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**Reforming Research in
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Reforming Research in Indonesia: policies and practice

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Abstract

Freer market mechanisms that have affected higher education in different parts of the globe have been responded by Asian states with varying degrees of efforts to improve national competitiveness. The Government of Indonesia, the largest economy in Southeast Asia and the fourth most populous country in the world, has responded to this by placing greater institutional freedom for state universities to determine their enrolment rate and research agenda. However, this study finds that the bureaucratic model and narrow technocratic role shaped during the previous authoritarian regime still impinge on social research productivity and critical thinking among Indonesian researchers. The gap between more open policies and the closed institutional model of state universities in Indonesia has resulted in an academic insularity, a condition in which most of Indonesian researchers lack academic mobility and international peer interaction, and opt to stay within their own institution. As a consequence, this insularity has stunted basic research, prevented long-term institutional engagement between university research and government policy-making, as well as exacerbated the divide between state universities located in the more developed island of Java and those that are not. These circumstances have not only inhibited the development of a much needed and non-existent peer culture in Indonesian scholarship, it also will continue to undermine the regional competitiveness of Indonesian state universities in the higher education market.

Key words Higher Education Institutions
• social research • Indonesia • state university
bureaucracy • academic insularity

Executive Summary

It is a known fact that Indonesia continues to lag behind its Southeast Asian neighbours in terms of international publications, particularly in the social sciences and humanities (Evers, 2003). Although a number of factors can account for this situation, from language barriers, limited access to international publications, to historical context (Heryanto, 2011), more recent findings reveal that structural problems inherent within state universities and research institutions in Indonesia may be an overriding factor (Hadiz and Dhakidae, 2005; Guggenheim, 2013). As a result, "Not one of Indonesia's 3,000 plus institutions has an internationally respectable standing, with its leading university coming only 201st in the 2009 Times Higher Education (THE) World University Ranking" (AusAID, 2013: 10). Despite the enhanced budget allocation for research in recent years by the Directorate General of Higher Education, Ministry of Education and Culture, these structural problems remain largely unaddressed and prevent Indonesian academics from playing a significant role, that of the main actor, in the country's knowledge sector, thereby limiting their contribution to national development.

There have been various programmes aimed at improving the quality of outcomes, undertaken by Indonesian universities. Some of these have been undertaken in consultation with various collaborators, including international donor and educational organisations from countries with more established traditions of social science research. Nevertheless, the misallocation of still limited resources and the sporadic nature of such ventures have resulted in inconsistent outcomes. Successful programmes, we argue, must not only be adequately funded, they must also be constructed on the basis of a clear

understanding of the existing weaknesses in research capacity, and more importantly, the basic factors that make reform intrinsically difficult.

Empirical findings suggest that Indonesian state university reform is geared towards answering regional market demands. The macro policies put in place by the government brought about greater institutional autonomy in state universities. However, the bureaucratic institutional model of state universities has prevented this reform from truly materialising. It clogs the disbursement of research funding that was previously increased by the Directorate General of Higher Education, while promotion of Indonesian lecturers continues to be informed by civil service performance assessment schemes rather than on the basis of academic merit.

This condition has led to academic inbreeding, whereby academics are employed through closed and semi-closed recruitment methods, and a great many of them choose to stay within the safety of their own home institutions when pursuing higher degrees. This inbreeding produces insular research behaviours, where state universities are more concerned about pursuing their own university research interests, despite there being policies and funding to encourage more collaborative research between universities and organisations. This insularity has stunted the much needed basic research that is so crucial to explaining fundamental shifts in Indonesian societies. Scholarship remains poor despite some productivity of state universities located in Java, creating a long-term consequence on critical thinking and weak policy-connect. These circumstances have undermined the regional competitiveness of Indonesian state universities in the higher education market, notably in the Southeast Asian region.

