer, Nani, explained that:

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Nowadays, as part of our assessment in teaching, we have to work within a teaching framework of at least 12 semester credit systems and up to 16 semester credit systems (Eng lecturer, The University of Mawar)
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In the meantime, several respondents from the University of Melati shared the same concerns, as observed by one female academic, Nina:

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We have been pressurised to teach long working hours per week (Lit lecturer, The University of Melati)
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This was validated by a number of academics from the University of Anggrek. One younger male middle academic, Indra, contended that:

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Our situation now is becoming increasingly hard. I have to teach three subjects in one semester to meet the requirement of 12 or 16 semester credit systems (Eng lecturer, The University of Anggrek)
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When respondents from the three universities were asked why such a practice is implemented, one younger female middle respondent, Santi, from the University of Mawar explained that it is for the sake of her career development and for financial benefits offered by the government.
These teaching workloads are one of the requirements to improve academic rankings, positions, and professional standing, and to get fringe benefits from the government (*Cult lecturer, The University of Mawar*).

Her argument was also supported by other academic participants from the Universities of Melati and Anggrek. The academics’ arguments from the University of Melati were represented by the voice of Nina, revealing that:

> This is important to improve our academic development of career and profession and for our certification to ensure the continuity of our benefits (*Lit lecturer, The University of Melati*).

This was corroborated by a representative voice of Ramlan, a younger male middle academic from the University of Anggrek, reporting that:

> The additional teaching hours have to do with the fringe benefits we have acquired and also for the purpose of our promotion. Thus, fulfilling teaching workloads is important for us (*Lit lecturer, The University of Anggrek*).

The evidence from the interviews was complemented by the observation of respondents in the University of Mawar. Several respondents in the University of Mawar taking part in the observation, demonstrated that they devoted their time to teach at least twice a week in order to meet the minimum requirement of time spent in teaching (*observation in university of A/10/09/2014*). The same applied to other respondents observed in the Universities of Melati and Anggrek, in which the observations were undertaken on 10/10/2014 and 15/11/2014 respectively.

To ensure that academics do undertake their teaching responsibilities within the standard semester credit systems, a registration form in which academics have to put their signature has been introduced. The signed registration form needs uploading in the online assessment system as well. This registration form needed to be signed by academics at the end of their teaching. This was recounted by Sucipto, a male respondent from the University of Mawar, Sanusi, a
younger male middle lecturer from the University of Melati, and Hendra, a younger male middle academic from the University of Anggrek respectively, revealing that:

One of the documents that needs uploading in our online assessment system is the registration form (Eng lecturer, The University of Mawar)

Every time we finish our teaching, we are evaluated. We have to report it to the Board of Quality Assurance in our university, whose members are our colleagues too, assigned by the university. We have to fill in the registration form (Eng lecturer, The University of Melati).

To make sure that academics commit to their teaching workloads every day, they are obliged to sign a registration form at the end of their lectures (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek).

A further analysis of the Workload Guidance document (BKD) confirmed that in order to ensure the implementation of teacher’s workloads is in line with the predefined criteria stipulated in the HE Act (2012), it is mandatory for academics’ work to be evaluated periodically. This statement has been based on the premise that academics’ performance is required to be evaluated for accountability with regard to the endowment of benefits for lecturers through the programme of certification. As the document read:

……as a form of lecturers’ accountability towards the benefits endowed through their rights of certified status, they are obliged to report their workloads every semester (BKD document 2013).

The classroom observations conducted in the three universities confirmed that lecturers must put their signature in the registration form every time they finished lecturing (Observations in The University of Mawar 10/9/2014, Melati 10/10/2014, and Anggrek 10/11/2014)

- Student-performance-based assessment

Student-performance-based assessments to assess lecturer performance quality have also been used as one indicator. There was no difference in the perceptions related to this issue among lecturers in terms of gender, length of experiences (senior and junior). For example, Budi, a younger male middle respondent from the University of Mawar explained that this indicator is
highly related to the measurements of the success rate of students’ study completion within the set length of time; the completion rate of students passing courses in every semester by achieving a set criterion of grades; and the completion of modules in every semester to be taught, as he explained:

The criteria set up by the DGHE to measure our performance are merely based on the aspects of the success rate of our students in completing their study within the expected or determined time frame. How many modules have been taught and how many students have passed the courses achieving a set of grade criteria (Cult lecturer The University of Mawar).

His explanation was validated by the document analysis of the Quality Assurance and Curriculum and Students in this university, as this document read:

The assessment of students is carried out periodically in the form of exams and assignments, cumulative index of grades, and the percentage of students completing their study within a determined length of time (The Document of Guidance for Academic Quality Assurance; Curriculum and Students at The University of Mawar).

Darma, an older female senior academic in the University of Melati confirmed the same situation, as she reported:

What I have to report every time I finish my lecture in one semester, is the outcome of my students, for example the grades of exams (Eng lecturer The University of Melati).

Hendra, from the University of Anggrek pointed out the same thing:

I report my students’ outcomes, their grades, their passing rates, and the completion of my modules taught (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek).

The document analysis of the Higher Education National Accreditation Board (BAN PT) has concretised the above practice; the document read:

Indicators applied to measure the quality of the graduate profiles are based on the aspects of the number of students who can complete their study on time and the proportion of students who can complete their study within a time limit of study (BAN PT document)
6.4.4. Performance indicators of research

- Research productivity

Similarly, the same pattern of responses was demonstrated by academics towards issues regarding research productivity, the number of publications, licences and patents, and research funding scheme. Research productivity has also been seen as an important aspect in the assessment of lecturer performance. The purpose of the encouragement to enhance research productivity is to develop knowledge and technology. This is undertaken on the basis of lecturer expertise or disciplines. Research productivity is used as well as part of the performance indicators, which are also useful in order to develop and enhance academic professions and careers, as reported by a female academic, Nisa, from The University of Mawar:

> These days, we are being asked and pushed to carry out research in order to develop knowledge and technology based on our own expertise or disciplines. The purpose of this research constitutes one of the prerequisites for us to develop our academic professions and careers (*Eng lecturer The University of Mawar*).

This was demonstrated as well by one male respondent, Ramlan, from the University of Anggrek, who expressed a similar tone to the respondent in the University of Mawar:

> I heard from my faculty that the DGHE have released a circulated letter to inform the obligation for lecturers to intensify their research and their publications to earn academic and fiscal benefits (*Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek*).

Evidence from Darma, from the University of Melati strengthened this too, she remarked that:

> The DGHE have now applied strict regulations that require us to do more research and international publications (*Eng lecturer The University of Melati*).

A document analysis confirmed this:

> Higher education institutions must play an active role in establishing collaboration with industry and business in the field of research and community services (*HE Act/2012/48:1*)
A sizeable number of respondents from The University of Mawar observed that there has been a demand to get their research outcomes published, particularly in accredited international journals. Once again, this is also important for the improvement of academic careers and professions, as mentioned by Tono, a male respondent:

We are asked to publish our research findings in accredited international journals. This imperative is also important for us if we want to gain professional benefits, to improve our rankings in academic ladders, and to get promotion (Cult lecturer, The University of Mawar).

A sizeable number of participants from the Universities of Melati and Anggrek confirmed that they also need to publish their work as one of the quantitative measurements in order to increase their cumulative points. Angga, a younger male middle respondent from the University of Melati, and Hendra, from the University of Anggrek, argued respectively:

The number of publications is also used in the quantitative measurements, for instance to count cumulative points of a lecturer’s performance (Eng lecturer The University of Melati).

This requirement of research and publications is useful for our academic and professional development (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek).

The importance of nurturing the culture of publishing both nationally and internationally has been seen as an integral part of academic activities, and such conduct has been given greater priority for lecturers within the DGHE, as stated in the document of the Minister of Regulation and Bureaucratic Reformation/2013 that read:

Scientific publication at national and international level must become an inseparable requirement from the activities related to the three functions of higher education. In so doing, the need for publication has been a prime priority for lecturers within the DGHE (The Permen PAN-RB/2013: 26).

- Licences and patents

Licensing and patenting are two intertwined elements attached to research activities. Santoso, an older, male academic from the University of Mawar, and Indra, a younger male academic
from the University of Anggrek, reported that lecturers are required to create intellectual property rights through their research patents and licences used by industry.

We are encouraged to patent our research used by industries and establish partnership with industries (Eng lecturer, Dean The University of Mawar).

Licensing and patenting are new sorts of scholarly activities that we have to conduct and these are highly cultivated in my institution (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek)

The success of academics in patenting and licensing their research findings is highly acknowledged by the government, reflected in a large amount of money awarded, as Satria, an older male respondent from the University of Anggrek, reported:

Lecturers will be rewarded by the government if their research findings can be patented. Can you see now, there is a competition being held to obtain prizes of money from the government granted to academics who have successfully patented and licensed their research (Eng lecturer, Dean, The University of Anggrek).

The guidance on patenting and licensing research findings is clearly provided in the document of the National Strategy and Policy of Research in Higher Education. It clearly states in this document that the orientation of the research is directed to produce measured outcomes, for example, producing intellectual property rights:

Each research study undertaken must be oriented towards measured outputs. The results of the research can take the form of contributions to knowledge and technology, which are published in reputable scientific journals, intellectual property rights, and solutions for policy to resolve problems in society (The National strategy and policy of research in higher education document 2013)

The observation of the organisational artefacts in the Universities of Mawar and Anggrek corroborated the above findings in terms of the endeavour undertaken by the universities to facilitate their research activities. This can be seen from the construction of expensive new buildings, particularly the provision of laboratories along with their apparatus to enable lecturers to intensify their research. By so doing, it is expected to have more research findings to be published and patented with industries (field observation 15/09/2014 in the University of Mawar and 15/10/2014 in the University of Anggrek). As for the University of Melati, when its
organisational artefacts were observed, there were no newly constructed laboratories, except for one very prestigious new administrative building, in which the rector’s office is located (field observation in the University of Melati 17/11/2014).

- **Research funding scheme as an activity of competitive works**

A small number of respondents from the Universities of Mawar, Melati, and Anggrek observed that the allocation of 20% of the National Spending and Revenue Budget (APBN) to the provision of higher education institutions has given the DGHE a large amount of funding to finance higher education activities, including the provision of research grants. The scheme has been set up in several types of research and it is based on competition. The scheme of this grant is regulated under ‘strategic research’ and is competed for nationally. The success of a research proposal in obtaining this grant is based upon its alignment with the goals of the strategic development of Indonesia, as elaborated by Sucipto, an older male respondent from the University of Mawar:

> At present, the Ministry of Education possess a large amount of money to fund research for academics. As we know, 20% of APBN has been allocated to education sectors, including higher education to assist them to operate. There are many schemes of research grants offered by the government now. One is the strategic research scheme. Within this scheme, the successful research proposals are based on ‘strategic research’ which is considered in line with the emphasis and the goals of the strategic development for Indonesia (Eng lecturer, Dean, The University of Mawar)

Interestingly, in choosing their topics of research interest, academics are given freedom or discretion. However, academics have to align their research topics with the scheme of the national strategic research for their research to successfully receive grants, as noted by Alimuddin, an older male lecturer from the University of Melati:

> There is no a special topic of research devised by THE DGHE or the government, we have great discretion to choose what to research. Only, in order to be able to gain a competitive research grant, we have to align our topics with the ‘national strategic research’ scheme (Eng lecturer, Dean The University of Melati)

This was confirmed by Radi, an older, male respondent from the University of Melati:
The research grant scheme has been framed within national strategic research, which creates strong competition among us (Lit lecturer, Dean, The University of Melati).

The arrangement to gain research funding is further stipulated in the DGHE’s Strategic Development Planning document (RENSTRA). It is clear from this document that research grants are put under the priority of the National Research Themes, which have potentially valuable contributions to the development of Indonesia.

The fundings of the research nationally are based on the priority of the National Research, and the development of knowledge, technology and socio-culture universally. The fundings are allocated based on the national research-themes and on the basis of the needs for the development of lecturers’ competency. The themes of the research considered as national strategic needs, the fundings are granted through nationally competitive research grants (Renstra the DGHE 2010-2014).

6.5. Shift in the governance, accountability and quality assurance, and performance indicators: the perceptions of academics

6.6. Introduction

This section proceeds with the perceptions of academics towards the shifts which have taken place in their institutions on two policy programmes; shifts in the coordination modes of controls, and accountability (online assessment system and performativity). Based on the coding process carried out, two general patterns of perceptions emerged and were categorised as unfavourable circumstances and favourable circumstances.

6.7. Academics’ perceived unfavourable circumstances from the shift in the governance:

The implications for academic identities as perceived by academics

6.7.1. Changing role of government played out with academics

- *The diminishing power of autonomy in ignorance time*

In perceiving the implications of the shift in the governance, generally, the patterns of negative responses were only received from the University of Mawar alone, ranging from lecturers to
the deans. Academic respondents from the University of Mawar considered that the endeavours made by the government to take part in the running of higher education management constitute a real attempt to diminish the spirit of autonomy and decentralised-led management, previously held by universities. The government’s attempt to fully manage universities has been equated with a return to the ‘time of ignorance’, in which centralised management carried out by the government perceived academics like children. This practice has lost its acceptance and is no longer relevant in this era of reform, as Ali commented:

The real proof of the government wanting to weaken the spirit of autonomy and decentralisation - and this is a signal towards a setback to ignorance time (centralisation). We are not children. Centralistic management and its arrogance have lost their acceptance and they are irrelevant implemented in this reformation era (Cult lecturer University, Dean, The University of Mawar)

Santoso, from this university also raised this problem:

In this reform era, the DGHE are behaving increasingly unreasonably. Lecturers who are supposed to focus their attention on intellectual matters, must be asked to do administrative tasks (Eng lecturer, Dean, The University of Mawar)

6.7.2. Twin mechanisms of controls set by government

- **Concealed controlling strategies**

Academics, again from the university of Mawar, male lecturers in particular, suspected that these twin mechanisms have been part of the government’s disguised strategies. Tono, from the University of Mawar, said that this was a form of strategy conducted by the government to conceal their real strong control over academic work, as he observed:

… I think this is a sort of way performed by the government to delicately obscure their full control over the management of higher education institutions (Cult lecturer The University of Mawar).

- **Shadow control mechanisms**
This was corroborated by Budi, a male respondent from the University of Mawar. Using his own phrase, he argued that this practice is like ‘a shadow control’ which is applied to academics, as academics are no longer trusted by government.

For me, the government do not fully trust us in doing our work, that is why they make this shadow control (Cult lecturer The University of Mawar).

Even Sucipto, from the University of Mawar, insisted on encouraging his colleagues to reject this type of practice, since it is useless and redundant. He commented that:

Just wasting our time, we assess our own work, but the final decision is determined by the DGHE. Just let the DGHE do this job alone do not involve us (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).

6.8. Academics’ perceived favourable circumstances from the shift in the governance:

the implications for academic identities as perceived by academics.

6.8.1. Changing role of government played out with academics

- Control to elicit and improve professionalism

If the majority of academics from the research university (Mawar) demonstrated their disagreement to this change, academics from no-research universities (Melati and Anggrek), on the contrary, agreed with this. Their responses are similar across different backgrounds (males/females, seniors, and juniors). They believed that the participation of the government in controlling the work of academics is essentially needed, insofar as academics have lacked awareness to improve their professionalism. This was uttered by Hambali, a younger male middle respondent from the University of Melati with the comment:

If academics have an awareness to increase their professionalism, we do not need controlling and binding regulation, but what we need is simply encouragement. But, in this very low of self-awareness of lecturers what we need is a strict and forced regulation (Lit lecturer The University of Melati)

Rini, an older female senior academic from the University of Anggrek endorsed this:
I think the government has taken a right step. This strict control can force academics to improve their performance and their commitment to their work (Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek).

6.8.2. Twin mechanisms of controls set by the government

- **Validity and credibility of the assessment**

There was different perception between male academics from university of Mawar and male academics from universities of Melati and Anggrek toward this issue. If male academics from the University of Mawar in this study negatively perceived the existence of twin mechanisms of control set by the government in their institutions, several male academics from the Universities of Melati and Anggrek, on the other hand, took positive perspectives. For example, Hambali, an academic from the University of Melati, and Hendra, from the University of Anggrek, came to the same opinion on this matter. They believed that such control can uphold the trust and objectivity of the assessment itself, and the DGHE are the appropriate institution which can uphold this. This will be different when the assessment is carried out by academics, as the validity of their practice may be not convincing.

I support the assessment of lecturers being put in the hands of the DGHE, as if we leave all academic matters in the hand of universities, I doubt the validity of their assessments (Cult lecturer The University of Melati).

Who can guarantee that our peer-assessment will be performed as objectively as possible? I doubt it (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek)

- **To prevent fraud and manipulation**

The view given by respondents above, was justified by the fact put forward by Hanafi, a respondent from the University of Melati, who lamented that there were some lecturers in his institution who did unfavourable acts in order to obtain good assessment from the DGHE:

Because lecturers tend to report all good things as this is very important for their academic career and professional development. In my institution, many students got higher grades even when in fact they did not deserve them (Cult lecturer The University of Melati).
6.9. Academics’ perceived unfavourable conditions resulting from the shift in accountability and quality assurance: The implications for academic identities as perceived by academics.

6.9.1. Online assessment and evaluation of academic performance (Online controlling system)

- *Encroaching and disempowering role exhibited by the government*

With regard to this issue, it is interesting to note that respondents from the three state universities had similar perceptions toward the negative effects that this system brought into academics’ work. They uniformly perceived that their identity had been affected by this assessment system. For instance, several respondents from The University of Mawar reported that they had been disempowered by the DGHE through the DGHE’s encroaching and disempowering roles. Academics, then, suggested that the DGHE should not have interfered in the business of higher education, as it is its private territory. Santoso demonstrated his disagreement through an analogy. He utilised a distrusting, disempowering, and encroaching role played by ‘company managers’ in managing their company and their employees by scrutinising every little thing, as he depicted:

> I recommend the DGHE not to take care of administrative matters of academics. Because I think this is the authority of each higher education institution. In this case, I can see that the DGHE are simply like those managers in companies who do not trust their employees in doing their jobs. Therefore, these company managers take over all the tasks which can be undertaken by their supervisors. In this way, these managers scrutinise every single thing from monitoring the attendance of the employees, ensuring the discipline of the employees in wearing uniform. Isn’t it ridiculous? So where is the role of their supervisors? I myself do not understand why the DGHE do not trust the performance of higher education management? Leave administrative matters to universities. Should the DGHE need the report, they can just ask for it, unless the DGHE no longer trust the university’s management (Eng lecturer, Dean, The University of Mawar).

Furthermore, some respondents from the University of Mawar also questioned the ability of Staff from the DGHE to review all data submitted from all lecturers across the Indonesian
islands. To ease the work of the staff of the DGHE, academics recommended establishing mutual collaborations, where the tasks for assessments and reviews should be delegated to academic authorities. So the work of the staff of the DGHE would be easier and academics could enjoy their autonomy too, as Ali added:

How can the DGHE control and assess the performance of lecturers all across Indonesian universities? I cannot imagine how the staff of the DGHE must read all documents and review our performance? I expect the DGHE will let us do our work. By doing so, the workloads of the DGHE staff can be reduced as well. So, we have mutual benefits (Cult lecturer, Dean, The University of Mawar).

- **Administrative-related tasks (Changing of academic roles)**

A sizeable number of respondents from The University of Mawar reported that this online system has contributed to an increase in their workloads. This is because, according to Sucipto, this system required academics to compile, scan, and upload files, a task related to administrative tasks. Given this situation, he jokingly said that the three functions of higher education which have been embedded in the work of academics have now been changed into the four functions of higher education. So, ‘why don’t we turn our job into administrative-related staff? And forget about the obligation to teach, research and community service’, as he observed:

Presently, lecturers do not only commit to the three functions of higher education (known in Indonesia as Tri Darma PT), but these three functions have changed to four functions of higher education (Known in Indonesia as Catur Darma PT). Because lecturers have to carry out administrative tasks too, such as collecting files, scanning, uploading and revising. If the situation is like this, why don’t we turn our job into administrative-related job? Why don’t lecturers just turn their job into administrative staff? and forget about teaching, research, and community service activities (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar)

This situation has caused academics to be in a difficult situation of balancing their time to do their main scholarly activities, as voiced by Nani:

If we are kept busy with administrative roles, when can we have enough time to prepare our teaching materials, modules, models, research proposals, articles, seminars, and publication? We waste our time (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).
Another lecturer, Budi, shared the same concern as well, arguing that:

...then it is more important to keep lecturers busy with the administrative activities than to make them focus more on the scholarship activities (Cult lecturer The University of Mawar).

His peer, Tono, expressed his opinion, arguing that:

...then it is necessary to keep lecturers busier with the administrative activities than make them focus more on the scholarship activities. The project of the workloads guidance and procedures (SIPKD) has to be delayed and delayed in order to make lecturers frustrated in collecting documents, scanning, and uploading-failed-redo it- and so on. The process of submitting the workload reporting online will be even worse when the deadline is approaching. This can make lecturers stay up late to beat the deadline (Cult lecturer The University of Mawar).