Among Java-based state universities with greater direct access to international donor and central government research funding, governance is the dominant research theme in social research currently being carried out. However, its link with policymaking is weak due to poor social scholarship. In light of these social research conditions, we argue that this dominance of the governance theme is due to research being directed towards bringing in revenue for the university rather than as an exercise of genuine institutional engagement between state universities and policymaking. Consequently, basic research that is essential in preventing myopic policymaking has been undermined by a non-existent peer culture due to these institutional barriers. Thus, for institutional reform to truly take form, higher education and institutional policies must be designed to instill a culture of critical peer review aimed at developing academic merit and cross-pollination of disciplines and paradigms. These policies must be mindful of the ever-increasing regional competitiveness, and shall be implemented with institutional support that affirmatively promotes academic excellence through cultivating a peer culture among Indonesian academics and their international counterparts.

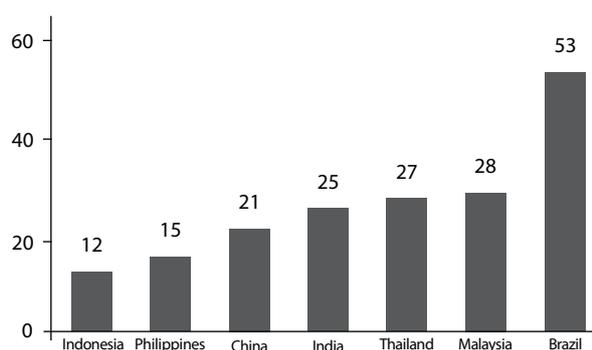
Introduction

In the past decade, Indonesia has been hailed by many as a growing economy, supported by a thriving middle class of 75 million (see McKinsey, 2012; Basri, 2012). It has been democratising since 1998, after 32 years of authoritarian rule under President Suharto (1966 to 1998). With its 6.2 percent economic growth in 2012 (World Bank, 2014) Indonesia has long since recovered from the crippling 1997 Asian financial crisis. In the past five years, it is among the fastest growing G-20 countries. However, this economic growth has also been coupled with rising inequality, mainly intra-group and urban-rural (Suryadarma et al., 2005, 2006) and inter-region (Sakamoto, 2007), which has become ever more pronounced in the era of democratisation (see Yusuf, Sumner, and Rum, 2013).

Significantly, domestic politics continues to be undermined by crony capitalism, inherited from the previous regime (see Robison and Hadiz, 2004; Nordholt and van Klinken, 2007; Aspinall and Fealy, 2003; Mietzner, 2012). The authoritarian legacy is also apparent in the way knowledge production is institutionalised, as evidenced by Indonesia's performance, or lack thereof, in research and publication. It is a known fact that Indonesia lags behind its Southeast Asian neighbours in international publication in the social sciences and humanities (Evers, 2003). The poor performance in this respect has been linked to structural problems that are inherent to state universities and research institutions, whereby most research has, for the longest time, been confined to providing technocratic input for government development strategies (Hadiz and Dhakidae, 2005; Guggenheim, 2013). This has "curtailed autonomy and academic freedom" (Guggenheim, 2005, p. 147), contributing to long-term and systematic suppression of critical thinking. As a consequence, "not one of Indonesia's 3,000 plus

institutions has an internationally respectable standing, with its leading university coming only 201st in the 2009 Times Higher Education (THE) World University Ranking” (AusAID, 2013, p.10), furthermore declining in 2014 to 310. Significantly, only 12 percent of social science and humanities research publications in Indonesia are authored by researchers based in the country (see Figure 1).

Figure 1: Share of published research on a country carried out by domestic researchers.



Source: Suryadarma at al., 2011 in Guggenheim, 2013, p. 144.