This condition was even exacerbated by the frequent failures occurring during the process of uploading and submitting documents into this system. This situation has forced academics to redo this process over and over. Nina, from the University of Melati, and Rini, from the University of Anggrek, pinpointed this issue:

This online system and its related workload guidances and procedures, in fact, has not been able to run smoothly as many problems still exist. This condition has caused the submitting procedures to be delayed and delayed. This is frustrating us as we have to redo the procedures of collecting documents, scanning, and uploading. This is even worse when the deadline is approaching. Sometimes we have to stay up late chasing the deadline (Lit lecturer The University of Melati).

The intention of the DGHE is good, only they are not well-prepared in terms of the issue of implementation and of the technical aspects (Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek).

- Job dissatisfaction in salary system

Academics perceived that this administrative-related task is not part of their core or traditional activities which they are paid for. The additional administrative-related task has not been followed with any increase in the salary. This condition has caused them to feel dissatisfied, as Nani from the University of Mawar regretted:

Lecturers are salaried to teach and are not salaried to do administrative roles. Our roles and responsibilities for conducting three functions of higher education have
been so numerous. With the additional tasks like this, we feel overwhelmed and dissatisfied (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).

This was supported by Hambali from the University of Melati, who lamented:

… what is the function of administrative staff? We, academics, are not paid for doing administrative tasks (Cult lecturer The University of Melati)

- The ruination of personal intrinsic motivations towards teaching

The ruination of personal commitment towards teaching has become the issue raised by Santi, a female, younger academic in The University of Mawar. A noble aspiration to obtain good deeds by devoting and dedicating her time to teach, and to broaden her vistas of knowledge as her asset in teaching her students, has withered away. She has no other choices, she is helpless seeing the fact that she is no longer able to focus her attention on research and teaching schedules and activities, she lamented:

I have never expected that the work of lecturers can be this administrative-oriented. What I have dreamt of has been to teach and deepen knowledge as provision to teach by which can give us good deeds in return (Cult lecturer The University of Mawar).

Indra from the University of Anggrek confirmed this situation, pointing out that:

I was on the right track before the assessment of lecturer ruined everything, so I cannot do something else, the schedule of teaching got disordered and research activities were impeded (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek/16/10/2014)

Linking with their religious values, several academics from the two universities (Mawar and Melati) corroborated this personal commitment to teach as well. Sucipto from The University of Mawar, and Hambali from the University of Melati commented:

It was a soul summons. I like the teaching profession, because through teaching I can share and apply my knowledge to other people, and this according to my religion is considered and viewed as a good deed to help me to reach a happy afterlife (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).

My prime motivation to enter the teaching profession was driven by my willingness to practice my religion’s teachings. We are taught to become most valuable creatures by being valuable to others. This can be achieved, among others by sharing our knowledge with other people (Lit Lecturer the University of Melati)
The danger of being assessed and monitored by the government was put forward by Sucipto from the University of Mawar. In engaging with and coping with this regulation, academics may be led to conduct dishonest undertakings. They could be enmeshed and trapped in doing data manipulation in order to meet the requirements set by the government, as he revealed:

Honest lecturers can turn to become dishonest lecturers… because they have to manipulate data a little bit. The case happens in my institution, where we conduct the three functions of higher education, but what happens.. sorry.. they deceive here and there (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).

This fact was reinforced by Hendra from the University of Anggrek. He said that the eagerness of academics to be graded ‘good’ may lead them to find a niche to act in dishonest ways by joining in others’ research so that their name can also appear in the reporting document. This, then, can serve as the evidence showing that they have undertaken the three functions of higher education, as he admitted:

How many lecturers are really undertaking three functions of higher education? I am certainly sure that many lecturers do not do that or they lie… if we want to be honest how many of them are really doing it? Just check, there have been lots of them just attach their name to others’ work just to gain the benefits for their academic improvement (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek).

Budi from The University of Mawar delineated his situation as being ‘over regulated’ at present due to the number of simultaneous regulations of assessments and controls imposed upon academics. He was concerned as this situation can lead to a state where academics can no longer fulfil their roles and responsibilities properly and the critical thinking may lost.

We have been over regulated. I am worried if we are over regulated like this, it may cause lecturers to just perform their roles and responsibilities as usual, not creative, less sensitive and critical towards the real problems prevailing in society (Cult lecturer The University of Mawar).
This was supported by Sucipto from this University as well. This academic even has an extreme point of view in describing his situation under this new regulation. He equated the regulations imposed on lecturers as an act of ‘character assassination’ or ‘slaughtering of character’. He complained that lecturers have always become the object of the government as they do not have bargaining power like those teachers who own their associations:

‘The character assassination’, as has been voiced by many lecturers or the ‘slaughtering of characters’. It seems to me that we will always become the object of the DGHE as we are considered weak since we do not have bargaining power like those teachers. Teachers have had their association that gives them stronger bargaining power than lecturers (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar/13/09/2014).

He further encouraged their colleagues to be courageous to actively stand for their rights as independent academics by not always obeying the regulations enacted by the DGHE:

I support the movement of colleagues to say no at times to the DGHE’s regulation which does not make any sense. Lecturers are independent academic humans (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar)

6.9.2. Mode of regulation is accompanied by sanction and reward mechanisms

- Hostile views on academics

Similarly, there was no difference in the perceptions of academics in the three universities (regardless of gender, disciplines, and length of experiences) towards this issue. They perceived that this issue had also considerable impacts on the way they did and perceived themselves. Nevertheles, indeed, the older academics reported to have suffered more than other academics. A handful of respondents from the University of Mawar in this study showed their dislike of the way the government implement its regulations and instructions, as they are frequently embedded in ‘threats’. They perceived this conduct as something less elegant to be applied to academics, as according to the academic respondents such an approach is only applicable to those who do not want to comply with or those classified as
dissidents. Academics are not disobedient people, they are willing to follow the instructions or regulations set by the government, only they do need help and support in order to properly carry out the instructions. Thus, what they need is not threats, as Santi complained:

Lastly, the way in which the DGHE gives instructions has been usually accompanied by threats. I think this action is considered to be less elegant. The threat only applies to those who do not want to comply. We, lecturers, are not that sort of people. We are obedient people and actually we are willing to comply with the instructions from the DGHE, providing that we are given assistance and support so that we are able to implement the instructions (Cult lecturer The University of Mawar).

- **Multiple layers of Hierarchical lines of command and pressure**

Furthermore, Sucipto from the University of Mawar commented that the application of this system has created a hierarchical line of command, creating three layers of command involving the government, the top officials in universities, and the academics. The latter are sometimes the most pressurised parties, he believed:

Financial benefits given to lecturers should be something to be grateful for. Nevertheless, the use of the threat to force compliance can increase the pressures by top officials in our institutions. I mean the top official can push us to comply with this regulation because they have to ensure that all assessments required by the DGHE can be promptly reported (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).

- **Deterioration of academics work**

Moreover, this act of control does not guarantee the effectiveness of academic work. The effectiveness of the regulation applied by the government was sceptically viewed by a small number of lecturers. For example, Nisa perceived that this regulation does not even make academics work better, rather their work even deteriorated. This is due to imposing too many regulations, and academics frequently become confused in the implementation of these regulations. In addition, this over regulation has signalled how the government views and treats academics, giving the impression that academics are little children who are in the phase of learning how to walk.
The regulation set by the DGHE does not even improve lecturers’ work, rather lecturers are increasingly becoming confused. In short, there have been too many regulations and too much intervention from the top officials of the DGHE. This has given an impression as if we were little children in the process of learning to walk (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).

- Dispirited and weary

The painful experiences resulting from the existence of the threat in the regulations further impacted other groups of academics in the University of Anggrek as well. Ani, an older female senior respondent felt weary and dispirited by this control of her work. She believed that lecturers do not object to complying with the regulations and instructions, even though they have to work even harder. However, they want to be treated like other human beings, who basically and naturally do not like to be threatened to force them to comply with the regulations. She commented:

Actually, lecturers do not mind working even harder, but like other human beings, lecturers do not like to be threatened. Honestly, I personally get bored with the tasks assigned to us, especially if they are embedded in threats (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek).

Mixed negative feelings were also reported by Sela, an older female senior academic also from the University of Anggrek, who even lost appropriate words to describe her feelings towards this regulation, as she put it:

I do not know how to describe my feelings. I have mixed feelings of being restless, losing hope or dispirited, upsetting or whatever toward this regulation (Cult lecturer, Head of Intl. office, The University of Anggrek).

- Undervalued

Nani, from the University of Mawar, was aware of the impact of this policy upon older lecturers like herself. She realised that seniority does not even have an important effect to elicit respect and trust from the government. She felt undervalued as the senior member of the institution by letting herself be managed like a ‘soldier’, who has to comply with his commander. Realising that she is an intellectual person, she believed that such a command is
not applicable for her. Therefore, she was disappointed and was considering resigning from scholarly activities.

I think the government or the DGHE is too demanding over something unnecessary. What I mean here is that if older lecturers, say aged 60, are still assuming their responsibilities in teaching within the frame of 22 SKS (Semester credit systems), plus other tasks, so why they are not trusted and threatened as well. It feels like I am going to resign. I like teaching but if we are threatened like this, I feel like a soldier.. what is evident in this situation is the existence of ‘the chain of command’ which is at odds with our professionalism (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar)

The painful experience was also experienced by other older academic. For instance, Sela from the University of Anggrek, who was approaching her retirement, and who was suffering from serious illness that prevented her from actively carrying out her activities, lamented:

I am almost retired, I have problems with my health. As you can see, I could not even walk properly without someone’s help......it blocked me from freely performing my daily work. I do not care about the sanctions from the government if I do not perform well (Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek).

• Short-term compliance

A long-term impact of the rewards and threats to elicit motivation of academics was put forward by Santoso from the University of Mawar. He argued that such motivation will not last longer, because this may lead to academics carrying out their roles and responsibilities involuntarily. So, they are not driven by their intrinsic awareness to improve their professionalism. He reasoned that:

This sort of motivation to reward and punish will not last long, because it can lead academics to conduct a forced compliance. I think in order to order and discipline academics, sanctions and rewards are not effective mechanisms. It would be better to encourage lecturers to play their roles, to facilitate them to empower themselves. Then, we can expect from this encouragement that awareness will emerge which reminds academics of the importance of improving their professionalism should they wish to be recognised. (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar)
6.10. Academics’ perceived favourable circumstances from the shift in accountability and quality assurance

6.10.1. Online assessment and evaluation of academic performance (Online controlling system)

- Time-efficiency

While some respondents from the three universities under study conveyed their negative feelings towards this system, there were also a handful of participants (universities of Anggrek and Melati) who saw that this system has positive sides, particularly with respect to the assimilation of the use of technology in monitoring a lecturer’s performance.

Two respondents from the University of Anggrek for instance, Rini and Sofyan, an older male senior academic, expressed their positive perceptions about the good intention of the government in implementing this system. They argued that this is a good practice that accelerates the process of assessment. Therefore, its application needs to be advocated now, but should not be applied until everybody becomes technologically-literate. Additionally, these respondents did not view this change as a form of distrust shown by the government.

Rini’s and Sofyan’s comments are presented below respectively:

All parties have good will. The use of technology if it is not tried from now… when else it can be tried?. Good or bad must be started. Online control poses a new technology for us (even though we have lagged behind). The introduction of the use of online control is not a form of distrust of the government in higher education or a shift in the role of government as facilitators, because each university still has its internal assessors (Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek).

I am content with this assessment of workloads. Now we do not need to send our documents to the Directorate General of higher education (the DGHE) as now the the DGHE have their online procedures for document submissions (Cult lecturer The University of Anggrek).
This was supported likewise by Tati, an older female senior respondent from the University of Melati. This academic was convinced that this system can make the work of academics in relation to administrative procedures easier:

The online assessment system is for the good of us....so we do not need to look for documents to administer our academic rankings because all data have been accurately and systematically organised (Eng lecturer The University of Melati)

The introduction of this system is positively perceived as well by a younger male respondent, Indra, from the University of Anggrek. He argued that the application of this system can teach lecturers to become a well-organised person to manage files and documents. As he argued:

The assessment system of lecturer performance has positive advantages in that it will teach and encourage lecturers to do effective file management (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek).

The online system can be a good medium for the the DGHE to control and evaluate the work of academics in all parts of Indonesia. Therefore, this must be supported and complied with, as Bunga, a younger female middle academic realised:

The assessment implemented by the DGHE upon lecturers’ performance is a good medium to control all the lecturers in this country. And as a lecturer who has been granted certification, I will always comply with this as I think this regulation is reasonable and normal (Eng lecturer The University of Melati).

- **Trust to stakeholders**

It is in the interests of students and their parents that the significance of the controls and monitoring is essential. The trust has been given to lecturers by parents to educate their children, so to maintain the trust, those parents are entitled to know the quality of the service being delivered. This was echoed by Rini, an older academic, from the University of Anggrek:

But control and monitoring are important, because we have been given the trust by students’ parents to educate their children. Therefore, we are necessarily accountable for their trust. With this sort of system, it is expected to be able to control and monitor the performance of teachers to ensure the quality outputs (*Cult lecturer The University of Anggrek*).
This was also supported by a small number of participants from the University of Anggrek, for example, Hendra, arguing that:

> Students and parents are our important stakeholders. We, lecturers are trusted by them to educate their children. Besides, we have been paid by the government using public money to educate our young generations (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek).

Therefore, he encouraged and advocated other lecturers to truly dedicate their work in the interests of the development and the advancement of the nation.

> Let us work with high spirit and with our heart, and enjoy our work or ‘working with passion’ for the advancement of our nation, even though there are abundant regulations imposed upon us (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek).

### 6.11. Perceived unfavourable circumstances towards performance indicators

#### 6.11.1. Performance indicators of teaching

- **Lack of humane sides**

There was no different perception between males and females in responses to this issue. Academics from the three institutions demonstrated their critical thinking with regard to the assessment and the meaning of their teaching activities. Lecturers in this study, particularly two lecturers in the University of Mawar, had a clear idea about the meaning of true dedication in performing their scholarly activities. They believed that their true dedication cannot be measured by documents, as commented by Nani, an older academic:

> Is the sincerity of lecturers in doing their work simply measured by the complete documents? (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar)

A sizeable number of respondents from the University of Mawar argued that professionalism in academics’ work has nothing to do with abundant pieces of paper, and the end results of their activities, for example the amount of time spent and devoted in accomplishing their teaching. This sort of measurement is not plausible to be utilised to assess academic performance in order to improve academic careers, as Nisa put it:
When we talk about professionalism, is it enough measured by a piece of paper? Acting as evidence that we have for example, spent much time to teach? Or to supervise our students? Just because of this, then this sort of evidence can be used as one of the criteria to improve our academic rankings? *(Cult lecturer The University of Mawar)*

Another doubt was raised by Sela from the University of Anggrek. She questioned the moral function of teaching in higher education:

Can the quality of education be measured by the proof of numbers or figures? Are these figures or numbers the form of loves and passions in the world of higher education? *(Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek)*

This was endorsed by Sucipto from the University of Mawar. He had come to realise that quantifiable measurements cannot be used to measure all life skills, as these are unable to explain the process conducted by lecturers in carrying out their teaching activities.

However, can all the life skills be measured in a scale in the explanation of figures? What about our endeavours to prepare learning materials, our sincere dedication of our time and energy to teach, and our patience to interact with students in classrooms? *(Eng lecturer The University of Mawar)*

The same concern was put forward by Tono in The University of Mawar, lamenting that:

I spent much time to prepare materials used to teach, and went through them to make sure that all aspects students need to know have been covered. If the quality of teaching is simply looked at the final results, I feel I have sacrificed for nothing *(Cult lecturer The University of Mawar)*.

- *Effort to build good images*

This assessment can lead academics to pay little attention to the quality of the work they perform. They tended to find strategies to look good to obtain more advantages in relation to their careers and fiscal benefits, as revealed by Hambali, from the University of Melati:

This system is mainly based on the quantitative instruments. Lecturers just report the number of courses they have taught, the number of SKS (Semester credit systems), the amount of time spent teaching in classrooms…. With these kinds of measurements, lecturers just do their work as they desire…and they continue to obtain financial benefits of certification. For them, the most important thing is quantity, not quality. If this situation persists, is it worth claiming that lecturers’ certification can be used as the proof of the improvement of lecturer’s performance? *(Lit lecturer The University of Melati)*

- **Poor working commitment**

Although, some academics from the three universities were discontent with this assessment, supports for the application of performance indicators upon lecturers’ teaching performance were also shown by academics in the three universities (Mawar, Melati, and Anggrek), considering the fact that there has been a low level of working commitment displayed. For example, Wijoyo, an older male senior respondent from the University of Mawar, told us that lecturers are more likely to perform their teaching obligation on the premise that so long as the work has been undertaken, the compliance with the regulations has been met, irrespective of whether or not the students have substantial understanding of the lesson taught; he confirmed that:

> There have been a lot of teachers who have not had any commitment towards their roles and responsibilities in teaching. They just come to the campus to teach and after that they go somewhere or may go back home. They do not care about their students. What is more important to those teachers is that they have performed their tasks and obligations, and this has meant that they have complied with the regulations. I have taught that is all and finish *(Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).*

The same opinion was expressed by Sofyan from the University of Anggrek, observing that:

> The tendency of academics towards their teaching responsibilities is characterised by the neglect of their students. They do not care about them, after teaching they just go back home and focus on their other responsibilities. Sometimes, they were absent from classes *(Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek).*

- **Poor cultural context**

Hambali, an academic from the University of Melati, argued that due to the cultural context relating to the low level of working commitment, he strongly agreed with this. Through incentives conferred upon lecturers, it is highly expected that this can improve the motivation of lecturers. He realised that such a practice may lead lecturers to become acapital-oriented,
but that is all they need. This is a human nature. Academics do need incentives to stimulate their commitment to completely do their work. He argued:

So with regard to our cultural context, this regulation is good. Even though it seems to have evoked a propensity towards capitalism, but we have to acknowledge that we cannot avoid this system, because I think that is human nature. We, lecturers, need incentives to motivate us to do our work. So, incentives are natural and we cannot deny it. …… Besides, what is wrong with this sort of system? *(Lit lecturer The University of Melati)*

Similarly, Sofyan from the University of Anggrek, confirmed this situation:

Even though it seems that the incentives will lead academics to capitalism, we have to admit it that we cannot avoid this system. Why? That is human nature. We, lecturers, are humans and as humans we need incentives to motivate us to continuously create something *(Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek)*.

- *Poor salary system*

The poor situation of the payment system has led to dissatisfaction of lecturers in their employment. Therefore, the applied incentives are expected to motivate lecturers to conduct their scholarly work. Furthermore, this situation does not violate the three functions of higher education, said Wijoyo, a respondent from the University of Mawar; Sanusi, from the University of Melati; and Sofyan from the University of Anggrek.

That is natural and we cannot refuse it, even though the real tasks and obligations of academics are in teaching, research, and community services which are pursued in their pure forms or natures, but our situation with insufficient salary system, of course we need incentives as our motivators *(Eng lecturer The University of Mawar)*

And similarly, Sanusi, an academic from the University of Melati, stated that:

We are humans, we have our family to support. Life is not just dedication to our professions. We need more sources of incomes to support our personal life *(The University of Melati)*

And Sofyan…….

I do not want to be a hypocrite by denying that I need a high salary *(Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek)*
Even Hanafi, an academic from the University of Melati, repeatedly argued that this act does not encroach on the basic traditional roles and responsibilities of lecturers as stated in the three functions of higher education. The incentives simply act as tools to motivate lecturers, he believed:

So, if it is said that this practice has violated our basic and traditional roles and responsibilities as lecturers as stated in the three functions of higher education, I think it is not like that. Incentives act as a stimulus for academics (Lit lecturer The University of Melati).

6.13. Performance indicators of research and publication

It would be immensely important at the outset to clarify that the perceptions of academics towards the performance indicators of research and publication were presented within each group of disciplines (Cultural studies/Literature, and engineering) from the three universities. The underpinning reason for doing so is the supposition proffered by Becher (1989) who argued that epistemic or the epistemological point of view held by each discipline and other individual characteristics, is the element that causes academics to view their world differently, research and publication in particular.

6.14. Performance indicators of research and publication: unfavourable circumstances as perceived by academics within cultural studies faculty.

- Gender inequity

An interesting pattern of commonalities and differences in responses between cultural and engineering disciplines was obtained. The commonalities were found in aspects related to (1) gender; and (2) poor salary system, and the differences were indicated in aspects (1) lacking of facilities in terms of international journal databases and laboratory equipments; (2) types of articles; (3) English language. The Gender-related issue was another barrier. There was a clear different perception between male and female academics regarding performance indicators in research and publication in the cultural studies from the three universities. The pressures to
increase research have more impact on married women academics in relation to their careers and their domestic roles. Bunga, for instance, a younger married academic from the University of Melati, confessed that:

I myself find it difficult doing so. I am married and I have a little child. Every day, five days a week I have to start working from 7.30-4.00. Going back home almost at night, and at home I have to take care of my children, so can you imagine how much time is left for me to focus on research and writing? *(The University of Melati)*

However, Santi, who was also a married woman with a little child in the University of Mawar, argued that time constraint and multiple roles are not factors that inhibit her productivity in doing research and publication. It is all about how to plan times and tasks, she argued:

…… I have to commit to dual responsibilities as a mother and a lecturer. I see that the very limited time I have, poses no constraint for me. Honestly, this can be very difficult for me to manage my time between career and my household responsibilities. Nevertheless, I will not blame this condition. The most important thing for me is planning. I am the type of a person who always looks for information in advance, and then plan what I will do. Not like a person who does her jobs when it is the time to do that, so she will rush to do something by searching through their piles of folders. So, just planning. That is the point *(The University of Mawar)*

This was corroborated by Rini, an older academic from the University of Anggrek. Rini argued that it is laziness that contributes to the lack of research and publication productivity in her faculty:

The problem in my department is not because of language barrier and limited time, but ‘lazy’. We are quite lazy to sit in front of computers after conducting our teaching workloads *(The University of Anggrek)*.

Not only female married respondents faced constraints in carrying out more research and publication while at the same time performing multiple roles. A sizeable number of male academics from the University of Mawar acknowledged that they encountered some constraints as well, particularly those related to increased multiple roles and responsibilities, as Budi commented:
We have so many teaching activities to carry out. Like me, besides teaching in undergraduate courses, I also teach in postgraduate courses. Those activities are undertaken within and outside my own institutions. There are still a couple of teaching responsibilities that I must do in other universities, mainly in private universities (The University of Mawar).

- **Poor salary system**

A poor salary system had been identified by a sizeable number of respondents from the University of Mawar as the cause that impedes their productivity in research and publication. For instance, Tono, complained that the situation in which lecturers’ salary system is low has forced academics to look for other sources of income to compensate. He described the lecturers as ‘nomadic traders’, who have to sell their merchandise from one place to another in order to obtain more money:

> These new policies in research and publication are somewhat at odds with our conditions in terms of the salary we earn as teachers or researchers within Indonesian higher education institutions. We are like nomadic traders (henceforth Pedagang Asongan) who move from one place to another to sell our merchandises in order to gain much profit (The University of Mawar).

- **Lacking access to international journals**

Lacking facilities to access international reputable journals has been seen as another barrier to academics publishing their research findings. This issue was raised by five academics in the University of Melati and six academics from the University of Anggrek. The following were their comments, represented by Bunga, from the University of Melati, and Rini, from the University of Anggrek:

> I think the requirement is too ambitious in the midst of our limited facilities and fundings for doing research (The University of Melati).

> Yes, publishing research in international journals will be difficult for us. The facilities to accommodate this are still inadequate, for example the provision of access to accredited international journals which is substantially limited. The access to references is also restricted (The University of Anggrek).

This was also conformed by some academics in the University of Melati, as exemplified by Hambali, saying that:
I think the classical issue is the lack of facilities in terms of the wide range of availability of international reputable journals that we can use for research ingredients (The University of Melati).

- **Types of articles**

The type of articles was indicated as one barrier for academics in this faculty to get their articles published. Hambali, from the University of Melati pointed out that:

> Our article needs complex reasoning in providing arguments in order to be accepted and published. We need to write a wide ranging literature review. This has been impeded with our limited access to accredited international journals (The University of Melati).

This way of writing and reasoning, unfortunately has not been supported by the facilities to access accredited international journals, as exemplified again by Hambali from the University of Melati:

> Our articles and argumentation are characterised with long interpretation, using a lot of sentences with sophisticated vocabulary in order to show and convince our readers (The University of Melati).

### 6.15. Performance indicators of research and publication: unfavourable circumstances as perceived by academics within the engineering faculty

- **Gender-inequity**

Like other married women in Cultural studies and Literature Faculties, married women in this faculty felt that their dual roles and responsibilities constrained them to focus more on their research and writing for publication. Nisa indicated that her dual roles and responsibilities as an academic and a mother sometimes hindered her from spending enough time on her research and writing activities:

> …. When I was still unmarried, I could focus more on my work, but now I am married, I have two little children. My husband also works as a lecturer. Sometimes, this situation makes it hard for me to focus more on my work, particularly on doing more research and writing (The University of Mawar).

In similar fashion, Tati, another married woman from the University of Melati also reported the same situation:
I feel twenty four hours a day is not enough for me. I wish there would be an additional hour for one day (laughing). Why? Twenty four hours is only enough for doing my academic job, what about my family? (The University of Melati)

- **Poor salary system**

With respect to the salary system, Sucipto, in the University of Mawar, admitted that this has forced him to look for other sources of income outside his main duty, by getting involved in many big projects. Because of this, he found it difficult to balance his time to do research and publication, as he admitted:

> We are being asked and encouraged to focus on our roles as teachers and researchers with limited salary. How can we focus on those managed or prescribed roles and responsibilities? We usually look for other sources of additional earnings. For me, I usually get involved in a big project outside the university (The University of Mawar).

Ida, an older, senior academic from the University of Anggrek confirmed this situation:

> Our salary system needs to be revisited, I mean the low level of salary has forced us to look for other secondary sources of income. In this situation, teaching roles sometimes become the second priority for us as we have to focus our priority on other additional jobs outside our main roles here (The University of Anggrek).

- **Lacking sophisticated laboratory equipment**

When academics in this faculty were questioned about the facilities available to support their research, many of them complained about the lack of these, particularly the latest and most sophisticated laboratory equipment. Consequently, this situation has left academics behind Western countries in terms of the newest research topics in their disciplines, as Sucipto from the University of Mawar put it:

> In addition, Western countries have mastered all new kinds of research, because their facilities and equipment are complete. We are left behind in relation to the latest research in our fields (The University of Mawar).

- **English language barrier**

In addition to the lack of sophisticated laboratory equipment, English has been seen as a constraint for both women and men academics to publish their research findings, as noted by
Darma, an older, female academic from the University of Melati and Indra, a younger male middle lecturer from the University of Anggrek:

……… and English has been used as an international standard. For me this is also unfair. But what else we can do. English has been accepted internationally (The University of Melati)

Language, yes language is the main hurdle for me. I have many articles and they have been published in national journals, but all of them were written in Indonesian (The University of Anggrek).

However, not all academics had such a perception. For example, Hendra, a lecturer from the University of Anggrek, confidently said that language posed no barrier for him. Moreover, English language usage in his article did not need to be complex. The main problem for him has been related to funding and the salary of lecturers. He put it:

For me publishing my research in International journals is easy. Generally, research and publication within the domain of civil engineering does not require more complex use of English. Language is not the main barrier for me, it is simply about the funding and our well-beings as teachers (The University of Anggrek).

This was supported by Sucipto from the University of Mawar, who argued:

For Electrical engineering itself, this has been implemented and there have not been any hurdles for our lecturers. This is because almost all of our lecturers are overseas graduates (English speaking countries and Japan). With this background, they have had better experience in research, particularly in dealing with international writing standards. We have many international publications and all are indexed in Scopus. I myself have four publications (The University of Mawar)

An interesting point came from Darma whose argument stand in contrast with other academics from the University of Melati, who claimed that she finds difficulty publishing in international journals because her discipline is mostly related to practical things, such as fixing broken appliances whereby she finds job satisfaction. Writing and publishing have not yet attracted her attention as her satisfaction does not lie in them, as she reasoned:

It is hard for us to publish our research as our discipline is related to practice, equipment, and fixing broken appliances. Our discipline’s characteristics have given us satisfaction. There, we can find the satisfaction. Therefore, to write and publish have not been our concerns. Our satisfaction does not lie in these issues, but when we are able to fix broken appliances (The University of Melati).
What can be seen from the excerpts above have indicated that even in the same disciplines, academics have different perceptions on perceiving themselves and their jobs as exemplified in their perceptions on the use of English in articles for publications.

- **Inequality between English-speaking and non-English speaking countries**

Responding to the requirement to publish in international journals, Sucipto from the University of Mawar protested that this is an unfair practice, considering that only Western journals have become the references for publishing, while his university and other Indonesian universities have already had international reputable journals. He protested:

> This requirement is not fair. Why do we have to publish in International journals? Why should we contribute to their journals, while they (Westerns) do not contribute to ours. We have our own journals, some of which have had International standards and reputations (*The University of Mawar*)

- **Lack of funding**

The slim chance to globalise ideas in international journals has nothing to do with the human resource capability, but is mostly to do with the lack of funding, said Indra from the University of Anggrek.

> The lack of contribution of Indonesian scholars to International journals is not because our human resources are not capable. We have a lot of excellent and capable researchers. But we lack funding. Funding from the government is so small to be competed for nationally. If the government wish to strengthen our publications and research productivities, they should fix this problem in the first instance (*The University of Anggrek*).

**6.16. Performance indicators of research and publication: favourable circumstances as perceived by academics within the cultural studies faculty.**

- **To achieve a world class university**

While other female academics from cultural studies faculty perceived that this issue impacted on their work, particularly on gender inequity, other female lecturers perceived this issue
positively. Rini, from the University of Anggrek, linked her agreement with this regulation with accomplishment of the goal to become a world class university:

This policy, enacted by the DGHE, needs to be supported. This is very important, I think to enable the materialisation of our goals of becoming universities of excellence (The University of Anggrek).

- To improve personal professional development

In contrast, Nina, a younger female middle lecturer from the University of Melati, associated this regulation with her personal development, particularly in stimulating her to write and publish more:

I see journal publication requirement has big advantages, and it can trigger the ‘spirit’ of writing for lecturers. It is the time for lecturers to be diligent to produce scientific publications (The University of Melati).

The same motivation was demonstrated as well by Rini from the University of Anggrek, who felt:

This stipulation is good, as I feel challenged to improve my qualification, even though I myself have not had ideas of whether I can or not, but that is a target (The University of Anggrek).

Participants with a good foundation of English viewed this stipulation as positive actions. So they found that English language is not a main barrier, rather they lacked ideas to write, as Nina commented:

For me, language is not a constraint as I utilise English almost every day in teaching my students. The most important aspect is the ideas. If I get ideas, it would be easier for me to write, and if I do not get ideas what should I write? (The University of Melati)

6.17. Research funding scheme: perceptions within the cultural studies faculty

- Marginalisation of social disciplines through the strategic research scheme

Male lecturers from demonstrated similar perceptions to this issue. One respondent from the University of Anggrek, Sofyan, an older male academic, commented on the inequality that the ‘strategic research scheme’ brings for social sciences such as anthropology, because this
discipline has not made any direct contributions to the economic development of Indonesia. He pointed out:

Besides, the schemes of this grant which is grounded on the basis of the ‘strategic research’ has brought inequality for other scholars from social disciplines in particular, for example those from anthropology whose disciplines happened to have no direct contributions to the economic development of Indonesia. It is a pity you know, they are marginalised and not being prioritised to obtain the fundings. (Lit lecturer The University of Melati).

His statement showed deep concern towards the possible marginalisation of other social sciences. His worries could be seen from his gestures and the ways he moved his hands. He kept on moving his hands while uttering his words with considerably high intonation in his voice. This indicated that he was upset with this situation, but he was powerless to do something to prevent this from occurring (Research diary/07/10/2014).

• Unequal competition among universities

Furthermore, this grant was put under tight competition nationally, where universities from Java had usually come out as winners, argued Salim, an older, male lecturer from the University of Melati.

The grant is put in the tight competition. We usually have to vie with other scholars and sometimes scholars from universities in Java dominated the success of receiving the grants. We can get only one third of this total grant (Lit lecturer, Dean, The University of Melati).

Similarly, Hambali, a younger male academic from the University of Mawar complained that:

Now, we have to fight for a very small piece of a cake. Incredible, how can we fight for that acre of funds? For me all academics whose excellent academic abilities must be forced to..... The state must make an instrument where universities must conduct research. How to force academics to do research can be done by asking them to focus their whole life on developing their research topics. At present, the focus of academics still revolves around how to look for additional income outside universities. The reality is like that (Lit lecture, The University of Mawar).
6.18. Research funding scheme and licence and patent: perceptions within the engineering faculty

- Marginalisation of social disciplines through strategic research scheme

Similarly, male academics from this faculty revealed as well that there was ‘a strategic research’ agenda embedded in the research grant programme launched by the DGHE in order to select the appropriate research proposals to be awarded a grant, for example as voiced by Sucipto, a younger male respondent from the University of Mawar:

> It is not easy to get the research grant and to patent and licence it, it is highly competitive. Besides, the opportunity to get the grant will be measured by the extent to which this research will have direct links to Indonesian strategic development priorities (*The University of Mawar*).

The chance to get the grant will be easy for this faculty as its discipline is closely linked to the applied sciences, as Hendra, a younger male respondent from the University of Anggrek stated:

> For engineering itself, we do not encounter many hindrances as our discipline has much to do with practical application, so the chance to get the grant and to produce licence and patent has sometimes been easy (*The University of Anggrek*).

When academics from the University of Mawar in this faculty were asked about unequal distribution of research grants obtained by other academics from universities outside Java, Tono, an older male academic contended that the research grant should be equally allocated to assist academics to enhance their opportunity to publish their scientific research:

> I agree that there should be an equal distribution of budget to help prolonged-neglected universities, particularly budgets to enhance the chance obtained by lecturers to publish their scientific publication (*The University of Mawar*).

Satria, an older male from the University of Anggrek recommended changing the research grant channelling scheme by allocating a maximum amount of money within a contractual mode. By so doing academics would be strongly forced to conduct research, and publish as many publications as possible. If academics cannot fulfil these, they have to voluntarily resign, as he recommended:
Government should apply a scheme that obliges teachers to conduct research in a contractual-mode with a large amount of funding, say for example for each person is given not less than Rp. 20,000,000 every month. Under this contract and the payment, they must do research and produce as many publications as possible. If they cannot fulfil these, they can be terminated from the university (Dean, The University of Anggrek).

Academics believed that if they are provided with sufficient funding, they can produce publication given a large number of academics employed in this faculty. If each of the academics is given sufficient funding to conduct research and publication, there will be plenty of research articles published in accredited international journals, as cogently argued by Indra, a younger male academic from the University of Mawar:

If we are given more funding or incentives to focus on conducting research, I am certain that Indonesian scholars can publish very many articles in International journals. If each one of let’s say 50 teachers in this faculty were given more funding to support his or her research and each research is published, can you imagine? How many articles can be published each year? (The University of Mawar)

6.19. Performance indicators of research and publication: favourable circumstances as perceived by academics within the engineering faculty.

- Controlling and binding rule

As with academics from cultural studies and literature faculties in the three universities, academics in engineering faculties perceived poor cultural-context as their reason to support the performance indicators in research and publication. Tati, from the University of Melati, said clearly that she agreed with this, because this is what academics need. She argued that within this disappointing cultural condition, academics did need strict control from the government to push them to boost their productivity. This can be effective in conjunction with incentives and disincentives, given that the situation is already at a critical point. Thus, encouragement would not work. She observed:

I agree with this regulation, because this is what academics need. We need a controlling and binding rule and regulation to push academics to conduct the three functions of higher education (tri darma perguruan tinggi) as a whole. The encouragement would not be sufficient, strict regulation coupled with sanctions
and rewards are more effective. Because we have been in a precarious situation, we need to change it (*The University of Melati*).

The need for strict regulation enacted by the government was also supported by Darma from the University of Anggrek, who reasoned:

This regulation is a positive tool to push professors and other scholars to pursue research and publication as the situation in the field has shown that many with professoriate titles do not do anything as demanded by the Tri Darma Perguruan tinggi. So the regulation needs to be strict not just serve as an encouragement (*The University of Melati*).

The other male respondent from The University of Melati, Sanusi, also saw the importance of the implementation of this regulation:

I think this should be conducted by the government, considering our academic habits, which have not shown any self-awareness and will to fully carry out the three functions of higher education. So, in the context of our culture this regulation is good (*The University of Anggrek*).

An interesting point came from Darma from the University of Melati. While some academics saw the importance of incentives to motivate academics to intensify their research and publication, she on the other hand, honestly admitted that it is not the money that drives her to do so. Money is only the side effect to intensify academics’ research and publication. What drives her to carry out research and publication is solely her desire to be acknowledged, as she admitted:

To increase our academic rank is simply the side effect. I have been doing research for five years and I feel that research has been part of my identity. Even though research is pressurised by the DGHE, I think it is not our own motivation. This policy should be implemented and pressure put on us to reinforce our research motivation. In this way, we are given more energy to publish our research in order to meet our desire to be recognised or acknowledged (*The University of Melati*).

6.20. Academics talk about their everyday resistance and their accommodation to changes in their institutions.

In this section, the patterns of academics’ resistance to policy imperatives are analysed. The analysis was based on the interpretive studies of resistance moderated by the micro-political
resistance at the level of meaning and subjectivity of respondents. It is grounded on the theory developed by James. C. Scott (1986) to denote the resistance of powerless or subordinated groups through their hidden transcripts which go off-stage, using their symbols of resistance.

6.20.1. Protest and critiques in cynical and sceptical tones

Many respondents from this study showed their mixed feelings toward the changes which have occurred in their institutions. Although they were inclined to support these changes this did not necessarily mean that these respondents accepted them as a whole. Rather, they expressed their critiques and concerns about several issues that according to them have been neglected by the government during the enactment of this new policy.

One of the critiques was raised by Sucipto, a younger, middle male in the University of Mawar. He regretted that the policy imperatives set by the government tended to be implemented in a rush, neglecting the situation in the field. Before implementing this policy, the government needs to carry out a survey and a socialisation. The is important to give the chance for other academics residing in different areas across Indonesia to understand the meaning of this policy. In this way, all academics can have the same understanding over interpreting the policy imperatives:

What makes me concerned is that the DGHE made policy without doing a survey or something related to it, and suddenly there appeared a circulated letter regarding new policy or regulation. It is a magic weapon from the DGHE. Survey and are needed so that all lecturers ranging from the cities to the remote areas in Indonesia can have the same understanding over the policy and regulation (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).

This argument was backed up by the lack of consideration given by the government to the availability of better internet connection in some areas in Indonesia, as criticised by Tono, an older senior male respondent from the University of Mawar. He argued that the application of the online assessment needs good internet networks. This is in contrast with the reality that
there remained some areas in Indonesia in which are still not properly covered with internet connections.

So what about our colleagues who live in the area where the internet connection is still poor? *(Lit lecturer The University of Mawar)*.

This concern was corroborated by Hambali, a younger male middle academic from the University of Melati, who argued that:

... ... we have many lecturers in remote areas, where they have internet connection but it is low *(Lit lectureer The University of Melati)*

This issue was also raised by Indra, a younger male middle academic from the University of Anggrek, who said:

Yes, the DGHE seem to forget our colleagues in remote areas in Indonesia, do they have sufficient internet connection? *(Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek)*

The frequent failure of this system was also regretted by several respondents from the Universities of Mawar, Melati, and Anggrek. There fallout and downtime were experienced by them when uploading and submitting their documents to report. This was frustrating for them as this distracted them from doing their main tasks and focusing and doing this job repeatedly. This issue was put forward by Tono, an older, senior male from the University of Mawar.

Actually I feel that the online assessment report of performance is really torturing and maltreating me because it has taken up much of my time by continually waiting for the maintenance from the DGHE to be able to upload. In addition to that I am already bored by being placed in the waiting list for an uncertain period of time *(Cult lecturer The University of Mawar)*.

The same situation was mentioned by Hanafi, an older male senior academic from the University of Melati, who commented:

I have tried to upload documents needed, but errors had occurred, I had to redo the filling and uploading from the start again. This is really annoying me *(Lit lecturer The University of Melati)*.

Ida, an older, senior female from the University of Anggrek also added:
My experience from doing this instruction last semester, I had to wait for another week until the system was ready again. It made me unable to focus on my main roles and responsibilities (*Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek*).

In addition to the failure of this system, the security system in this online mechanism was disappointing because the passwords used are those related to the national identity number of lecturers. This can jeopardise lecturers’ data confidentiality as their data are not securely protected and their confidentiality is threatened as many other parties can access their personal data. This was raised by Sucipto from the University of Mawar, who worried:

> By design, the application of online assessment is not well-designed. Actually there are several weaknesses that I have noticed, for example the use of default password in which the national identity number of lecturers is used as the password. This is so dangerous that personal data of other lecturers can be accessed by other lecturers (*Eng lecturer The University of Mawar*).

The insecurity of data submitted by academics was agreed by Indra, a younger male middle academic from the University of Anggrek.

> The security and confidentiality of our data are not securely protected as the use of password can be accessed by others (*Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek*).

The same concern was expressed by Hanafi, an older, senior male from the University of Melati:

> … the password we use can be identified by all lecturers in Indonesia, because we just use our National identity number (*Lit lecturer The University of Melati*).

Additionally, the need to upload supporting documents covering the very first letter of assignment obtained when first assigned as a lecturer was considered an annoying demand. This is because many lecturers no longer kept such past documents and many of them had not recorded and filed their past scholarly activities, as observed by Tono from the University of Mawar.

> How many of lecturers still keep their initial assignment letter? How many of them have evidence of their scholarly activities which can be uploaded into the system? (*Lit lecturer The University of Mawar*)
The unreasonable requirement to upload many documents, particularly the very first letter of assignment, was likewise criticised by Nisa, a younger female middle academic from the University of Mawar, who said:

This is a ridiculous requirement as we have to upload many documents, for example our letter of assignment. I sometimes had problems in finding this letter as this was long time ago by which I have ignored and put it somewhere. With the sort of system which obliges us to upload it again makes me dizzy as I had to look through my old files again. It is giving me a headache! (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar)

Further, Tono from the University of Mawar expressed the same thinking:

The demand to complete documents to be submitted for the purpose of performance assessment has been too much. This conduct conveys a message that we lecturers are not trusted by the government as to whether we have really carried out our mandated duty (Lit lecturer The University of Mawar).