The existing problems of research capacity, publication and teaching in Indonesian tertiary education institutions are familiar and have been identified in previous research.¹ It has been pointed out that Indonesia produced only 13,047 published scientific documents during the period 1996-2010, far below its neighbours Thailand, Malaysia and Singapore, and below countries with lower GDP per capita and Human Development Index such as Bangladesh, Kenya and Nigeria (Guggenheim, 2013, p. 144). The conditions are even worse, specifically for social sciences and humanities. Almost 90 percent of articles published in international journals on Indonesia are written by people not living in the country, “something that has turned Indonesia into one of the most ineffective

1. Guggenheim (2013) provided a map of Indonesia’s ‘Knowledge Sector’, in which he noted the bureaucratic hurdles that have stifled research quality and productivity. Hadiz and Dhakidae (2005) provided an investigative outlook on the reasons behind these hindrances.

countries in explaining itself to the world” (Reid, 2011).

Although the government and international donors have invested in research capacity building by providing scholarships for Indonesian academics to study overseas, this has not been enough to undo the effects of past policies. The policies produced after democratisation have attempted to address this issue. In 2008, the Directorate General of Higher Education (DGHE), Ministry of Education and Culture, the regulatory body for Indonesia’s higher education, allocated IDR 150 billion (approximately USD 13.7 million) for research. A significant proportion of this budget (20 percent) was allocated for disaster management research in cooperation with the then Ministry of Research and Technology (Kompas.com, 2008), indicating that it catered to technocratic agenda.

In 2013, this budget allocation increased dramatically to IDR 2.7 trillion (approximately USD 225 million), mirroring the increase of the total budget allocated for education in the National Budget (kemenkeu.go.id, 2013).² In 2014, the new cabinet under President Joko Widodo integrated the DGHE with the Ministry of Research and Technology, where the DGHE’s functions are merged with the national research agenda.³ The findings and arguments in this research suggest that this reorganisation will not result in any significant changes to the fundamental issue of critical thinking and international publication. The research provides empirical evidence that the problem lies not in the budget allocation, but in the way it is administered through

2. See Satryo Brodjonegoro and Michael P. Greene. (2012). *Creating Indonesian Science Fund (Menciptakan Dana Ilmu Pengetahuan Indonesia)*. Jakarta, Indonesia: AIPI, World Bank, and AusAid.

3. The DGHE was organised under the Ministry of National Education (1999-2010), the Ministry of Education and Culture (2011-2014), and the Ministry of Research, Technology, and Higher Education (2015 to present). These changes is related to cabinet politics and lack of a clear democratic national agenda (Joeseef, 2013).

higher education bureaucracy that is geared toward supporting national economic competitiveness (Rosser, 2015).

Therefore, the structural problems that have prevented Indonesian scholars from cultivating a culture of academic excellence remain largely unaddressed. Paradoxically, the prevailing technocratic design limits the contribution of the academics to national development due to the bureaucratically structured disciplines (Moeliodihardjo et al., 2000; Nizam, 2006; Wicaksono and Friawan, 2013). Rigid separation of disciplines within Higher Education Institutions (HEI) has made it difficult for academics to interact with peers from other areas of expertise. While this study focuses on HEI, the continuing narrow technocratic role of research institutions that “undermine[s] the institutional preconditions needed for a healthy knowledge sector to develop” (Guggenheim, 2013, p.146) also resonates with research agencies and advocacy bodies that do research (see Rakhmani, Siregar, Halim, 2015).

The scope of this study is defined by the research conducted within state universities as one of the research suppliers. HEIs remain a significant provider for research and consultancy for the government, international donors, and corporations compared to independent research agencies. While Indonesia has undergone many changes since 1998, the legacy of a bureaucratized higher education, which peaked during the authoritarian New Order, still weighs heavily on Indonesian universities.

The fact that Indonesian academia enjoys a range of new freedoms and privileges — such as more open recruitment methods and direct higher education research funding — they have not improved scholarship and scientific outcomes as indicated by poor international publication in social science and humanities. Instead, the macro policies issued by the DGHE only slightly modified the HEI bureaucratic

model so as to better tend to the needs of freer market mechanisms in the Asian region. ‘Harmonisation’ of the Southeast Asian higher education vis-a-vis the ASEAN community has been the jargon among university bureaucrats since 2014; they have been largely preoccupied with questionable global university rankings, betraying a sense of anxiety about facing a freer flow of services and people.