6.20.2. Strategic formula of inverting reality

Some respondents have tried to accommodate these changes in their own ways and others have passively accepted them without attempting to come to terms with them. Ali, an older, senior male from the University of Mawar showed how he could accept the change by assuming a manager’s position in his faculty despite his lack of management background to run the faculty. He explained his way to come to terms with the managerial roles by learning by himself mediated by books, training programmes and seminars.

I do not have management background. I have learnt leadership and management by reading and writing the issues of leaderships. I have written a book concerning how to create a working entrepreneurship mentality for students (Cult lecturer, Dean, The University of Mawar).

The interview I had with Ali lasted for more than one hour. He kept on talking and talking enthusiastically, particularly when I was asking about his leadership style and how he communicated new policy directives from the government. He explained how he studied leadership and management theory on his own, ranging from buying some books to attending seminars and training on leadership and management. I could hear and identify the tone of
pride in his voice as he was describing this effort, as he did not have previous background knowledge of managing a university. He was completely relaxed and sometimes telling a joke that made both of us roar with laughter. He was brave to assume this responsibility with his lack of management background.

In similar fashion, an act of compliance using strategic formulae was exhibited by Alimuddin, an older, senior male from the University of Melati, saying that:

I used to try to submit my article to a journal with a lower impact factor or a journal with a minimum 0.2 impact factor but it was still hard. So I think, the DGHE need to reconsider their requirements before providing facilities to us (Eng lecturer, Dean, The University of Melati)

And Hendra, a younger, middle male from the University of Anggrek, asserted that:

For the time being I can only do any attempts myself, developing myself, looking for information concerning how to publish in international journals myself. I have to take on this regulation so that I can develop my academic career. Because achieving the highest level of our academic career can be a satisfaction for me. That is the peak of our career is not it? I have to be able to reach that position to meet my soul satisfaction as an academician (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek).

6.20.3. Ambiguous responses

However, not all academics showed their guerrilla tactics through real actions to deal with the regulations imposed upon them; some academics from the Universities of Mawar, Melati, and Anggrek utilised their helpless condition for justification to comply with and at the same time evade this pressure. This helpless position was another kind of hidden or discursive resistance in the form of their helplessness. They used ambiguous sentences to show the difference between what they actually said and what they actually meant. Below are the responses of Wijoyo, an older, senior male of the University of Mawar; Darma, an older, senior female of the University of Melati; and Sela, an older, senior female of the University of Anggrek respectively:
Actually, as lecturers we have much to say, but this stipulation is derived from the central authority, so whether we like it or not, we cannot resist it. We can just express our feelings towards the issues pertinent to the constraints we encountered (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).

I think, we just follow and comply with this regulation without prejudicing that it is a form of distrust of the government to us. Look at it positively that this regulation is for our own good to improve our performance and professionalism. If we think that this is a kind of distrust so, what can we do? So just accept it (Lit lecturer The University of Melati).

We have no other choices because International references in international journals have become an internationally accepted and recognised standard. We have our own national journals but the DGHE prefer international journals. Therefore, we have to work hard and increase our research in order to get recognition (Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek).

6.20.4. Conditional (IF’s) compliance

The expectation of the provision of facilities and the regret at not learning English for academic purposes is one manifest resistance of this hidden transcript. Angga, a younger academic from the University of Melati, was showing conditional compliance by challenging the government to provide greater access to facilities, particularly English training provision to allow him to improve his English:

What change I wish to take place in my job is that there should be a provision of sufficient facilities to support this implementation of this policy and for the development of my academic career. One important thing for me is that I need English training. My mistake in the past was that I just learnt English for daily conversation and did not focus on the English for academic purposes. As a consequence, I can now only speak in the context of general conversation. Now I have to focus to learn English for academic purposes (Eng lecturer The University of Melati).

This form of resistance was also voiced by Ani, an older, senior female respondent from the University of Anggrek, complaining that:

So to publish in international journals it is so hard for me, why? First, I have no idea which journals fit my topic of research. Second, how should I do that. What is even worse is that my English is so little. Well, what can I do? May be the government need to provide the institution with a translation service that can help translate the results of lecturers’ research so they can be published internationally (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek).

Ida, an older, senior female from the University of Anggrek added:
As long as there is no improvement in the facilities, it would be difficult for us to conduct research and publication (*Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek*)

6.20.5. Analogy

Interestingly, Angga, a younger male middle academic further used an analogy which he articulated in a humorous way to show their off-stage resistance towards the requirement for publication in international journals. He actually wished to satirise this requirement as ineffective and inefficient. He did this by using his insinuating technique. This insinuation, humours and analogy were the weapons of this academic to resist the dominant power within this regulation. The following are complete excerpts from this academic:

I wish to give suggestion to the DGHE with an analogy. The analogy is like this in relation to the goals that the DGHE want to achieve in that to produce quality academics (*Eng lecturer The University of Melati*).

I want to use an analogy in terms of how to catch birds with good quality. I use two ways to catch them. First, by using a decoy of a female bird to attract male birds to approach the trap and second, by using adhesive glue placed on the trap. The first way of catching can catch birds with good qualities. Why? because only certain birds that meet the standard determined will be accepted by the female decoy, whilst the second way of catching can only catch any kind of birds. So what I mean with this analogy is to give a good decoy and do not just give a decoy in implementing policy for producing quality academics. May be like that (*Eng lecturer The University of Melati*).

6.20.6. Blaming and accusing

Several academics from the Universities of Mawar, Melati and Anggrek launched their ‘putting-blame on’ strategy to resist and accommodate the regulation to internationally publish. Angga, a male academic from the University of Melati, exhibited his tactic of refusing this by claiming his deficiency to compete with other colleagues since he still holds a master degree. He blamed the requirement, particularly the prerequisite to hold a doctoral degree in order to occupy one strategic position within university, as he claimed:

The problem is, I need it for the improvement of my academic career and rank to upper level because in order to occupy a strategic position one of the requirements is we must hold a degree at least as a doctor. Well, here lies my problem, I cannot compete with other academics because of this constraint (*Eng lecturer The University of Melati*).
Accusing the arbitrary use of power from central authority together with the lack of sufficient understanding of procedures to publish in international journals was used by Budi, a younger middle male from the University of Mawar, and by Ramlan, a younger, middle male from the University of Anggrek to refuse and evade this regulation of publishing and researching:

I think the DGHE is too arbitrary in implementing this regulation. They just enacted the regulation without considering the situation in the field. They do not pay attention to the situation of academics. As we know, how many academics have knowledge of procedures in writing scientific articles which can be published in international journals, what is the process to submit the articles, which journals fit our field of study. All of these issues have been our problems and we have not had a better understanding concerning these issues (Eng lecturer The University of Mawar).

Despite the government providing various schemes to fund the research, the scheme has been placed in a highly competitive mode. This funding scheme has been competed nationally across universities in Indonesia. With the limited budget or small cake as a respondent termed it, it would be immensely difficult for academics to compete, particularly universities from the eastern part of Indonesia (Lit lecturer The University of Anggrek).

6.20.7. Collective guerrilla tactics

The tactics to get around the policy implementation shown by academics above were particularly focused at the individual level. Evidence collected from this study revealed that there have also been tactics carried out at an institutional level. For example, in order to assist academics to gain cumulative points through their publishing work to improve their academic ranking, academics in the University of Melati have established their own journals which can be utilised by faculty members to post their writings. Another way is to empower the work of their students’ thesis in which their supervisors could perform a concomitant action both as supervisor and as co-author. In this way of collaborating, the name of the student should appear first and the supervisor immediately came in the second place. This was an attempt to thrive within unfavourable circumstances caused by the policy implementation. As Nina, a younger female middle academic from the University of Melati commented:

This situation has been realised by other lecturers and we find the solution through the empowerment of our students’ papers. The papers are edited by a selected
editor together with the supervisory team to see the worth of the papers to be published in our own journals. So the name of the students and their supervisors as the co-author will appear in the journals. By so doing we can ensure the existence of our journals because the long standing problem during this time has been that our journals exist if there are lecturers wanting to ascend to a higher academic rank and after that the journals will cease to exist (Lit lecturer The University of Melati).

Collective strategy to deal with the regulation of publication was also carried out by the University of Anggrek through the workshops concerning how to write for international journals, as Ani, an older, senior female revealed:

If academics are required to publish in international journals there should have been procedures to follow. We need to be accommodated in relation to that. Our strategy here: we run workshops on how to write to international journal standards. We invite other academics from Java with experience in publishing their research (Eng lecturer The University of Anggrek)

In a meeting that I attended in the University of Melati, an atmosphere of worries and anxieties was felt among the academics who were present at this departmental level. The meeting was attended by all the academics and headed by the Dean of the faculty. The agenda of the meeting was to discuss crucial aspects pertaining to the socialisation of the newly enacted policy imperatives which impinged on the nature of the work of academics. The meeting was opened by the dean, describing the purpose of the meeting and explaining some shifts mandated by the government pertinent to a wide range of aspects of academics work. Holding a hard copy of a circulated letter from the top authority of this university, he then carried on to delineate item per item which has undergone changes. The most striking change revolved around the issue of the increased requirements for academics to conduct research and disseminate their research through seminars and publications as one requirement to reach professoriate level. At this point, murmurs surrounded the room as many attendees talked to each other in response to this. They were pouring out their opinions and all of a sudden there was a silence as the dean drew their attention to come to terms with this issue. One lecturer
argued that this situation was difficult considering the existing situation which could not support the implementation of this regulation. ‘Excuse me sir,’ Hambali objected, ‘but I think this is cumbersome as our infrastructure has been in a lethargic situation in that we cannot use it to complement our research and publication activities’ (Hambali reasoned). This objection was immediately responded to by a senior lecturer who started to speak and recommended solutions to cope with the problem. He put forward the need to have journal at the programme study basis (programme-study-based journal). Within this frame, each study programme could have its own journals and this would broaden the opportunity for academics to contribute to and publish their articles. In order to manage these journals, editors would be needed to ensure the appropriateness and the quality of their articles. In order to improve the ability of academics to write, workshops have come to be seen as important to academics. The workshops are expected to be able to enhance academics’ ability as well as their confidence in publishing their articles (Research diary: Observation 17/11/2014).

These academics used their weapon, their guerrilla tactics, to get around the imperatives of bureaucratic power. They did it collectively but still on the back stage, behind the back of the government. From my reflexive activity, I was able to capture and pinpoint that apparently academics are not those who have been pictured as passive or mute receptors of policy implementation, rather they are active doing their underground guerrilla resistance with their weapons as powerless subordinated groups which are demarcated by power and control by those they cannot have control over (Research diary, 17/11/2014)

The same guerrilla tactic has also been conducted by the University of Mawar. In coping with the increased requirements to publish internationally as one indicator used to measure the performance of lecturers, this university has provided their academics with one committee to
cater for the articles editing to polish and refine the articles before submitting them in international journals, as reported by Santi, a younger female.

We have provided much money to support lecturers who want to publish their articles or research findings. What we do now is we provide a committee which has tasks to review the content of lecturers’ articles, to provide English language proofreading, etc. The point is that this committee is built to provide assistance for lecturers to have their articles reviewed before publishing them in journals (Cult lecturer The University of Mawar).

Further document analysis confirmed this tactic, the document said:

The university has established a committee with a special function to provide language editing and review of the lecturers’ articles and research aimed at international journal publication. With regard to this, the university, in this case the Rector, has released a policy to allocate budget to support the work of this committee (The University of Mawar’s Rector’s Policy document 2013).

6.21. Conclusion

Overall, the use of the three instruments for data collection has made the convergence of the data occur. In recognition of this, the goals of this study to gain trustworthiness of findings through a triangulation process can particularly be demonstrated, albeit in investigating the emotional experiences and behaviour of academic respondents, the observation technique has been unable to capture the emerging phenomena, and thus, it has been unable to demonstrate the convergence of the data obtained from the participants.

However, this limitation may not substantially reduce the significance of the data obtained. Through the acknowledgement of the existence of this problem as something beyond my control as a researcher, this issue can be overcome. In addition, the trustworthiness of these findings is still maintained through the multifaceted universities and backgrounds of academic participants in this study.
CHAPTER 7 DISCUSSION

7.1. Introduction
This chapter addresses an in-depth explanation of phenomena of changes undergone by academics in the three universities under study. The explanation of the phenomena was originally context-based underpinned with conceptual theories drawn from the relevant literature. These context-based and theoretical-underpinned explanations were applied to answer three research questions to help generate new learning of real-world behaviours and their meaning, reflected upon and intertwined with the problematisation of the Indonesian context. This practice will subsequently contribute to either the originality of my research or to its theoretical contribution. The explanation was based on each research question, except for the research questions 1 and 2 which were combined in one section.

7.2. The principal changes and the perceptions of academics: The implications for academic identity

7.3. Shift in the modes of coordination control

7.3.1. Changing role of government played out with academics
The result of this study revealed that the relationship played out between government and the higher education community in Indonesian contexts appears to have partly changed. In a sense, the previous facilitating role of government, which has been equally played out in conjunction with their controlling role in the context of higher education institutions, has to some extent been reshaped - with the latter being given precedence over the former. In other words, Indonesian academics have experienced much more hands-on government than hands-off government in their internal governance. This situation has come to be viewed as the reaffirmation of the State as the main facilitator as well as controller of problems related to globalisation, new technologies, demographic changes, and threats from the environment
This State’s reaffirmation is firmly rooted in Weberian elements, where in the context of Indonesia as evidenced by academic respondents, they have gone through a metamorphosis into their new form or what Pollit and Bouckaert (2004) called Neo-Weberian State reform - where government hands are back to instil in public management.

The issue of this changing role or power relationship demonstrated by government and Indonesian academics has become a contested issue among academics. It is evident that the deans and senior male academics in particular, in the University of Mawar alone - with research background and autonomous status (BHMN) endowed, have an awareness of the effect of this issue. This has been indicated by their critical perceptions which argued that the return of the significance of the State in their internal governance has come to be seen as an act of undermining and disparaging the autonomy held by academics as the crux of their identity. They argued that stepping in too far and deep into the working life of academics has been taken as a form of breaching the nature of academics as independent intellectual humans - who pursue their scholarly activities in terms of teaching, scholarship, and research within the principles of ‘individualistic, expertise and commitment of creative individuals’ (Kogan and Hanney 2000, p. 26). These values are embodied in the tenets of sociology of science (Mertonian concept) and academic freedom as perpetuated by Humboldtian principles. This situation suggests that the relationship between government and universities has changed - they are no longer conceptualised as partners, but as ‘two parties with different interests and priorities that sometimes converge and sometimes sharply conflict’ (Clark 1996, cited in Ramsden 1998, pp. 348-349).

The responses of academics from the University of Mawar, can be further understood from the notion of professionalism, as exposed by Olssen and Peters (2005) in that professionalism is conceptualised within ‘subject-directed power’ (Olssen and Peters 2005, p. 325), where
academics have the power to undertake their work (Olssen and Peters 2005). It is an idea which is also in line with the ‘organized anarchy’ (Cohen, March et al. 1972) and ‘loosely-coupled system’ (Weick 1976). These are symbolic ideas, in which laissez-faire values with flatter structure, maximum trust and collegiality are assumed (Deem 2006, Olssen and Peters 2005). Considering this, academics wish to see the State play its ‘catalytic role’ (Osborne and Gaebler 2002) reflected in facilitating and encouraging features to intervene only ‘in the rules of the game, rather than on the players on the field’ (Foucault 2008, p. 226). This view of the State’s role resonates well within the ‘homo economicus’ economic philosophy of neoliberalism, where the State is seen as a regulator rather than a controller in public spheres, particularly in civil society arrangements, in which the principles of autonomous-rational individuals are valued.

By contrast, other academics, regardless of gender, and length of experiences, from the Universities of Melati and Anggrek, non-research universities and without previous autonomous experience, which are struggling to raise their status to become research universities, tended to see the presence of government hands in regulating and controlling the work and the management of academics and their institutions as a necessary condition. The reason for this is that they can help elicit the awareness of academics to improve their professionalism and working commitment. Here, academics perceived the architect role of government as a driving tool to transform the existing patterns of shirking behaviour of academics. Bearing this in mind, this is in accord with the precepts of the Neo-Weberain State, where the State has been assumed to have legitimacy and capacity to influence the shift in the shirking behaviour of individuals that may thwart the goal accomplishment of reforms (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004, Dreschler 2009). Given the transitional period from the existing patrimonial values to the growing democratic values in Indonesian higher education systems, the application of New Public Management may be substantially unsuitable. This is because
the implementation of New Public Management requires a well-functioning administrative democratic tradition (Drescher 2009).

What is noteworthy here in regard to the relationship between State and academics in Indonesian contexts has been the issue of which party should play a dominant role or how the State should behave in relation to the management of higher education. The conflicting nature of this relationship played out by government and academic communities can be understood from the perspective of Network Theory, where three interrelated components of network-hierarchy-and-autonomy are employed (Kickert 1997). According to this theory, the relationship played out between Indonesian government and academic communities as evidenced from this study gives a portrayal of how different goals and interests of two parties are completely at odds, thus leading to a contested issue on which of them should have dominant roles and positions over others. This is because most academics from the University of Mawar strongly believed that they are independent intellectual actors with full autonomy towards their internal scholarly activities. Guided within this principle subsequently, academics from this university argued that they deserve to have a predominant role over the State to administer their institution.

However, the academics may overlook that within public management, there are other actors, that is to say the State. Using Public Management theory, the conflicting relationship exercised by the State and academics can be explained and understood. It is clearly argued that although academics and the State are not hierarchically ‘sub-or super-ordinate’ (Kickert 1997, p. 738) in the relationship they play, they are not entirely equal in their position. Even if the role of the State is not completely dominant, this does not necessarily mean that the position of the State in this relationship will be horizontally equivalent. The State will always occupy an important and different position in this relationship (Kickert 1997, Gunter and Fitzgerald 2013). This suggests that the concept of autonomous actors is unrealistic within this sort of
relationship. So the issue raised by academics regarding the increased steering from government may not be something that should be questioned, because this is the problem arising from the complexity of the nature of the relationship emerging in the policy environment (Kickert 1997).

The objection demonstrated by academics, particularly from the University of Mawar towards the strong controlling role of government in academic communities has to some extent indicated that they are aware of their special status as independent intellectual communities which drive their work within their own values. This view was derived from the deans of two faculties who seemed to have better understanding about the nature of traditional roles of academics than other academics from non-research universities (Melati and Anggrek). This is in resonance with the values of professionalism in which academics established their ethics of conduct to assess and evaluate their work and performance, as put forward by Roberts and Donahue (2000). They also have an awareness of the current democratic or reform values and principles, which have become the reigning principles in Indonesian governance at present. The awareness of their special status and objection to the breach of this has been uniformly voiced by academics, disregarding their ages, gender, positions and years of experience. Governed with these values, academics perceived that a more centralistic mode of regulation has contradicted the spirit of reform and may bring academics back into a time of ignorance. Here, they positioned themselves within a conception which views the role of the State as a provider and protector of autonomy, regardless of the dependence of universities on public funding, based on the Mertonian Concept of sociology of science, and Humboldtian model of academic autonomy and freedom (Bergquist 1992, Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008). In this way, there is evidence that academics expected a relationship played out with government where their expertise is foregrounded, within a ‘bureau-professional framework’ (Clarke and Newman 1997)
Further, it is palpable that within these democratic values and principles, academics are clearly conversant with the role and position of government as part of the society ‘conduct of conduct’ of ‘Governmentality’ as Foucault (1978) called it. The conduct of conduct reflects two layers of governing others which refers to the process of subjectification, and of governing oneself, which refers to the process of subjectivation. In these processes, those governed (objects) and those governing (government) are two integral parts, in a sense that those governed are part of government, who are governing themselves (self-government) in certain ways. Here, the role of government is to act on behalf of the self-government (Simons and Masschelein 2006). Drawing on this premise on government, therefore, the steering system has come to be practised in the principle that perceives academics as autonomous and rational individuals (and not as children, as told by Nisa of the University of Mawar), who are able to undertake their self-steering and self-empowerment (Kickert 1996, Ball 2003). Guided within this notion, the steering role of government has been asserted to be focused on mediating and enabling functions to solve problems arising in the society (Osborne and Gaebler 1992, Kickert 1995, Ball 1998, Lorenz 2012).

By contrast, academics from Universities Melati and Anggrek who dominantly supported the controlling role of government have positioned themselves within a conception which believes that the State is expected to fuel and foster the development of scientific activities by controlling and commanding (Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008). This view on the State’s role has been seen as a mediating role of the State in the interests of society and ‘orienting the development of higher education’ (Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008, p.327) in order to improve quality and ensure social equity (Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008). There is evidence shown in the case of Indonesian academics from the Universities of Melati and Anggrek of how the roles of government as facilitators and controllers to intervene in both the rules of the games and the players on the field to solve problems in the increasingly knowledge based economy.
remains highly important amidst their constraining and daunting condition in terms of their culture and professionalism. In addition, the voices of agreement came from different backgrounds of groups of ages, positions, years of experiences, and gender.

This way of ensuring the quality of the service provision of higher education is considered the form of responsibility implemented by the government to hold public accountability. This responsibility has been legally mandated in the Higher Education Act 2012. Due to this reason, the work of academics is required to be controlled on the basis of accountability, quality assurance, and transparency. With respect to this, the government is felt to be responsible for the arrangement, planning, supervision, surveillance, evaluation, and monitoring, coupled with the development and coordination of study programme as stated in the HE Act 2012. Thus, the reinforcement of the role of government as regulators was established through this legally-mandated mechanism. This legally-mandated role epitomised the desire from the government to provide clear and consistent procedures for and evaluation of the implementation of accountable and credible higher education provision so as to ensure the ends of quality outputs can be accomplished.

7.3.2. Twin modes of control mechanisms
The Higher Education Act 2012 has provided universities with governing bodies responsible for quality assurance and control mechanisms; in this study it is exemplified by the ‘internal board of assessment’. The internal board is present in all state universities in Indonesia, irrespective of the status of universities of whether research is excellent or not. The existence of this board at first sight would seem to suggest that the academics are autonomously practicing their affairs away from the hands-on governmental control. Nevertheless, when scrupulously examined the reality is not like that because in exercising its tasks this board is not entirely free to determine the procedures of its assessment, rather it must refer to the
indicators set by government in order to achieve performance targets. This situation has created the emergence of ‘twin mechanisms’ of control in the management of higher education. Hoggett (1996) viewed this condition as ‘dual modes’ of control in which decentralisation and centralisation occur simultaneously. In this way, as Hoggett further argued, the government has positioned themselves not only as the centre providing prescriptions concerning performance targets, but also providing incentives and sanctions for compliance (Hoggett 1996). Prescriptions, incentives, and sanctions are forms of external regulatory state by which, according to Shore and Wright (1999), government’s strong hands are disguised and mediated by the arm’s length control (Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007) through the art of steering from a distance (Kickert 1997).

As can be seen from the data, the vignette of responses from male academics in the University of Mawar has once again illustrated the dissenting voices toward this issue, with one voice from an academic of the University of Anggrek to complement them. The delegation of affairs into the hands of academic communities, in fact, does not completely exclude the hands of government. On the contrary, it seemingly even strengthens the legitimacy of governmental control, manifested in performance-based management - wrapped in the lexicon of staff appraisal, quality assurance and accountability through monitoring and evaluation. One academic from the University of Mawar, Budi, described this condition as a form of ‘shadow control’ and a government strategy to obscure their strong hands which stealthily ‘enslaves’, to borrow the phrase from Ball (2000), academics to meet the achievement of performance targets established by the ‘evaluative state’ as Henkel (1991a) termed it. The application of performance appraisals is one indication of the principle of New Public Management (Hood 1991, Pollit and Bouckaert 2004, Lynn 2008) or the principle of entrepreneurial government (Osborne and Gaebler 1992). It is related to corporate principles of managing which are market-oriented, where the running of the service in an organisational or governmental system

Within the twin modes of control, which is the combined characteristic of the Neo-Weberian state model and New Public Management as shown from the story conveyed by academics in this study, referring to Henkel (1991b) has made the autonomy of Indonesian higher education institutions is played out at the peripheral degree. This means that their autonomy is located within the boundary defined by an external regulatory mechanism, emanating from central authority (Shore and Wright 1999). By so doing, the invisible and remote hands or arms-length surveillance (Pollit, Homburg et al. 2007) of government remains masked by the art of steering at a distance (Kickert 1995). In this way, the accomplishment of the external objectives imposed upon academics from central government can be achieved (Henkel 1991b). To enable the accomplishment of the external objectives, the alignment among academics, universities and objectives is needed - featured and developed with the performance indicators (Hoggett 1996, Shore and Wright 1999). Hoggett (1996, p.26) called this situation ‘regulated autonomy’ or ‘freedom within boundaries’.

What is evident from the practice of control mechanisms conducted within Indonesian university context is that, in spite of the more decentralised procedures having been endowed in forms of more autonomous administrative roles, in fact, the role of government as facilitating and controlling agent has not yet disappeared. The reporting and controlling mechanisms reported by academics in this study have indicated a construction of hierarchy, formalisation, prescribed roles and responsibilities from the government. This phenomenon has demonstrated that the ‘Neo-Weberian state model’ (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004) and Neo-Taylorism (Kickert 1995) have come into being in their different forms, mostly in the
concealment and the distant process of the hand of government through their performance-based management or their regulatory mechanism of ‘evaluative state’ as a means for control and surveillance (Hoggett 1996, Shore and Wright 1999).

On the contrary, academics mainly from the Universities of Melati and Anggrek, who strongly supported the controlling role of government have been considerably influenced by their awareness of the daunting condition of their institutions, where the role of government in fostering and improving this condition is clearly seen as important. It is interesting to note that almost all academics from different backgrounds of these two universities shown their support. This can be achieved through the application of sanctions and incentives to motivate academics to improve their performance and enhance their productivity. This issue has been addressed by academics from the three universities. What is particularly noticeable here is the case in the University of Mawar to which a research university has been attached. Apparently, even in this research university, the issue of the low working commitment and productivity of their academics has existed as well, like those of the Universities of Melati and Anggrek, which are basically non-research universities. In many modern Human Resource Management contexts, particularly those influenced by a human relations approach or cultural approach, the assumption is that increasing low commitment and productivity of employees should be tackled by eliciting the commitment of employees via self-awareness or self-control rather than via external control (Hogget 1996). Academics in this study need a clear standard of routinized or predictable output. The measurable outputs have come to be seen as an effective tool to manage staff in order to improve their capacity and performance (Sabatier 1986), along with the existence of rewards and sanctions to ensure the goals of performance targets, or what Sabatier (1986) called policy objectives, can be achieved.
7.4. The shift in accountability and quality assurance

7.4.1. Online assessment and evaluation of academic performance (Online controlling system)

This online assessment system is a new mechanism applied in Indonesian academic communities. This new system is used to assess, monitor, and evaluate the performance of lecturers towards the end of each semester. In this way, academics are no longer required to send their documents directly to the central office of DGHE, but simply to submit them online. This system subsequently directs academics to carry out new tasks of filling in, scanning, uploading, revising, and submitting documents. This system implementation has come into effect in the three universities under study. However, its implementation has yet to unanimously receive positive acceptance from academics, irrespective of whether they are from the research university, Mawar or from the non-research universities, Melati and Anggrek.

The deans in the university of Mawar had similar critical perceptions over this issue. As evidenced from this study they felt uncomfortable with the introduction of this system. They believed that the matter of assessment of academic performance has been the private authority of academics, and external persons cannot be legitimated to do so. They likewise are convinced that academics have their own credibility to perform the assessment. If DGHE take over this credential it means that DGHE have undermined academics’ credibility. This action by DGHE is seen as an act of distrust, disempowering, and encroaching on academics roles as supervisors in their own territory. They liken such a role of DGHE with the role of a company manager who tends to do all the jobs disregarding the position of his subordinates. There is evidence shown by academics that ‘trust’, which has been the basic principle
underpinning the contract between higher education and its supporting society (Trow 1996), is overlooked.

In addition, if the policy of DGHE is to practice a single role in assessing performance of lecturers, their burden would theoretically seem to be enormous, considering the numbers of lecturers’ documents they have to review from all over Indonesia. By delegating and devolving the task of assessment to the academics, it is obvious that the burden of DGHE can be reduced. Thus, both parties can have mutual benefit and universities can enjoy their autonomy too.

What can be inferred from the situation reported by academics above pertaining to roles exhibited by DGHE is the embodiment of Agency Relationship theory in which task delegation is performed between ‘principals’ and ‘agents’. This relationship is principally underpinned by trust in the context of impersonal relations triggered with the supposition that ‘principals’ have limited capacity to undertake all the work alone, thus they need to entrust their work to experts or agents to carry it out on their behalf (Shapiro 1987). The limitation in their capacity of ‘principals’ has resulted from the physical barriers encountered by ‘principals’ that impede them from gaining direct access to information and ensuring efficiency (Shapiro 1987).

However, academics from the University of Mawar reasonably expected to exercise an egalitarian relationship in which they performed their relationships with the government as a partner of exchange. Keeping this in mind, this situation likewise has neatly fitted with the condition proffered by Clarke and Newman (1997) as Bureau-professional, and catalytic role of government (Osborne and Gaebler 1992). Bureau-professional or rational bureaucracy is closely linked with the Fabian ideology (the theory which is concerned with the socialist thought which emphasises the growth of social unity through community consciousness rather than class consciousnessin) (Panitch 1971) which ‘knowledge and expertise are positively valued as the means for promoting rational social development through the machinery of the
state’ (Clarke and Newman 1997, p.7). In this ideology, the state is viewed as a neutral power functioning simply as a means to balance the power between capital and labour and to ensure that such a balance is orderly and rational (Clarke and Newman 1997). The catalytic role of government is the accommodating role of government to elicit innovation and creativity through their steering functions manifested in the producing of a conducive environment for creativity and innovation to take place (Osborne and Gaebler 1992).

If academics in the University of Mawar have an inclination to cling to the practice of bureau-professional and the steering role of government, academics in the Universities of Melati and Anggrek, on the other hand, have been inclined to authorise the invisible hands of government in the management of higher education, reflected in the rowing functions of government (Osborne and Gaebler 1992). Their supporting voices were uniform across various backgrounds. Their reasoning has been backed up by the supposition that the presence of government to control lecturers’ performance can contribute to the enforcement of a sense of assurance and certainty, thus creating and strengthening legitimacy toward the credibility and quality of the services provided by academic communities. It is accordingly preventing the practice of mischief, misbehaviour, defiance, and misdeeds resulting from the attempts of academics to meet the expected performance targets set by government (Shapiro 1987, Trow 1996, Du Gay 2000, Alexander 2003, Hoecht 2006).

The Agency Relationship theory is still helpful in elaborating and understanding the phenomenon being raised by academics from University Melati and Anggrek. The story told by them has signalled that the nature of the impersonal relationship played out by ‘principals’ and ‘agents’ has also given more spaces for agents’ abuse to occur. Shapiro (1987), and Trow (1996) had addressed this risk. The more likely opportunity for agents to conduct defiance and fraud in this relationship is particularly caused by the limitation of principals’ expertise to
control agents’ performance due to the physical barriers of distance that prevent the principals from scrutinising the performance of the trustees (agents). Within this situation, agents can perform assessment based on their self-interest thus leading to a condition that ‘guardians can lie, misrepresent the safety and security of their services, ignore misdeeds, steal, self-deal, accept bribes, and overlook their own conflicts of interest’ (Shapiro 1987, p. 645).

Despite academics in the Universities of Melati and Anggrek tending to agree with the steps taken by government to partake in the management of higher education in order to ensure accountability and legitimacy, many of them have shown their discontent as well. Their disagreement is basically influenced by practical issues in its implementation which is cumbersome. One example of this is that this system involves the work of filling in, scanning, uploading, revising, and submitting documents which have come to be seen as work related to administrative functions. This new task for academics has added to their workloads resulting in the changing roles performed by academics in addition to their main roles and responsibilities in teaching and research. This indicates that academics are in fact assuming multiple roles and responsibilities, which can intensify their workloads. Accordingly, academics are increasingly subject to the condition of ‘Proletarianism’ (Ramsden 1998) in which their labour is conceptualised within industrial relations (Wilson 1991) and they are likened to the proletariat or working class communities.

The administrative-related tasks in this system have certainly clashed with the core activities of academics, such as teaching and research. Academics from the three universities under study found difficulty balancing their time to carry out their traditional roles and responsibilities, teaching and research in particular. Consequently, a feeling of bewilderment has taken hold of academics in that there lies a sense of invisibility or opaqueness that obscures a clear demarcation line between their actual roles and functions and their new prescribed role. Within
this situation, they are faced with the attrition of their core identity as academics. They lose their sense of what it means to be a genuine academic through the demise of their true characters and thus their justification for being called academics - which can be seen from their scholarly activities with autonomy in research, teaching and scholarship (Archer 2004).

The sense of being fake or not genuine has been studied by Archer (2004). She utilised the phrases of ‘inauthenticity or unbecoming’ and ‘authenticity or becoming’ to denote an ambiguous environment where younger academics are losing their legitimacy to claim themselves as academics due to their unsatisfactory situation related to instrumental efforts to maintain their means of existence while at the same time creating their own ‘principled personal project’(Clegg 2008b) to claim their legitimacy as academics and pursue success.

The corrosive effect of this new system has been the erosion of the personal values of dedicated work brought by academics into their work place, motivating and driving them to commit to their roles and responsibilities, particularly in teaching. The data from this study suggested that academics from the three universities had originally been fuelled largely by intrinsic motivation to become a lecturer as opposed to instrumental or extrinsic motivations. They have been driven by their desire to transfer knowledge to their students. To achieve this, they are continuously honing their skills in order to become knowledgeable and critical lecturers through the deepening process of knowledge and research. It is interesting to find out that some academic Muslims, particularly from the University of Melati, linked their motivation to teach with their religious values, where sharing knowledge with other people is considered as good deeds which can illuminate their path to reach happiness in the afterlife.

What is evident from the data reported by academics from the Universities of Mawar, Melati, and Anggrek that gender, position, and length of experiences had no impacts on how academics perceived their academic identity. Generally, they did not associate their originality
as academics with the pursuit of success in the domain of instrumental means, such as in research and publication, rather they emphasised that their intrinsic values related to the quality in their teaching, such as becoming knowledgeable and critical. It is interesting to note that academics from the University of Melati carried their religious values into their work, and this became their driving motivation to transfer knowledge through teaching. The self-endeavour to give meaning to academics’ work exhibited by academics in this study is in line with what Clegg (2008b) described as a ‘principled personal project’. Principled personal projects were used by academics in this study to sustain their existence as academics with their ‘self-established traits’ that entitled them to be called academics. This is an example of how an individual academic brings his/her personal values in relation to religion to shaping his/her identity in teaching, research, and community services. This echoes with the issue of the role of individual agency (Archer 2004, Clegg 2008b) in the formation of academic identity.

7.4.2. Regulation is accompanied by sanction and reward mechanisms

The presence of threats accompanying instructions issued by government has symbolised that the government requires compliance from lecturers. In the policy implementation study, Sabatier (1986) has pinpointed that sanctions and rewards are a necessary condition to induce compliance from target groups in order to reach the legally-mandated objectives of policy enactment. The reward scheme, being one of the six conditions required to provide for the effective implementation of the legal objectives (Sabatier 1986), implied a theory of top-down policy implementation. The introduction of a reward system concretised with a legal mechanism as stated in the written legal document can make the compliance of academics as target groups of the policy imperatives sustained over time (Sabatier 1986). So, the existence of this legal mechanism of a reward system has given the system a solid footing in the pursuit of academics compliance and avoidance of resistance.
However, in the context of higher education, particularly in the Indonesian context, such a system has become an oxymoron. A large number of academic respondents from the three universities under study voiced their pessimistic and likewise their optimistic views.

Those from the Universities of Mawar and Melati were predominantly convinced that with the absence of threat academics can obey and comply with all regulations enacted by government. The presence of threat can even exacerbate the existing situation as this can elicit feelings of anger and dismay because this action may symbolise distrust displayed by government. The consequence of this situation can then lead to the building of an image as if academics were ‘bad guys’ and ‘dissidents’ who stubbornly do not want to comply with government wishes. In addition, threats embedded in regulations may force academics into forced compliance and such compliance will not last long as it is not driven by intrinsic motivation, as one academic from the University of Melati commented in this study. Le Grand (2003) has realised the risk of making people into distrusted subjects in the provision of quality service, as he argued:

if people feel they are not trusted to provide a quality service and, moreover, are forced to undertake elaborate activities to prove they are in fact doing a good job (such as filling out forms, writing reports, and so forth), they can become either demoralised and demotivated or else motivated to behave in a more self-protective manner. (p. 57)

This seems obvious, given that the lecturers simply comply with the regulation more because of the ‘stick’ and ‘carrot’. Within this situation, lecturers may comply only when they are aware that the controller is there to monitor their behaviour. This issue is put forward by Hoecht (2006), who argued that:

Control-based quality systems, however, can undermine the intrinsic motivation of the very people that deliver the service quality so desired. Controlling someone’s behaviour is a one-sided activity that reduces the autonomy of the controlled who will normally only behave as expected as long as they believe that the controller is able to monitor their behaviour and has credible sanctions to make them behave in the desired way (p. 550).
Demoralised and demotivated academics as the result of forced compliance as explained by Le Grand above have in fact been present in Indonesian academic communities in this study. Its impact has been far more felt by older woman academics from the Universities of Mawar and Anggrek. These women were examples of academics who realised that their special features as intellectual communities had been disrespected. They became disappointed to realise their status as senior members in their faculty was not being respected.

Older female respondents have also added the spectrum of the implication of this new policy for academic identity. They seemed to associate their identity with powerless nature of academics. Feeling uneasy because their status as senior members of institutions had been disrespected, neglected and undervalued, they tended to suffer from frustration and to some extent moral degradation. They felt that the meaning of their intellectual work has substantially changed. What is now apparent to them is the new identity which is closely related to the work of a ‘soldier’ where a chain of command has been substituted for the premise of collegiality with minimum hierarchy and maximum trust (Deem 1998) - which has long governed the academic work. Being disturbed and dismayed by the above problems, these older female academics have tended to resign earlier.

The adoption of the phrase ‘little child’ was an interesting feature in this study. The word was chosen by academics to describe moderately their disappointing relationship with the government. The phrase conveyed explicitly the academics’ situation, where they cannot do their private work without guidance and instructions from the government. This situation has brought about dismay in the heart of academics. They were concerned that their private domain which was relatively exclusive and free from other external interference including from government, has been intruded into and sometimes subtly annexed. Taken together, the
feelings of being weary, disrespected, undervalued, and demoralised are in accordance with the situation described by Trowler (1997) as the ‘Robbins trap’.

Keeping this in mind, these older female respondents showed the impact of the adoption of new managerialism in which the effectiveness of managing individual subjects and organisations are best controlled and managed under the principle of principal-agent line of management (Ball 1998, Olssen and Peters 2005). This practice has come to be seen as an extension of the practices of bureaucracy which many scholars have conceptualised in varied phrases such as Neo-bureaucracy (Hoggett 1996, Farrel and Morris 2003), and Neo liberal governmentality (Foucault 1982).

The vertical line of command was strongly felt to have serious implications for the institutional pressure that academics encountered. Compelled by the need for institutions to fully reach their best institutional performance, top officials were strenuously pushing academics to follow and complete the assessment reporting mechanism set up by government. This is important, in order to receive more funding from government, particularly for research. Here, the power of management is greater than the power of collegiality (Olssen and Peters 2005).

In terms of the negative sides or weaknesses of too many rules and procedures in bureaucratic institutions, academics from the University of Mawar have highlighted this situation. This situation has been exemplified by Budi of the University of Mawar, who argued that the interference of government in his institution through many regulations has not improved the work of academics, but only added to the accumulation of perplexing situations. Organisations which are highly bureaucratic will not allow autonomy to their members to perform their skills and knowledge. They are constrained by the job descriptions embedded in the regulations
(Burnes 1996). This situation as depicted by the participants constitutes bureaucratic rigidity and this is the impact of market-driven management(1993).

Indonesian academics in this study have been flooded with many regulations from government telling them what they should do and what they should not. Many academics are concerned that if the state of being continuously over-regulated persists, it will be more likely to cause academics to become stagnant. Thus they are confined within performing the same activities every day (routinism), or what (Parker and Jary 1995) called ritualism and tokenism, a condition where academics are not able to exercise and develop their skills and professionalism. Professionals are hired for their knowledge and expertise, so they have to be given discretion to perform their knowledge and expertise which in turn will benefit the organisation (Burnes 1996, Clarke and Newman 1997). This practice refers to bureau-professional as Clarke and Newman (1997) termed it.

Accountability mechanisms introduced to ensure the quality of the service in the provision of higher education in Indonesian contexts was not always negatively perceived by academics. There were a handful of academics who were content with this. They reasoned that the accountability is important as academics have been given complete trust by stakeholders, particularly parents of students to educate their children. Therefore, to validate this trust, the quality assurance provided in higher education needs to be accountable to avoid illegal conduct or manipulation (Shapiro 1987).

However, these respondents, as exemplified by Rini and Hendra were simply not conversant with what had been reverberating in their academic environment. They were unaware that this sort of monitoring and assessing as associated with the management or state prerogative to control can diminish academic power, as Rhoades (1997) argued: ‘Many, if not most, faculty are unaware of the scope and significance of the restructuring that is going on in higher
education. Many faculty still believe they are independent professionals. At least they act as such.’ (p.4).

A large number of respondents from the three universities in this study unanimously reported that the poor and insufficient salary system had contributed to the daunting nature of their working conditions, particularly regarding their job satisfaction. The additional new tasks which they called administrative-related tasks had not been accompanied with the provision of any additional salary for doing them. This factor which has been commonly related to external motivation at workplaces has come to be seen as a determinant in decreasing the job motivation of academics.