Driven by what Mok (2008) has termed ‘market facilitating’ or ‘market accelerating’ states, these countries have combined key elements of the neo-liberal agenda – particularly, opening up of the higher education sector to foreign entrants and limited improvements in HEI autonomy – with pre-existing statist models of higher education in an effort to enhance national economic competitiveness. Notwithstanding the best efforts of technocratic officials and their donor allies, the Indonesian state, in contrast, has proven to be market retarding due to the nature of the local political settlement surrounding higher education policy and its implementation (Rosser, 2015, p. 21).

In this regard, Indonesia too is facing the same forces of neo-liberal agenda as encountered by Malaysia, Singapore, Hong Kong, and China (see Mok, 2008). The social processes that take place in each country differ. In Indonesia this process created a kind of insularity produced by a symbiosis between bureaucratized higher education, more liberal regulation over university income or university autonomy, and a freer higher education market in Southeast Asia. The effect is a systematic dumbing down of knowledge production in state universities and beyond.

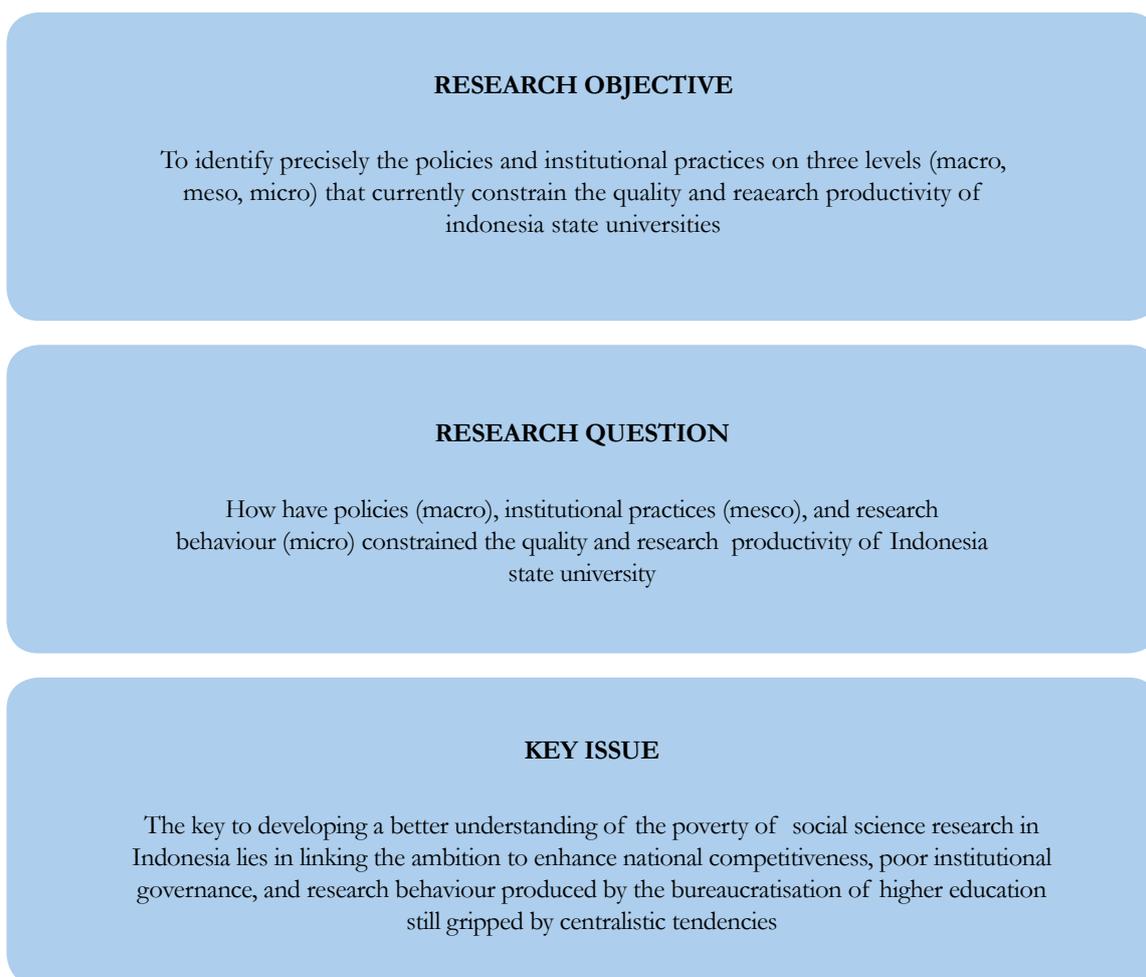
In this research, we investigate the policies and institutional practices that currently impinge on the quality and research productivity of Indonesian state universities. Findings among prominent Indonesian state universities