7.4.3. Performance indicators

Indonesian academics’ responses, irrespective of whether they are from a research university (Mawar) or a non-research university (Melati and Anggrek), were anchored in two different perspectives in perceiving the effect of Performance indicators to assess their teaching. This polarisation can be explained by the viewpoints on which their perceptions were grounded in terms of what functions or tools these indicators can be used for – and what is noticeable here is that gender and discipline played important roles for academics in perceiving their academic identity. Those who negatively viewed the application of PIS on their teaching activities based their assumptions on the function of PIS as a control mechanism that failed to cover other aspects underpinning their teaching activities, the actual meaning of teaching per se, the underlying motives driving the willingness and pure dedication of academics to teach, and not simply the amount of time they spend in the classroom. The quality of teaching, in academics’ view, goes beyond the scale or the numerical values explanation of product or outcome indicators. There are more important factors than numerical values in the spreadsheet of the auditing process, namely the underlying processes of teaching per se, such as the process of improving skills, knowledge, and professionalism of academics so as to enable them to carry
out their teaching activities professionally (Shore and Wright 1999, Elton 2004, Lorenz 2012). This is how under neoliberal governance, the consumer-managerial forms of accountability are evident (Olssen and Peters 2005).

Referring to the issues relating to PIS as raised by academics from the three universities under study, Goodhart’s Law of economy (1975) can be used to understand this phenomenon. It is clear from the evidence gathered from academics in this study that the quantification of teaching processes has devalued the process of learning itself, for instance the humane sides of the learning process experienced by students and lecturers which link them in a more humane learning relationship. This, indeed, has been neglected in the quantitative output measures, which focus more on the rationalisation process, disregarding the nature of humans as social beings whose social relationships are built up on the foundation of feelings and compassion (Lynch 2006).

As for the academics that support this measure, they are the proxy of those seeing PIS as a means for improvement of internal management tools (Elton 2004). Elton (2004) argued that PIS, if used for improvement of internal management, can be valuable. In this study, a number of academics from the Universities of Mawar, Melati, and Anggrek felt that the introduction of performance indicators in teaching prioritising the calculable aspects could become a whip or stick to force lecturers to improve their working commitment and integrity towards their jobs and students. The real situation as reported has shown that many lecturers do not cater well for their students and they do not have an awareness of the actual meaning of their professions, of what it really means to become a lecturer. Accordingly, as voiced by several academics from the University of Anggrek (Darma) and Melati (Sanusi and Tati), this performance indicator is appropriate to implement in the daunting cultural context. They explicitly blame the insufficient salary, which causes the indifferent attitude displayed by lecturers both towards their teaching roles and students. Therefore, for the motivation of lecturers to increase, there
must be incentives given. This complaint is not a disavowal of their true roles and responsibilities as these respondents further argued.

This assumes that teachers are humans whose basic economic needs can become a driver for them to perform their work and can act as a tool to induce lecturers’ compliance with this regulation. This practice has been closely related to Taylorist principles. In these principles, people tend to be viewed as if they merely had an economic motivation to do their work (Burnes 1996). Therefore, in order to gain the compliance and commitment required for the effectiveness of institutions, it has come to be seen as important for their work to be placed under strict or austere management control - set with predetermined rules, regulations, and controls in conjunction with the rewards and sanctions packages. The latter have been regarded as behavioural stimuli to elevate employees’ commitment to their work and institutions in a non-coercive nature (Kickert 1995).

Moreover, within contexts like universities, in which coercive control cannot be exercised, steering with incentives can become an effective mechanism to push academics to demonstrate collectively desired behaviour (Kickert 1995). Lynch (2006) and Slaughter and Leslie (1997), however, argued that this sort of practice has consciously or unconsciously directed teachers to undertake their teaching responsibilities as if career and money were regarded as their prime ends in carrying out their scholarly activities (capitalism). Career can become the main motivation which governs them to perform their roles and responsibilities, even though the burden imposed on them is largely as a consequence of this workload intensification, but for the sake of their career development the stipulation is regarded as important. Thus, this practice along with the incentive it brings has unconsciously moved teachers to perform their roles and responsibilities within the capitalism agenda (Slaughter and Leslie 1997).
Furthermore, the application of incentives and disincentives is not without risk. This can evoke manipulative practices in order to meet the requirements and gain the advantages of those incentives (Parker and Jary 1995 cited in Lorenz 2012). This phenomenon is also evident in this study, as exemplified by Hanafi from the University of Melati who revealed that many lecturers in his faculty have carried out manipulative strategies to gain incentives. Shore and Wright (1999) argued that ‘auditing processes are having a corrosive effect on people’s sense of professionalism and autonomy’ (p. 290). Moreover, the end product of educational provision cannot be measured with immediate results, thus its quality cannot be directly measured. Moreover, the process of education is ‘an ongoing, reciprocal, and hierarchical process’ (Lorenz 2012, p. 621). Within this frame, both lecturers and students constitute active learners who actively engage in the process of learning, notably featuring the professional authority held by lecturers (Lorenz 2012). Additionally, the service that education provides to some extent cannot be associated with the economic transaction between sellers and buyers in terms of exchanging the products or services (Lorenz 2012).

7.4.4. Performance indicators for research and publication

The measurements of research were based on the number of publications appearing in international journals. Lecturers who are able to publish will gain twofold benefits (1) financial rewards from the government; and (2) the accumulation of credit points used to improve their academic rankings in academic ladders. This practice also shows that ex-post accountability is evident. The existence of these economically-related incentives to promote research and publication in the case of Indonesian academics has potentially encouraged academics to carry out their research within the values of external drivers related to ‘Value-for Money’ and ‘Value-for Career’ as their prime movers in undertaking research. This is particularly at odds with the intrinsic and pure motivation of the quest for knowledge embedded in ‘pure curiosity’ or ‘idle curiosity’ (Veblen 1918). This pure curiosity has come to
be intended for the development and the advancement of knowledge in its own right without being dictated by other motivations or instructions (Kogan and Hanney 2000).

Bearing this in mind, this is an example of intervention in the ethos and autonomy of science as an institutional structure (Merton 1973, cited in Ferlie, Andresani et al. 2008) - in the light of the query of scholarship which will affect the legitimacy of knowledge production. The legitimacy of knowledge production is provided by ‘inner dedication’ (Berstein 2000) guided with ‘inwardness’ principles (cited in Beck and Young 2005). Guided by this basic tenet, scholars pursue research for the sake of knowledge as an end not the end of knowledge (Delanty 1998, Bleiklie and Powell 2005, Bleiklie and Byrkjeflot 2002). This knowledge search is stimulated by the ‘idle curiosity’ and ‘instinct of workmanship’ (Veblen 1918, p. 7).

As with performance indicators in research and publication, many academics found that the quantifiable measurements used to assess research productivity have neglected aspects such as gender, disciplines (which influence the type of research articles), and lack of facilities (sophisticated laboratory equipment, access to international reputable journals, and English language barriers). While it appeared that a large number of married woman academics linked their inability to intensify their research and publication with their role conflicts of career and household responsibilities, this is not the case for male academics. For the most part, male academics associated their problems with multiple roles and the need to look for other jobs outside their own institutions to augment their income. This is because the salary is inadequate to cover their daily needs, so some academics have to become what they described as ‘nomadic traders’, or in Indonesian ‘Pedagang Asongan’. This matter resonates within the three universities and within two disciplines in particular.

This case has been spelled out by some married academic women from the Universities of Melati and Anggrek. Interestingly, though, Santi, one married female academic from the
University of Mawar was convinced that research and publication productivities are not akin to role conflicts encountered by married women. She cogently argued that the most important point is ‘planning’ and ‘time management’. This argument is corroborated by Rini, a married woman from the University of Melati, frankly acknowledging the situation in her department. This academic revealed that the low commitment of lecturers to research and publication had nothing to do with either the issue of married or unmarried or males or females, but simply to do with the laziness of lecturers reluctant to spend time writing.

Referring to the aforesaid issue, though, this is the consequence of the gendered nature of work in which the formation of identities is understood and created through the binary terms of ‘feminised’ and masculinised identities’ (Eveline 2005, p. 642). In this binary gendered environment, it has been evident that the nature of work has been male-dominated and defined (Currie 1996, Currie, Harris et al. 2000, Deem 2003, Eveline 2005, Thomas and Davies 2005b). Consequently, women have increasingly become the victims of the gendered organisations, including universities, in which masculine characteristics have taken hold in the ways universities are managed. At first sight, there is no overt gender segregation in universities for men and women in doing teaching and research, but other issues seemed to obscure this situation, such as ‘age, ethnicity, disability, and disciplinary culture’ (Deem 2003, p.240). This situation has even deteriorated in times of economisation of universities, with increased accountability imposed upon the management and the work of academic communities (Currie 1996, Currie, Harris et al. 2000, Thomas and Davies 2005a). Within this new economic working environment, academic women have been forced to work within the ethos of masculinity marked by high competition in doing their core activities of teaching, research and publication, and community service (Currie 1996, Deem 1998, Currie, Harris et al. 2000, Deem 2003). In these unfriendly and disadvantaged conditions, which have been referred to as ‘macho environment’ (Thomas and Davies 2005b), ‘greedy institutions’ (Currie,
Harris et al. 2000), and ‘gendered power’ (Deem 1998), academic women are sometimes challenged to make a choice between devoting their time to their career and devoting time to their family and between these two, they have to be able to make a right decision on which ‘should be sacrificed and for what’ (Currie 1996, p.103).

This indicates the negative effects of the ‘homo economicus’ philosophy of neoliberalism which overlooks other individual interests in society, who do not have the capacity to compete (Lynch 2006). The State and citizens are thus certainly not seen in the lens of Law (Rechtstaat), but in the lens of economy. Therefore, the State plays out its relationship with its citizens and the way its citizens are conceptualised as autonomous-rational-independent individuals who possess their own capabilities to empower and develop themselves. Therefore, indeed, the State is assumed to practice its backyard roles as facilitating agents rather than controlling and commanding agents (Olssen and Peters 2005, Lorenz 2012). The aftermath of this practice is evident in the case encountered by women academics in this study.

With regard to differences between disciplines, aspects of research styles, English language, and article characteristics have been viewed by academics across two disciplines in the three universities being studied as other factors constraining them to proliferate research and publication. Academics from the Faculty of Cultural Studies and Literature believed that their research styles and article characteristics required the adoption of a caveat that ‘a holistic stance-reality is one and indivisible, and has to be treated as such, even if only part of it can be understood at any given time, that part has to be seen in the context of the whole’ (Becher 1981, p. 119). Accordingly, therefore, they are required to provide long and rich descriptions of their articles to persuade readers to consider the research findings are worth paying attention to (Tracy 2010, Lincoln and Guba 1985). Becher (1981) characterised this tradition as ‘rural’ research types.
In the meantime, academics from engineering clearly assumed that their research approaches and article characteristics did not require them to think and look at reality holistically. The way they look at their world is guided within a rationalistic approach where problems are ‘best tackled by breaking them into small pieces, each to be dealt with separately’ (Becher 1981, p. 119). Becher (1981) called this style of research ‘urban’ research.

English language was another issue that differentiated the Cultural or Literature Faculties from the Engineering Faculty. However, a number of academics from the former and the latter discipline, with the exception of engineering lecturers in the University of Melati, admitted that English was not a barrier for them. For the Engineering Faculty, this was because the articles and the sort of language used were those with practical and technical English. As for the Cultural or Literature Faculty, some academics, particularly those from English language departments, confirmed that English was not a constraint for them because they had become used to using English in their daily scholarly activities. This was not so for academics from departments other than English.

The case advanced by engineering lecturers from the University of Melati was worth paying attention to. Although they were in the same disciplines as other lecturers from the engineering faculties of the Universities of Mawar and Anggrek, they admitted that they were having difficulty meeting the expectations of this policy, due to their disciplines being largely focused on practical matters of fixing broken appliances rather than on theoretical matters. Thus, when it comes to writing, they are unable to systematically synthesise theoretical argumentation. Interestingly, they found job satisfaction through their ability to fix broken appliances and not through their portfolios of research and publication. This intrinsic motivation and satisfaction serves as an epitome of academics’ ‘principled personal project’ (Clegg 2008b) to survive in a
constraining environment and to be legitimate as academics, pursued within intrinsic values rather than within instrumental means of the portfolio research and publication (Archer 2008).

Referring back to English language barriers, academics, particularly from the University of Mawar, had noticed that English language barriers had prevented many academics from producing and publishing their research in international reputable journals. Therefore, academics in this study regretted or even complained this imbalanced situation by calling for academics’ attention to focus not only on sending articles to international journals, because some local universities have good journals too. They called for Indonesian academics to submit their research in these national journals. In addition to gender, another commonality shared by academics across the three universities is the lack of any facility – particularly international journal databases - provided by government to support academics’ scholarly research and publication. This is one of the disadvantages encountered by academics from developing countries, where restrictions on funding has impeded the access to international journal databases that can be utilised to support their articles and research. It is not surprising, therefore, to see the scarcity of Indonesian scholars’ contribution to international journals. This problem has been raised by Altbach (2004) and Yang (2003), who argued that powerful universities, usually in the English-speaking countries, dominate international journal databases. This situation has sometimes placed universities in developing countries – mostly non English- speaking countries – in a disadvantaged position, due to the high cost of providing them. Consequently, this has resulted in unequal access to sources of knowledge.

With respect to this, Lynch (1996) has pointed out that the implication of using Western journals as the solely internationally-accepted journals for academics can produce inequality between Western and Eastern countries. Referring to the barriers reported by academics in this study, they revealed that the rarity of contributions by Indonesian academics to international
reputable journals is not caused by their incompetence, but simply by English language issues and the emphasis on the Western standards and references of publishing articles. Lynch (2006), Yang (2003), and Lorenz (2012) have attributed this to the impact of globalisation and capitalism. In this globalised world, those with huge capital can gain substantial benefits as they have the resources to build network systems to prop up their activities, as Lynch (2006) argued:

This is not to say that scholars from other countries do not produce excellent research or publish successfully, rather it is to face the competitive global reality that those who have most resources and access to global capitalist publication networks are likely to be able to globalise their ideas One of the unforeseen negative consequences of relying on peer-reviewed systems to disseminate research knowledge is that academics will become increasingly invisible to the people who pay their salaries, and that is the taxpayers for those who work in predominantly state-funded university systems (p. 12).

What can be understood from Lynch’s remark above is that the need to publish in national journals is far more important than publishing in international journals, given that the academics have been paid by shareholders inside their own countries. As a form of responsibility towards the use of the money, at least the academics should come to realise that they have to give something in return, that is to say disseminating their research in national journals using their own languages - so that the results of the research can benefit their stakeholders who paid their salaries.

The high importance of publishing and awarding research in international journals rather than in national journals has come to be seen as diminishing the interests of people in Indonesia to be offered knowledge, and as strengthening the pre-existing notion that knowledge should be disseminated internationally and that this is worth rewarding.

If public interests are to be served, academics need to publish in their own countries and in their own languages, especially in fields like the humanities and social sciences where so much of what needs to be understood is local as well as global. For this to happen, such work needs to be rewarded not sanctioned (2006, p.12).
Further negative effects of the implementation of performance-based assessment in research and publication may have been the potential creation of unconsciously marginalised recognition of social sciences, for instance anthropology disciplines. This issue, put forward by one academic from the University of Anggrek, indicated the adverse effect of the economisation of higher education embedded in its Human Capital Theory has greatly disadvantaged other disciplines simply because these disciplines do not have any direct contribution or usefulness for the economic development of nations (Lynch 2006, Collini 2012). Human capital theory within neoliberal ideology views any activities undertaken by individuals or citizens economically, which gives more weight to competition rather than exchange (Parker and Jary 1995).

7.4.5, Research funding scheme

Competition over limited resources for research funds has brought forth an ethos of competition among academics from different universities. Those within established and prestigious research universities as exemplified by the University of Mawar in this study can gain more advantages and have generally come out as winners against those within non-research or teaching-oriented universities such as the Universities of Melati and Anggrek. This is consistent with the situation described by Akerlind (2005), who argued that academics with research productivity tend to have greater opportunity to procure research funding, leading academics to put emphasis more on the quantity of research and publication than on teaching quality. Consequently, this situation may lead to the creation of different castes of universities (Shore and Wright 1999).

An example of the emergence of stratification of universities in Indonesia can be seen in the ‘Research Cluster’ set up by government. Through this cluster, universities in Indonesia are allocated research funds based on their research performance. Those with good research
performance, classified as Independent research clusters, will benefit more than those within a lower hierarchy cluster. The University of Mawar, as an Independent research university in the cluster is evidently advantaged more than the other two non-research universities (Melati and Anggrek) in that the University of Mawar can receive 100% of total allocated research grant. In this case, research agendas have been placed in an economic and competition-oriented perspective (Harris 2005, Henkel 2007). This practice echoes the concern put forward by Henkel (2005) and (Becher 1989) in relation to the loss of power of disciplines which have been argued to be the main source of curiosity of conducting research and scholarships (Becher 1989). Nevertheless, this premise has been supplanted by the power of institutions (Henkel 2005, Harris 2005). This is an example of what Becher described as the shift in the shared values and expertise embodied in disciplinary culture or territory towards obligation of shared tasks (Becher 1989).

The setting up of university research performance clusters and research agendas to determine the proportion of allocated research grant impacts on the individual subject level as well (micro level), which is located at the departmental level (disciplines). With regard to this, research agendas which are framed within ‘strategic research’ have marginalised social sciences, due to the fact that these disciplines have not arguably made a direct economic contribution - for example anthropology disciplines as exemplified by Sofyan, a respondent from the University of Anggrek in this study. This strategic research operates in the notion of to what extent the research areas fit with the needs for the strategic development goals of Indonesia. In this way, soft-pure discipline (Becher 1998) which is represented by anthropology disciplines or even social sciences in general, which do not have any direct contribution or relevance to the ‘Strategic research’ agenda, will be profoundly disadvantaged. This is in line with what Collini (2012) argued, that the economisation of higher education overlooks important aspects of university provision. There are certain subjects, particularly in
the arts and humanities, which do not always have direct economic usefulness or the capacity to demonstrate a direct contribution to the economy. ‘Research Councils and Foundations tend to concentrate their energies and funds on urban groups, both because they have a higher profile than rural researchers, and because they more commonly make claims for supporting grants’ (Becher 1989, p.120).

Furthermore, this strategic research scheme has also resulted in the pursuit of knowledge driven by traffics instead of by pure curiosity to knowledge production. Veblen (1918) in his theory of higher learning delineated the characteristics of academics in the pursuit of scholarship and the seeking for truth by which they are motivated with particular features, such as ‘idle curiosity and the instinct of workmanship’. Idle curiosity was the term he employed to associate academics’ motives to pursue science and scholarships free from ulterior ends with unprofitable intentions - it is esoteric knowledge. They simply conducted their scholarly activities because of their inner curiosity.

Instincts of workmanship in the pursuit of scholarship endowed ‘the norms or the scheme of criteria and canons of verity, according to which the ascertained facts will be construed and connected up in a body of systematic knowledge’ (Veblen 1918, p.7). However, as time passed, the habit of thought had been transformed into industrial art influences (Veblen 1918). The idle curiosity and workmanship which previously characterised the pursuit of knowledge have now been influenced by the work of business in industrial arts (Veblen 1918).

Interestingly, support for this regulation was demonstrated by academics from these three universities amidst their disappointment over their job working conditions due to the disappointing salary, lack of facilities and funds, and increased workloads intensification. Academics continued to see that there was a niche that they could use to find other self-satisfaction concretised in their professional developments so as to be well-recognised.
7.5. How academics resisted and accommodated changes: the perceptions of academics

The findings of this research have illustrated how the academics under study responded to changes in their institutions. As has been elucidated in earlier sections, academics tended to polarise in responding to the change. Some agreed and others disagreed. This section continues with an analysis of the patterns of behaviour and attitudes of dissenting groups of academics towards the changes occurring in their institutions from the three universities where this research was carried out. Their dissenting behaviours and attitudes were regarded as forms of resistance, a resistance taking place offstage in their private domains occurring every day in their working places among their peers without public exposure and even unnoticed by the power holders (Government). This is what Scott (1990) called discursive resistance.

Scott (1990) divided the forms of resistance shown by the subordinated groups in dealing and interacting with the powerful groups into ‘public transcripts’ and ‘hidden transcripts’. Public transcripts are ‘the open interaction between subordinates and those who dominate’ (p. 2). These public transcripts are characterised by the use of language, custom, and behaviour, whilst hidden transcripts are ‘discourse that takes place offstage beyond direct observation by the power holders’ (p.4) which feature the use of language, jokes, and criticism.

The resistance demonstrated by academics from the three universities and the tools they used to some extent indicated discursive resistance using their meaning and subjectivity through their language, jokes or humour, irony or analogy, and pragmatic representation of what were effectively the same responses, which formed their guerrilla ‘weapon of the weak’ (Scott 1990, p.2).

Academics from the three universities recounted how they make use of their resources and opportunities at hand to show their equivocal affirmation of resisting and accommodating the colonisation of government-driven policy in their activities. Not like other forms of resistance
which are well-organised, well-intended, actual, and frontal, academics’ resistance displayed
in this study had taken shape in discursive, disguised, covert, and non-frontal forms of
resistance (Scott 1986, Fleming and Sewell 2002, Thomas and Davies 2005a, Contu and 2007,
Page 2011). Such forms of resistance are used as safe techniques and tactics to put forward
their self-affirmation and actualisation in dealing with and coming to terms with the control
from strong hands of government to allow the balance of power relations to be exercised upon
their actions (Scott 1986).