reveal weakness in management and the lack of a viable framework for the teaching and training of researchers as crucial hindrances. We argue that the key to developing a better understanding of the poverty of social science research in Indonesia lies in linking ambitions to enhance national competitiveness, poor institutional governance, and research behaviour produced by the bureaucratisation of higher education still gripped by centralistic tendencies.

The first section of the report establishes the backdrop against which this study is conducted. Poor research, as indicated by the lack of publications, is an institutional issue due to the bureaucratised higher education

as the legacy of past authoritarian design and centralised government. The structure is not only anachronistic in the period of democratisation and decentralisation, it systematically prevents researchers from carrying out quality social inquiry during this important period of transformation. The second part of the report provides the conceptual framework that places this research's findings in larger theoretical debates regarding the effects of the neo-liberal agenda on higher education. It is then followed by an explanation of the methodology employed, particularly by taking the critical realist position and carefully selecting mixed methods to ensure the validity of empirical findings and its

Figure 2: Research objective, research question and key issue



Source: Authors.

ensuing analysis. The macro-level social science environment in Indonesia is mapped in section three, which gives an overall view with regard to where Higher Education Institutions in general, and state universities in particular are placed within this setting. State policy changes, funding, and financial management within state universities that affect the arrangements of social research are further explained.

An examination of eight state universities selected as cases in this study is elaborated in the fourth part of the report. We describe how pressures to liberalise higher education have affected research performance in these state universities. The fifth section presents the survey results of research behaviour and characteristics, which, firstly, provides a description of who is actively carrying out research in state universities. Secondly, this section provides evidence about how, despite active research, the existing management has not achieved the desired effects of international publication. The sixth section alludes to potentials in connecting with policy. We posit that based on empirical evidence, most research caters to state and international donor agenda of good governance with very low publication rates. The narrowing of state university research to technocratic input continues today, perpetuating past suppression of critical insight among Indonesian academics. This has helped maintain the absence of critical institutions that are essential in preventing policymaking that is myopic. It has also prevented these institutions from having any direct, historically informed, and critical feedback vis-à-vis Indonesian society today. We argue, therefore, that without any long-term plan to encourage a research culture achieved through institutional reform, the current condition will prevail. These reforms, based on empirical evidence, involve methodical and consistent policies and practices at all levels (macro, meso, micro).