This form of resistance is enabled in a very constraining situation, where open and frontal
confrontation is very restricted and dangerous (Scott 1986). Discursive, concealed, and
offstage tactics of resistance thus usually become effective weapons to avoid likely retaliation
from power holders (Scott 1986). Drawing on E.P Thomson, Scott (1986) further illuminated
the effectiveness of this sort of resistance in order to evade bad consequences; Scott argued
that ‘repression precluded direct political statements by lower classes; instead, the expression
of people’s political sympathies was more often oblique, symbolic, and too indefinite to incur
prosecution (p.138).

Scott (1986) has addressed this resistance as ‘infrapolitic of resistance’. ‘Infrapolitic’ of
resistance takes place at the level of subjectivity and meaning of subordinated groups
adumbrated in their everyday resistance which usually occurs offstage, away from the
surveillance of power holders. It is using an unobtrusive way of political struggle ‘an
appropriate short hand to convey the idea that we are dealing with an unobtrusive realm of
political struggle’ (Scott 1986, p. 183). The idea is highly influenced by Foucauldian
philosophy on the nature of power relations in civil society, which is conceptualised in the
process of objectivising of the subject over power characterised by the willingness of actors to
become subjects (Foucault 1982).
Referring to the theory of resistance proffered by Gramsci (1971), the everyday resistance of infrapolitics demonstrated by academics in the three universities where this research was undertaken can presumably be seen as political awareness towards their current circumstances due to the rise and the development of ‘good sense’ out of ‘common sense’, to borrow the vivid phrase by Gramsci (1971). The rise of this good sense is what has awakened them to critique, demystify and act against hegemonic systems of power.

Power relations are ubiquitous; they occupy every nook and cranny in social life (Foucault 1982). This implies that universities are also sites where power relations are visible, as Derrida argued: ‘the university is an ultimate place of critical resistance … to all the power of dogmatic and unjust appropriation (cited in Vinthagen 2007, p. 1). In the case of the academics in this study, the colonisation of the neoliberal economy along with the power of bureaucracy of State control penetrating their crux activities, have come to be seen as the field or arena where power relations are exercised. The resistance designated by academics in this study can be argued as a struggle or defence against the colonisation of subjectivity (Foucault 1982, Contu 2007, Page 2011).

Referring again to Gramsci’s notion of philosophy of praxis, the forms of defence and struggle academics used, for example cynicism and scepticism, are indicators of their political awareness. Awakened by their good sense, academics can demystify their colonised circumstances and act against them through carving out their autonomy to proclaim their resistance, though this occurs at the level of micro political resistance (Mumby 1997, Murphy 1998, Fleming and Sewell 2002, Thomas and Davies 2005a).

Furthermore, as street level bureaucrats, also associated with powerless and subordinated groups in hierarchical level as civil society, Indonesian academics have launched their protests and criticisms in cynical and sceptical tones in their own language, meaning, and subjectivity.
They protested that this policy, particularly in the introduction of the online assessment system, has been prematurely implemented, by disregarding the situation in the field, that is to say the availability of better internet access in other areas in Indonesia, remote areas in particular. Through these protests and criticisms, academics have formed their clandestine resistance and opposition towards this regulation. The offstage gossips circulated, whispered, and communicated among themselves every day in their work, a resistance which took place without political arrangement and organisation, and which sprang up discursively without someone to coordinate and consolidate. This resistance exists without an actual platform and leadership. This form of resistance was interestingly demonstrated similarly by academics from different backgrounds, including older, younger, senior, middle, and positional formal leaders.

Viewed from the policy implementation research and theory, it is clear that mutual adaptation was absent in the policy implementation in this study. This can be clearly traced from the behaviour of academics towards this policy and their interpretation of it. The feelings of discomfort were the words they chose to interpret and give meaning towards the consequence of the lack of mutual adaptation. Such problems in the policy implementation have come to be viewed as consequences of policy formulated with a top-down approach in policy implementation (Sabatier 1986, Yanow 1987, Trowler 1998). This approach denies the real situation in the field: that there are a multitude of different actors interacting and interpreting the policy at the level of implementation. Their behaviour towards the policy needs analysing at the level of policy formulation, implementation, and reformulation, thus the intention of policy can be applied and achieved (Sabatier 1986). This is in contrast with a bottom-up approach which emphasises the analysis of a multitude of actors interacting at the stage of implementation toward a particular problem or issue (Sabatier 1986, Trowler 1998). Bottom-up approaches in policy implementation embrace the context of ground level or street-level
bureaucrats, particularly in understanding their behaviour in interpreting the policy at the point of its implementation (Sabatier 1986, Yanow 1987, Trowler 1998).

With regard to the research and publication regulation, many academics viewed it as cumbersome. This is because research and publication should be published in accredited international journals with a determined good impact factor, which in turn has forced academics to subvert this prescribed demand, by simply turning the essence or the basic meaning of this regulation into their own interpretation. This turning strategy was born from their confessed lack of ability to meet the expectation that this regulation entails: to publish in relatively high impact accredited international journals indexed in Scopus. In the words of Mikhail Bakhtin (cited in Murphy 1998), a Russian critic, these academics have launched their carnivalesque strategy of turning the world up-side down. Turning the world upside down is equated with these academics’ action to invert the actual meaning of the regulation imposed upon them. Like the carnival notion of Bakhtin, this action is widely accepted, appropriated, and permitted during a joyful time of festivity where the tangible demarcated truth between established power holders and powerless groups becomes intangible. In this situation all attitudes, expressions of dissatisfaction, and discontent gained more room to be expressed freely and without incurring punitive costs. This is a ‘decaf strategy’ (Contu 2007) in which actions of subversion against the act of colonising subjectivity (Foucault 1982) are let loose without risk of being repressed.

The relatively loose attitude and feelings of expression to protest and critique nuanced in cynicism and scepticism is far from being enabled without the presence of the sense of autonomy held or assumed by academics (Foucault 1982, Contu 2007). Resistance, irrespective of how limited and restricted it is, including cynicism and scepticism, has contained an important message that academics, to a certain extent, can carve out spaces for
their autonomy and inscribe their ways of survival against disciplinary mechanisms which have been regarded as colonising their subjectivity (Foucault 1982, Fleming and Sewell 2002).

Academics in this study are also struggling to get around the publication regulations amidst their multiple roles and responsibilities. To cope with this, they continue using their guerrilla tactics. Santoso, a dean from the University of Mawar, constitutes the best example of how strategic action and formula have been geared to meet the expectation of research and publication.

Evidence supplied by this academic has indicated that there was a nuance of hidden resistance disguised in his forced attempts to deal with this regulation. He used his weapon of the Weak, his guerrilla tactics, his unobtrusive way of resisting the bureaucratic power that forced him to publish in international journals as a compromise to this stipulation. The word he used for example, ‘looking for low impact international journals to be able to be easily accepted has channelled messages that he resisted this regulation in a perfectly least overt manner covered within his attempt to publish. This is his or their discursive resistance of hidden transcript. Trowler (1998) has made a good analysis that academics are clever people, they are not empty headed, they have their own ways of discursive resistance to something that contradicts and makes their position insecure, by ameliorating rather than overthrowing it.

Similarly with cynicism and scepticism, resistance concealed in ambiguous responses can likewise function as a decaf strategy and infrapolitics resistance shown by academics under space of greater autonomy, to express their feelings of dissatisfaction and satisfaction all at the same time. The nature of this sort of response has elicited cognitively contradictory purposes and meaning (Hatch 1997b). Ironic humour is the term applied in Sociology of Irony and Humour Theory to refer to opposition between what is said and what is meant (Hatch 1997b). It appears that ambiguous responses pronounced by academics under this study can be equated
with Ironic humour. Scott (1985) contended that humour can be a way for those in lower status positions to covertly express resistance to the more powerful.

It is surprising that the compliance that academics from the three universities exhibited towards the policy imperatives enacted by government in their workplaces has apparently been only skin-deep. On the surface, they have accepted and obeyed the regulations imposed upon them, but deep inside the bottom stage there appeared a lot of complaints, cynicism, cynical jokes or humour, cynical analogy or irony.

7.6. Conclusion

The results of this study revealed a wider phenomenon concerning the implementation of policy-driven change in Indonesian state universities, encompassing shifts in the coordination mechanism and accountability to ensure quality assurance. The stories told by academics augmented by documents and observations have indicated the hybridisation reform model involving New Public Management and Neo-Weberian State tenets.

The implementation of NPM values in Indonesian universities has given rise to the emergence of neoliberal governmentality (Foucault, 1982). In this concept academic performance in three cores of academic scholarly activities in teaching, research, and community services has been subject to accountability. The process of accountability has been obscured in the steering at a distance utilised by the Indonesian government to enhance academic productivity. The application of this process has apparently sparked tensions and conflict among academics, leading to polarisation of their responses. On one side, there is evidence that some academics do not contend with this, given the contradictory nature of such process with the professionalism and academic identity. On the other side, there is also supporting evidence demonstrating that academics are in agreement with this process, considering the daunting cultural contexts in their institutions, amongst others are the low commitment, integrity, and
professionalism of academics themselves. Therefore, the forcing nature of regulation from government is necessarily required.

The traces of the NWS in this reform are evident in the attempts made by the Indonesian government to modernise the existing Weberian rational bureaucracy embedded in the patrimonial administration by which they have governed the way universities in Indonesia do their scholarly activities and their management. In this way, the role of the State reverts to become an architect, while at the same time maintaining the existing Weberian rational bureaucracy, equipped with principles of NPM in order to achieve maximum results.

The dynamics of Indonesian higher education changes as explored and explained above have provided a particular context in which key concepts in relation to New Public Management, the Neo-Weberian state can contribute to theory, policy, practice, and participants in this study. The following chapter will discuss in detail all implications of these.
CHAPTER 8 CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

8.1. Introduction

This chapter is concerned with discussions about conclusions and significances of contribution of this research theoretically, heuristically, practically, and methodologically (Tracy 2010). To begin, conclusions of the major findings will be provided to feed an understanding on the implications of this study.

8.2. Conclusions

Recently, Indonesian higher education institutions have borne witness to changes taking place in their institutions resulting from an economically-driven-government imperative (The Higher Education Act 2012). Three research questions put forward as tools to investigate and understand the under life of Indonesian academics pertinent to (1) the changes taking place in their institutions; (2) the implications of this imperative for the nature of their work; and (3) the resistance and accommodation shown by academics towards these changes, have been answered. The results of this study reveal a wider phenomenon concerning the implementation of this policy, encompassing aspects of shifts in coordination mechanisms, and accountability to ensure quality assurance applied in the three functions of higher education in Indonesia.

As a starting point, the issue relates to the principal changes as experienced by academics is first addressed. With regard to this, evidence from academics, documents, and observations, has, for the most part, demonstrate some indications of a hybrid model of reforms. The model of reform of what has come to be known as a shift in the ‘regulative modality’, to borrow the phrase from Olssen and Peters (2005), positing a structural approach of change which is intended to transform academics’ roles, under the adoption of the tenets of New Public Management (NPM) and the Neo-Weberian State (NWS).
This model of reform can be understood from the twin mechanisms of control governing higher education systems in which the hands-on and hands-off government are obviously in place. It is interestingly, that the concomitant presence of the hands-on and hands-off government has been disguised to such an extent, creating of what has been called by academics in this study a ‘shadow control’ or in the phrase of Kickert (1995) the ‘Steering at a distance’. The presence of the government in the management of higher education and academics’ work is both intertwined in the predetermined set of rules, procedures, and targets which are framed within business principles and the reaffirmed legitimacy and capacity of the government to uphold and control the work of academics and their institutions. These business principles are framed within audit culture, clearly featured with the accountability and performance indicators to measure the productivity and quality of academics’ scholarly activities. Whilst it has been obviously clear as evidenced from this study that academics still maintain discretion to internally assess and evaluate their work through the discretion endowed by the government, represented by the existence of the peer-assessment and evaluation, represented by the establishment of Internal Assessor Boards - in fact, it has been likewise clear that the key determining actor to determine the validity of the assessment of academics’ work is the government.

Consequently, the real freedom and autonomy of academics are opaque and nebulous. Managed and regulated in the presence of both hands-on and hands-off systems has made the autonomy of Indonesian academics appear to be more like as an ostensible and a transacted autonomy as I call it. Its nature is like a reflection on a mirror which portrays the same exact two reflections, but one reflection acts as a pseudo-reflection.
Within this model of autonomy the real and the imagined autonomy of Indonesian academics are demarcated by the State regulation through its steering at a distance or the ‘Shadow control of the State’.

The implications of this model of change have resulted in the new forms of assessing and evaluating the work of academics which have been mediated by the instruments of accountability, the instruments adopted from business models. Through accountability instruments, academics’ work is gauged through newly established-online assessment systems; registration forms; relevant documents (proof of undertaken activities), sanction and reward mechanisms; quantifiable measurements of assessing teaching and research productivity (performance indicators); and top-down model of policy implementation.

In recognition of this, the evidence gathered from this study demonstrates that the culture of research and teaching is changing. Academics from the three institutions in this study are subject to the State’s pressure to change - and move away their perceived values, beliefs, and norms in perceiving and internalising their research and professions towards the set of prescribed values, beliefs, and norms of the government, the premise advocated by the Neo-Weberian state model.
While this practice runs counter to the professionalism, autonomy, trust, academic freedom which have traditionally formed the identity of academics, this has also changed both the landscape of Indonesian higher education system and the nature of academic identity. To be more specific, this model of reform has brought in a new form of meaning of how to be an academic or a lecturer. With regard to this, Indonesian academics have undergone some paradoxical realities between tensions to maintain their existing managed identities and their new prescribed economic identities. The latter have sparked several consequences of the loss of autonomy and academic freedom, particularly in the three cores of scholarly activities (teaching, research, and community services). The meet of the two conflicting streams of existing managed roles and new prescribed economic roles has spurred fierce tensions, contestations, and interestingly at the same time there is much acceptance, leading to a polarisation of resistance and accommodation shown by Indonesian academic communities.

It is interesting, however, that while academics are grappling to balance their schism between keeping their existing identity tenable and exercising new prescribed roles from the external environment, academics are still able to practice their perceived identity through their principled personal projects. These principled personal projects are the means used by them to become legitimate as academics and pursue successes, rather than to use instrumental means. This has been evidently seen in the underpinning principles and motivations driving some academics from the three institutions to take up lecturer professions. These underpinning principles are largely grounded on their religious teachings and precepts to illuminate their path in the hereafter. This can be accomplished through good deeds of sharing valuable knowledge with others.

An interesting pattern of responses obtained from academics pertinent to the implementation of economically-driven policy is shaped by the commonalities and differences of responses
from various backgrounds in the three universities (the younger, the older, the senior, the middle, and the leader). Within these varied backgrounds, academics tend to resist and accommodate the changes taking place in their institutions. However, the most striking result of this study is the uniformity of academics’ responses (from the three universities) on the low and poor salary systems and the lack of facilities provided by the government.

With regard to sanction and reward mechanisms, it is interesting to note that the sanction and reward mechanisms imposed upon academics’ work have led to binary influences. Whilst reward mechanisms can enhance motivation of academics to increase their productivity either in teaching or research, they are also viewed as having relatively adverse effects on particular academics, particularly those who are unable to meet the target determined due to certain reasons, such as English language barriers; gender inequity; types of universities; different characteristics of disciplines; and research and article characteristics. In the meantime the existence of sanction mechanisms can restrict academics to resist the targets imposed upon them. Taken together, these two mechanisms can produce instrumental-contractual compliance, superficial and skin-deep compliance in order to meet externally prescribed objectives.

As a result, it is not surprising, then, to see how academics have formed their own ways of resisting to respond to restrictive and forcing nature of this policy. Constrained within the contractual mode of reward and sanction mechanisms, academics are unable to resist unfavourable impacts of this policy in frontal and straightforward forms of resistance. Instead, they formed their guerrilla tactic reflected upon discursive, unobtrusive tactics of resisting and accommodating to avoid sanctions related to their careers development and financial benefits.
8.3. Implications

8.3.1. Theory

If we consider neoliberal policies, the State control of the Neo-Weberian concept, top-down model of policy implementation, and power relations exercised in the relationships between the State and academic communities as a way or an alternative mode of changing and improving higher education efficiency and productivity, the implications of the findings of this thesis can be informative and useful at several levels.

It is helpful to conceptualise how neoliberal policies can run counter to the socio-cultural, historical, economic, and political system of countries or contexts in which they dominate. Taking the case of Indonesia, where a transition from its long-standing patrimonial systems towards democratic systems has obviously proven that the application of neoliberal policies in higher education systems without the presence of legitimate control of the government can be problematic. This issue can be discerned from data yielded from participants in the three state universities being studied. Whilst it has been recognised, in particular academics from research university (Mawar) that the intervention of the government in the core scholarly academics’ activities is a form of breach of academic freedom and autonomy, signals of approval from non-research university academics (Melati and Anggrek) regarding this intervening role have been pushed to the forefront. The underpinning reasons of the latter varied. First, it is obviously due to the daunting working professional commitment and academic culture of academics being studied. Second, basic infrastructures to support the implementation of performative criteria to assess lecturers’ productivity, for example lack of facilities in term of access of international reputable journal databases are lacking and disappointing. Therefore, indeed, the endeavour made by Indonesian government to boost the quality, efficiency, and productivity of higher education system is visibly in need.
Therefore, the hybrid use of neoliberal policies and the Neo-Weberian state in the process of reform in higher education systems in Indonesia may provide a good example of how national contexts and values can become mediating aspects in adopting and adjusting global policies in which they are put into effect. To this extent, this research has exhibited how the policy has been taking its distinctive recontextualisation characteristics of a policy transfer (Halpin and Troya 1995) in its implementation, tailored with the contextual background of Indonesia’s political system, cultural, and socio-economic condition. This is in line with the notion proffered by Pollit and Bouckaert (2004), Pollit, Homburg et al. (2007), Pollit (2009), Kickert (1997), Hood (1991), Haque (2000), Lynn (2008), and Ferlie, Andresani et al. (2008) who argued that public management reforms have inundated many countries irrespective of whether they are categorised as English-speaking countries or non-English speaking countries during the 1980s within a single label under New Public Management.

Theoretically, this hybrid model of reform in higher education can further extend our understanding about the inter-organisational relationships and networks. Such relationships and networks are particularly fed with disanalogous interests, goals, and purposes of multiple actors involved. Here, the example is the relationship played out between the State and universities in which the interplays of different interests, goals, and functions are intertwined. Within this web of relationship, there is certainly a particular actor (State) who is predominantly dominant in the arrangement of activities. This is an important element in order to ensure fairness and equity for each individual in the relationship practised. Thus, it needs to be considered, acknowledged, and better understood in the theory of policy and management in higher education sectors in a wider range of contexts. To this extent, it can help understand the complexity of relationship played out by the State and higher education where their relationship has been collided with the professional and collegial nature of higher education.
which make up the idiosyncratic characteristics of the ‘loosely coupled system’ and the ‘organized anarchy’ of higher education.

Above all, the presence of the State as advocated by the Neo-Weberian State model can minimise potentially adverse effects arising from the minimising role of the State to regulate and protect the rights of each individual in society. For academics, this underpinning intellectual tool of the State roles adopted by New Public Management has signalled some weaknesses and potentially adverse effects for academics in Indonesian universities. This can be understood from the nature of its competitive orientation embedded in teaching and research which may disregard other academics who do not have capacities to independently rely on their attempts to benefit themselves from competing rights of economic resources. Here, the role of the State is obviously important to ensure the equity and fairness of treatment through impersonal relationships. This case has been demonstrated by Indonesian academics in the problems encountered by married women who cannot focus more on research and publication because of the conflict derived from dual roles of responsibilities. The same applies to universities, in this case, non-research universities (Anggrek and Mawar) which have to struggle to compete with the research university (Mawar) to obtain better rankings in the cluster level and research grant determined by the government. In addition, the differences in disciplines have created unbalanced competition between the hard-pure science and the soft-pure science, particularly in producing publications in international reputable journals. This is due to the fact that, as revealed in this study, there are many distinct characteristics which enable the hard-science to publish more. This is supported by the nature of their article characteristics which do not need complex reasonings.

This reflects the consequences of New Public Management (performativity), in which academics are considered to be able to think, manage, and calculate themselves’ (Rose 1989,
as cited in Ball 2003, p. 18). Thus, those who are unable to fulfill this may have been disadvantaged as exemplified by the cases described above.

For the most part, indeed, this research has highlighted how values, beliefs, gender, religion, and disciplines have intertwined in the formation of academic identity and how different individuals responded to the shift of their traditional academics as they interacted with the external environment. It can be clearly seen from this study that schisms between traditional roles and new prescribed roles are apparent. Another important issue raised in this research is the implications of New Public Management (NPM) has overlooked the special identities of academic communities which are driven by the principles of collegiality and autonomy (Henkel 2005). With regard to this, NPM does not contribute to the flexibility of academic work at all, rather it creates bureaucratic rigidity as has been argued by Marginson (1993). The issues of special characteristics of academic identity would be considerably important to be taken into consideration for those involved in the process of a policy making to enable the effectiveness of their policy.

8.3.2. Policy
The policy on higher education reform in Indonesia has been a State action where the State has positioned itself as a backbone and an architect in eliciting changes from the existing patrimonial culture and behaviour towards new prescribed roles, imitating corporate principles in order to enable the implementation of Neoliberal values, embedded in New Public Management. For the latter to be materialised, a quasi-market contextual prerequisite has been a necessary condition. As a consequence, academics have been strongly forced to behave in dual roles of traditional collegiality and corporate manners. Dreschler (2009) contested that the quasi-market condition will not suffice to ensure the success of the implementation of NPM values. The Indonesian university reform seemed to have traded-off this contradictory
situation by advocating the adoption of the model of marketiser and moderniser governments (Pollit and Bouckaert 2004) through the hybridisation of NPM and the NWS model.