Conceptual Framework and Methodology

There is a lot of scholarship on higher education bureaucracy reform (Christensen, 2010; Pollitt and Bouckaert, 2004; Boston et al., 1996) amid the demand for internationalisation. Some have directly linked these demands for reform with fundamental questions regarding the production of knowledge (Lyotard, 1991; Tyfield, 2011, 2013). Lyotard observed that the relationship between the suppliers and users of knowledge takes form in an already established relationship between commodity producers and consumers, as in commodification (Lyotard, 1991, p.4-6). The discussion vis-à-vis the connection between science and the market economy has indeed existed for some time (Stehr, 1994; Callon, 1994). Jacob (2003) has emphasised the importance of disentangling this relationship carefully. Speaking particularly of Western Europe after the advent of the European Union, Jacob took note of the increasing privatisation of the higher education sector and the decreasing autonomy of researchers as an effect of knowledge commodification. Likewise, disentangling the social conditions that have caused Indonesia's scarcity of social science research indeed requires an awareness as to the internationalisation and privatisation of the higher education sector as experienced the world over. Furthermore, this awareness must not overlook the impact of the centralised bureaucracy governing higher education in Indonesia, a legacy of the previous authoritarian government.

The direction of university reform here seems to be geared towards enhancing regional competitiveness, an awareness of which is relevant when discussing the transformations

of higher education at a historical juncture of more liberal market mechanisms (Christensen et al. 2007; Mok, 2008; Christensen, 2010; Basset and Maldonado-Maldonado, 2009). Starting in the 1980s, the first transformation trend pointed towards a greater focus on markets, regional competition and privatisation within the frame of market-capitalism (see Christensen and Laegreid, 2001; Graf, 2009). As Christensen observed:

Changing power relations inside the universities, with the university management becoming relatively stronger is supporting this development, because it's very much legitimating their emergence, professionalization and growth, while the traditional emphasis on the academic-professional autonomy is weakened.

Many universities also search more for additional or alternative financial resources, increasing their dependence of external stakeholders, undermining the traditional autonomy related to a secured public financing and the superior ministry 'protecting' the universities from other stakeholders. Changing university cultures, with more management elements, weaker academic-professional elements and stronger environmental pressure is also underlying the decreasing real autonomy of universities (Christensen, 2010, p. 515).

These findings suggest that the condition in Indonesia must be placed within the broader global and regional shifts in the demands for university reform. The government has put in place policies that aim to increase institutional autonomy to enable them to respond to these global changes. However, almost without exception, the existing research on scholarly activity and productivity in Indonesia points to inadequate resources and infrastructural support within universities and research institutions (Evers, 2003; Heryanto, 2011; Hadiz and Dhakidae, 2005;

Suryadarma et al., 2011; Guggenheim, 2013). More recently, the Directorate General of Higher Education (DGHE) in Indonesia has increased financial allocation to fund research (see McCarthy and Ibrahim, 2010), participation in international conferences, and has encouraged submissions to international journals. However, these policies have not produced the desired outcomes as they were made without fully accounting for the context in which academic work has been conducted for the past 15 years. It ignored the organisational and management structures of universities, inherited from the previous regime, as well as their remuneration schemes and recruitment methods that were reorganised after the autonomous university law took effect. These are the aspects that this study aims to disentangle.

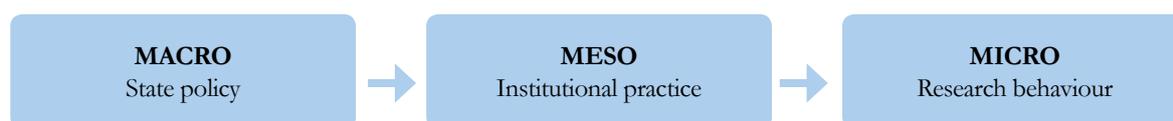
Methodology

Extending on the conceptual framework, the research team has designed research steps to prove the validity of these assumptions. The framework is operationalised on three levels of analysis by combining and utilising the indicators obtained through literature review, particularly by unpacking the changing relationship between science and market (Suryadarma et al., 2011; Stehr, 1994; Callon, 1994; Jacobs, 2003), which have led the push for university reform (Christensen and Laegreid, 2001; Christensen, 2010). This is achieved by identifying the power relations within Indonesian universities that have hindered this process (Hadiz and Dhakidae et al.; 2005). This research also studies the structures that uphold these relations as well as the practices they shape.