Because of as such corporate-like principles do require maximum trust to ensure the credibility and legitimacy of services provided by universities, tools of accountability measurements consisting of performance indicators to measure outcomes are assumed to be an ideal means. Unfortunately, these sorts of measurement have overlooked the fact and the nature of scholar communities. These scholar communities have their own ethical conducts and procedures in the pursuit of commitment and compliance which are sought from their peers. Thus, they cannot be measured through predictable or routinised outputs, rather through the mastery of specialist theory of knowledge (Roberts and Donahue 2012, Olssen and Peters 2007). This conduct has been the manifestation of bureaucratic model of coordination to borrow the word from Clarke and Newman (1997) and by which (Roberts and Donahue (2000)), and Lorenz (2012) deemed as the practice which is at odds with the nature of professionalism.

Additionally, performance indicators and academic communities are two elements that have never been placed in harmony. This is because the ideologies embedded in performance indicators which are substantially output and numeric-oriented have been at odds with the professionalism held by academic scholars. Within the professional ideology, academics are granted with autonomy and power to act based on their choices. However, the problems are not that simple. The fact shows there is an impersonal relationship exercised by academics with other actors whom need accountable services from academic communities. This fact, subsequently, requires academics to be accountable, although this practice has violated the real meaning of professionalism.
In terms of the application of performance indicators on the scholarly activities of academics, this study argued that the significance of performance indicators as measures of teaching and learning activities can be understood from which angle we based our judgement. As evidenced from this study, performance indicators can become a demoralising and devaluing tool if they are used for control, where a measure becomes target, thus forcing individuals or academics to juxtapose their roles and responsibilities with the pursuit of what are measured. The consequence of this practice can be reasonably irritating for academics, as its strong emphasis given to the numerical or statistical values which have a constraint in explaining the true and pure meanings of what are measured, for example, the human sides of underpinning activities. In addition, this sort of practice is vulnerable to abuse and manipulative for strategies of appearance measurements.

From the angle of internal management improvement, performance indicators can be an enforcing tool to improve poor performance and poor working commitment through incentives and sanctions, considering the economic nature of human to gain satisfaction. Therefore, in order to minimise the room for abuse caused by performance indicators, it would be wise to take into account the qualitative aspects which take forms in the process of teaching and learning activities which can be found in their underlying process, for example the improvement process of knowledge and skills undertaken by lecturers to improve their teaching professionally. Therefore, indeed, the humane aspects of teaching and learning embedded in this process should be wisely taken into consideration too.

The pressure to undertake research and publication imposed upon academics in the three universities being studied has to some extent neglected the differences of academics’ ‘epistemic tradition’, which distinguish scientific communities in the way they perceive their world, including their professions and sciences (Becher 1994, Valimaa 1998). The frenzies of
pros and cons about this pressure occurring in the Universities of Mawar, Melati, and Anggrek, are clearly derived from the nature of their epistemic tradition among hard pure disciplinary cultures, represented by the Engineering disciplines and soft pure disciplinary cultures, represented by the Cultural Studies or Language and Literature disciplines (as called in the University of Melati). These factors, subsequently, as a matter of fact, have escaped the tentacles of the government when implementing this policy. It would be wise to take into account this issue to enable the policy implementation successful.

What can be inferred from the result of this study is the formation of identity within disciplines alone can vary considerably triggered by different epistemic traditions as discerned in research styles, characteristics of articles, the use of English - and most interestingly is the meaning of job satisfaction conceptualised through the successful application of skills and discipline-based knowledge in relation to the practical use. This evidence demonstrated how disciplinary culture has become powerful sources of the formation of academic identity reflected upon the intertwined components of individuals values, professions and disciplines.

The findings drawn from this study reveal that academics which have long denoted as street level bureaucrats featured with their active acceptance to policy imperatives seemed appropriate to apply within academics under study. They apparently are not empty-headed people of implementing agency of the government-driven policy. They have their personal ways of resisting and accommodating the changes in their communities through their hidden languages circulated and communicated among their peers at the backstreet, which have gone unnoticed by power holders. As Prichard and Willmott (1997, cited in Trowler (2002) have argued:

…..that academics are poorly prepared to argue publicly against the ‘imperialising discourse’ of managerialism, and that the tendency has been to ‘resort to a variety of local tactics to evade and subvert as well as to accommodate and appease’ managerialist demands (p.15).
Therefore, for policy to be successful in its implementation, policy makers are encouraged to consider aspect of subjectivity of policy recipients which resides in the micro politics domain in the study of resistance. ‘Finally, successful realisation of policy goals is viewed as being achieved through the use of rewards, sanctions or simply by the fact that the values and goals of implementers are congruent with those of policy-makers’ (Trowler 2002, p. 2). Trowler (2002) further argued that ‘Moreover the rational–purposive model is an attractive one to governments and managers alike; the notion that there are levers to pull to effect change in desired directions in order to fix clearly identified problems is undeniably appealing’ (p. 2).

The issues of hidden resistance shown by academics in this study are not without merit too for higher education reforms to be successful in Indonesia, because they can provide indications of what variables or theoretical framework models (Sabatier 1986, Schofield and Sausman 2004) should be taken into consideration in the enactment of the policy. What is noteworthy here in the formulation and implementation of the policy set by Indonesian government is there has been an absence in the application of an evidence-based practice or a lack of integrity between a theory and practice utilising knowledge or causal theories, capacity, and experts which can be mediated through pilot sites or test beddings (O’Toole 2000), in order to detect and fix any problems post policy implementation. Therefore, for the policy enactment of higher education reforms in Indonesia to be successful, these suggestions can be taken into consideration.

8.3.3. Practice

The results of this study will be expected to contribute to a better understanding about dynamics of academics’ world as it is encountered against the government-driven policy, and provide indications for policy makers to take into account this issue in the formulation and enactment of their policy.
This research offers an in-depth explanation between the disanologous nature of academic communities and performance indicators. If it is considerably taken into account, the facts about academic communities and performance indicators will be important, particularly when they are encountered with the formulation of the policy and the selection of reform models suitable for higher education. So, the implementation of policy in higher education reforms may be successful and improve the management of higher education institutions.

As well, I believe that this study may be useful to give better understandings for policy makers on implementing policies by considering aspects of behaviours of academics as street level bureaucrats in accepting, interpreting, and implementing policy imperatives. These results might also be beneficial for policy makers from other sectors outside higher education in effectuating policy imperatives.

The findings of this study, if they are considerably taken into consideration, may provide indications for policy makers to revisit and refine the existing indicators used to measure academic performances in teaching in particular. This can be, indeed, implemented by taking into account the collegial nature, organized anarchy, of a bottom-up approach which emphasises the emancipation of academics to determine what elements of teaching should be covered and measured. This research argues that indicators used in performance indicators can be a blended quantitative and qualitative measure, so that they can compensate at each other.

If in top-down approach emphasises the use of causal theory to understand and to seek the gap during the implementation policy, then the settings of academics in Indonesian universities are supposed to be taken into account, including their beliefs, values, and behaviour in interpreting the policy. If this premise is important in the policy formulation, it would mean that academic culture plays crucial roles in determining the policy design and formulation for higher education institutions. As this research has demonstrated the sluggish and lethargic state of academic culture in universities (Melati and Anggrek), it appeared that the policy makers have
overlooked this aspect. As a consequence, a gap in the implementation of policy has occurred. The gap in the policy implementation as evidenced in this study can be illustrated from the behaviour of academics to accommodate and resist changes. Trowler (1998) has noticed the passive state of academics in policy implementation and has applied a terminology to highlight the approach as ‘the quite don’ approach.

8.3.4. Originality

I argued that, academics actively respond to external pressures which contradict their own values and beliefs with their unique intellectual strategies which have been overlooked in the formulation of policy. A new aspect of identity in academic profession was found, that is to say a ‘religion’.

8.3.5. Limitation of the research and recommendation for future research

Although this research employed the observation as an instrument to collect data, in many respects, this cannot be fully utilised to observe a wide range of behaviours and feelings of respondents as expressed in interviews. Therefore, a triangulation of such aspects cannot be implemented. In addition, this research has a limited number of samples and variables included to explore the formation of academic identities under rapidly changing environment. Issues such as ethnicity, religion, family, local and national culture are not touched upon. Referring to these, future research should be focused on these aspects. With regard to the ‘religion’, this is a new emerging concept in this study which contributes to the construction of academic identity. However, this has not been fully developed in this study. Therefore, future research should shed much light on this issue. As well, there is unbalanced proportion of younger and older respondents recruited in this study, where the older respondents make up the majority of respondents. While this is beyond my control, this can impact on the bias on
the interpretation of the data. Given the limited numbers of participants, the findings cannot be
generalised and only valid for the sample.

8.3.6. Strength of the research

This study also holds a strong degree of trustworthiness through the triangulation of sources of
information in multiple cases in the three state universities representative of different locations
across Indonesia. A descriptive and exploratory nature of this case study augment the strength
of this research to provide understandings regarding the phenomena being studied in the three
states universities in Indonesia. Thus, they can further our understanding and knowledge about
a new world and the meanings of contexts and behaviours.

8.4. Conclusion

Through the context of Indonesian higher education as a mediating context of the
implementation of New Public Management, the implications of this study have contributed,
in many respects, to the conceptualisation and problematisation in the existing theory of New
Public Management, the improvement of practice both for policy makers and academics in
Indonesian context and other contexts implementing higher education reforms. Thus, this
study can have significance of contribution through generation and production of legitimate
knowledge derived from the legitimate process of research designs and implementations.
REFERENCES


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APPENDICES

Appendix 1: Interview questions

Background information

1. Can you tell me a bit about how you came to be working here at X university?
   - How long have you been working here?
   - Where did you work before?
   - Why did you want to work here?

2. Can you tell me a bit about your current role?
   - Briefly, what area do you teach and/or research?
   - What are the important aspects that influence your role and responsibility? (for example your discipline? Or other?)
   - How have you performed your role and responsibility? (for example teaching, research, and publication?)
   - How do you feel about performing these?
   - Do you have any additional roles or responsibilities?

Institutional culture – (what is it like to work here)

3. How is information communicated within the organisation?
   - Is there enough? Not enough? About right?
   - In what ways do you receive information?

4. Where do you feel you fit within the organisation?
   - Valued? Invisible? As an individual? As part of the faculty? As part of the whole organisation?

5. Is there a collaborative/co-operative sense to your work place?
   - Do you feel that you have a voice within the organisation?

6. Can you describe the structure of your organisation?
   - Is there a clearly defined hierarchy?

7. Are you aware of whether your institution has a ‘vision’? If so, how does this show?

Thinking about Government policy

8. Are you aware of the governmental policy (2012) [UU Dikti no. 12 tahun 2012)
   (Particularly related to teaching, research, and publication).
   - What do you know about the policy?
   - Has this been communicated to you? If so how?
   - Has this influenced what you do in your day to day job? If so how?
   - Has this lead to changes within the organisation?

If you have experienced changes:
9. What sort of changes have occurred?
   • Would you describe these as small or large changes? Why?
   • How was this communicated to you?
   • How have the changes made you feel?
   • Have you had any say in how these changes were implemented?
   • Have there been any problems with implementing these changes?
   • Has this benefited the organisation? Students? Staff?

If you have not experienced changes

10. Do you feel there is a need for change within the organisation?
    • What sort of changes?
    • Why?

11. If you could change one thing about your job, what would it be? Why?
## Appendix 2: Coding processes pertinent to principal changes experienced by academics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Principal changes</th>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Level 1 Coding</th>
<th>Level 2 coding</th>
<th>Concepts</th>
<th>Core themes</th>
<th>University</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Government roles are present.</td>
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<td>Government roles</td>
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<td>Changing roles of government played out with academics</td>
<td>Mawar (n=5)</td>
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<td>Different way of government in managing universities.</td>
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<td>Ignoring special features of universities.</td>
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<td>Government control Universities.</td>
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<td>Government take care everything.</td>
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<td>Previous role of government has changed.</td>
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<td>Universities conduct their own assessment.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Government assess academic work.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Internal board of assessor to assess academics’ work.</td>
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<td>Assessment procedures</td>
<td></td>
<td>Twin mechanisms of control set by government</td>
<td>Mawar (n=8)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Internal board of assessor reported its assessment to DIKTI.</td>
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<td>Melati (n=7)</td>
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<td>Online assessment.</td>
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<td>Anggrek (n=6)</td>
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<td>Hard copies are no longer</td>
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<td>Assessment and evaluation Online of</td>
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<td>Conditions</td>
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<td>needed.</td>
<td>Online assessment</td>
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<td>academic performances (online controlling system)</td>
<td>Mawar (n=6)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Online assessment is launched to assess academics’ work.</td>
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<td>Melati (n=8)</td>
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<td>Anggrek (n=5)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Government enforce sanction.</td>
<td>Sanctions and rewards</td>
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<td>Mode of regulation is accompanied by sanction and reward mechanisms</td>
<td>Mawar (n=5)</td>
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<td>Sanction applied as form of punishment.</td>
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<td>Melati (n=4)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Delayed in promotion and financial benefits.</td>
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<td>Anggrek (n=5)</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Compliance needed to keep fiscal benefits going</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Research productivity is measured through international publication.</td>
<td>Performance indicators of research</td>
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<td>Research productivity</td>
<td>Mawar (n=8)</td>
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<td>Principal changes</td>
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<td>More pressure to carry out research and publication.</td>
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<td>The number of publication</td>
<td>Anggrek (n=7)</td>
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<td>The journal must be a reputable one.</td>
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<td>The number of publication are used to increase cumulative credit point</td>
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<td>Amount of time spent for teaching in each semester</td>
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<td>Pressurise to teach in long working hours</td>
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<td>Anggrek (n=7)</td>
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<td>Level 2 coding</td>
<td>Concepts</td>
<td>Core themes</td>
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<td>To meet 12 or 16 sks in one semester</td>
<td>Performance indicators in teaching</td>
<td>Student-performance-based assessment</td>
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<td>The numbers of student’s rate completion</td>
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<td>Shift in accountability and quality assurance</td>
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<td>The grades achieved by students.</td>
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<td>The completion of student’s study on time.</td>
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### Appendix 3: Coding processes pertinent to academics' responses to the changes

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<tr>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Level 1 Coding</th>
<th>Level 2 Coding</th>
<th>Concepts</th>
<th>Core Themes</th>
<th>University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>
| Changing roles of government played out with academics | *Negative*  
- Weaken the spirit of autonomy.  
- A set back to ignorance time  
*Positive*  
- Academics’ awareness is low.  
- Strict control can improve performance and commitment. | *Autonomy*  
- Improve low level of professionalism and integrity | | The diminishing power of autonomy in ignorance time | Mawar (n=5) |
| Twin mechanisms of control                    | *Negative*  
- Disguising control.  
- Strategy to conceal control  
*Positive*  
- Trust and objectivity can be ensured | *Controlling strategy*  
- Credibility | | Concealed controlling strategy  
- Shadow control mechanisms | Mawar (n=4) |
| Online                                        | *Positive*                                                                 | | | | |

*Shifts in coordination modes of control*
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Conditions</th>
<th>Level 1 Coding</th>
<th>Level 2 Coding</th>
<th>Concepts</th>
<th>Core Themes</th>
<th>University</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>assessment and evaluation of academic performances</td>
<td>The assimilation of technology.</td>
<td>Technology use</td>
<td>Time-efficiency</td>
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<td>Melati (n=4)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Maintain trust to stakeholders</td>
<td></td>
<td>Time-efficiency</td>
<td></td>
<td>Anggrek (n=5)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td><strong>Negative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td>Trust to stakeholders</td>
<td></td>
<td>Melati (n=6)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Breech of autonomy.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Encroaching and disempowering roles exhibited by government</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Loss of trust.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Abundant works performed by DIKTI’s staff.</td>
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<td>Administrative-related tasks (Changing roles of academics)</td>
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<td>More administrative-related tasks.</td>
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<td>Job dissatisfaction over salary system.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>This additional works are not followed with the increase in salary.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>The ruination of personal intrinsic motivation towards teaching activity</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Diminishing job satisfaction.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Good image building endeavours</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Loss of internal and personal motivation.</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>The loss of the sense of creativity and critical thinking</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Tendency to look good.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Threat to creativity and critical thinking.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Over regulated</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>University</th>
<th>Shift in accountability and quality assurance</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Melati (n=4)</td>
<td>Time-efficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Anggrek (n=5)</td>
<td>Time-efficiency</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melati (n=6)</td>
<td>Trust to stakeholders</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawar (n=4)</td>
<td>Encroaching and disempowering roles exhibited by government</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mawar (n=5)</td>
<td>Administrative-related tasks (Changing roles of academics)</td>
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<tr>
<td>Melati (n=8)</td>
<td>Job dissatisfaction over salary system.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Anggrek (n=7)</td>
<td>The ruination of personal intrinsic motivation towards teaching activity</td>
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<tr>
<td>Melati (n=3)</td>
<td>Good image building endeavours</td>
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<tr>
<td>Mawar (n=3)</td>
<td>The loss of the sense of creativity and critical thinking</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conditions</td>
<td>Level 1 Coding</td>
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<tr>
<td>----------------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------------------------------------------------------</td>
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<tr>
<td>Sanction and reward mechanisms</td>
<td><em>Negative</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Less elegant practice.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Increase pressures from top official to meet the regulation.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Academics viewed like little kids.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Academics are confused with many regulations.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Get bored with regulation.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Neglecting the integrity of older lecturer.</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Compliance will not last long</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Performance indicators in teaching</td>
<td><em>Negative</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sincerity in teaching is overlooked.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Professionalism is measured by a piece of paper.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Love and passion are absent in teaching process.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Endeavours to prepare teaching material are neglected.</td>
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<tr>
<td>Conditions</td>
<td>Level 1 Coding</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quality in teaching is measured on quantitative elements.</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Positive</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lecturers lack of working commitment.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Neglecting their students.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Needs motivation to change the problems of low working commitment.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Needs incentives and increase in salary.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Performance indicators in research</td>
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<td></td>
<td><em>Negative</em></td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Affected married woman lecturer.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Problem of time management for married women.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lecturers are lazy.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Overload of teaching activities.</td>
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<td>Ambitious requirement</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Lacking of facilities.</td>
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<td>Lacking of journal databases.</td>
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<td>Shift in accountability and quality assurance</td>
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<td>Conditions</td>
<td>Level 1 Coding</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Twenty four hours is not enough for married women.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Look for other source of income.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Salary system needs to be revisited.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Westerns have benefitted from this practice.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>English language barrier.</td>
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<td>Lack of funding</td>
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<td><strong>Positive</strong></td>
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<td></td>
<td>Good for achieving world class university.</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Positive tool to increase writing productivity.</td>
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<td>Strict regulation is needed.</td>
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<td>Good for improving self-awareness.</td>
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<td>Good to push professors to do more research.</td>
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<td>Conditions</td>
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<tr>
<td>Marginalisation of social disciplines through strategic research scheme</td>
<td>Marginalised social sciences</td>
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<td>Unequal competition among universities</td>
<td>Unequal competition</td>
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### Appendix 4: Coding processes pertinent to academics' resistance and accommodation to the changes

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<th>Conditions</th>
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<th>Concepts</th>
<th>Core themes</th>
<th>University</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Resistance and accommodation to policy imperatives</td>
<td>To be applied in rush. No enough preparation. Neglecting other academics’ condition</td>
<td>Not enough preparation</td>
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<td>Protest and critiques in cynical and skeptical tones</td>
<td>Mawar (n=4)</td>
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<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Lack of management background. Looking for lower impact factor journals. Improving themselves. Looking information on how to publish in reputable international journal.</td>
<td>Strategies to come to term with regulations</td>
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<td>Strategic formula of inverting reality</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Having no capacity to resist Having no other choice, but to comply with</td>
<td>Supporting and resisting</td>
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<td>Ambiguous responses</td>
<td>Mawar (n=4)</td>
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<td>Having no adequate facilities. Having no adequate capacity to write in English. Having no support from</td>
<td>Compliance with if there are supports and improvements.</td>
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<td>Conditional (if’s) compliance</td>
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<td>Level 2 Codings</td>
<td>Concepts</td>
<td>Core themes</td>
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<td>government to solve their problems</td>
<td>Insinuating to launch protest.</td>
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<td>Giving an example to protest</td>
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<td></td>
<td>Melati (n=2)</td>
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<td>Resistance and accommodation to policy imperatives</td>
<td>Constraints encountered as the source of the problems.</td>
<td>Blaming and accusing government</td>
<td>Blaming and accusing</td>
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<td>Anggrek (n=3)</td>
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<td>Blaming the central government about having lack of preparation to execute the</td>
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<td>policy</td>
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<td>Disagreeing with competitive scheme of research fund</td>
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<td>Using students’ paper to publish</td>
<td>Collective strategy</td>
<td>Collective tactic of</td>
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<td>Anggrek (n=3)</td>
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<td>Running workshops and trainings</td>
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<td>guerilla</td>
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<td>Establishing committee to review academic articles</td>
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