Macro Level

The first level of analysis focuses on policies established by the DGHE, which have affected the legal status and governance of

Figure 3: Model of analysis: Hierarchy of social science research in Indonesian state universities



Source: Authors.

state universities in the period 2004 to 2014 (Yudhoyono administration). This section explains how global and domestic politics, particularly regional economic integration that reduces trade barriers, have pushed the Indonesian government to concentrate more on global and regional competition rather than on bureaucratic reform.

The basis for macro level analysis included data obtained from desk study that reviewed policies on higher education and research during the two periods of Yudhoyono administration (2004-2014). The study aimed to map the relevant policies and to analyse their impact on the current state of social science research in Indonesia. This also includes a more historical analysis to provide the context for this research. Primary and secondary data was also collected from key informants in the DGHE, Ministry of National Education, and the Ministry of Research and Technology.

Meso Level

The second level of analysis studies the responses of state university rectorates, faculties, and units organising research within the university towards DGHE policies. Previous work has shown that they have been grappling with implementing DGHE policies within the constraints imposed by the state bureaucratic structure. Among the issues confronted are the academic salary structures in state universities that do not correlate with research productivity, the extremely complex academic credit (KUM) system developed by DGHE to accord with regulations of the National Civil Service

Agency (BKN), and the lack of academic mobility between institutions (Guggenheim, 2013, p.169–70). However, these important observations are not supported by empirical evidence, a gap that this research intends to fill.

The meso analysis provides a more focused inquiry on the performance of state universities, known as BHMN universities.⁴ In addition, the implications of state policies on research performance are highlighted. The data for this section is collected from in-depth interviews of purposively selected key informants. These informants include stakeholders and beneficiaries of the universities, which in turn include structural managers and former structural managers in the rectorates, faculties, and units managing research in their respective universities. A desk review of research management documents — that relate to university research road maps, key performance indicators for individual and faculty research capacities and publication rates of researchers — was also carried out in each university.

Micro Level

The third level examines individual research capacities that are affected by university management. Anecdotal findings, as

4. BHMN are state owned universities that were transformed from government service units to autonomous legal entities with their own board of trustees. This change occurred in 1999 and since then several universities have pursued different paths in reforming their service and institutional setting. The goal was to improve the quality of teaching and research and to increase the regional and international competitiveness of these universities.

presented in mass media, suggest that the way disciplines are currently structured has also contributed to low research quality. Study programmes are rigidly separated from each other following the bureaucratic structure, which has effectively undermined cross-disciplinary and multi-disciplinary understanding of social issues. However, in this case too, there is currently no empirical basis to support the oft-made argument for the restructuring of disciplines in social science faculties in Indonesia.

The data used for the micro level analysis was collected through assisted survey. Questionnaires were administered in select state universities, focusing on the faculties of social and political sciences. Analysing the individual research capacity of state universities provided an avenue to understand Indonesia's higher education reforms and to capture the diversity as well as similarities in the experiences of each of these universities.

Research Design

This research uses a critical realist approach (Bhaskar, 2008; Archer et al., 1998; Seale, 1999; Fairclough, 2005; Sarantakos, 2012), which sees structure as preceding human agency only as it provides material for action. We collect and utilise numbers critically, appreciating them as knowledge tools constructed by the available paradigm and resources. Therefore, we carefully select methods of data collection that best answer the research question. As such, the project uses a mixed method and mobilises both quantitative and qualitative data. It departs from the conviction that the polarisation between primary qualitative and quantitative data is not only unnecessary, but also not productive. Quantitative data are interpreted qualitatively, and qualitative data can be interpreted with numerical logic. In this research the two are intimately connected.

Empirical evidence was collected across three levels: the macro, meso and micro levels. These methods serve as instruments to identify the main weak points of the research environment and its governance in Indonesian state universities. Consequently, this study is designed to capture social research in its everyday setting, and it ultimately produces a thorough and comprehensive critical analysis whose methods can be applied in state universities other than those studied in this research.

Subjects of Analysis

This research analyses structural and individual factors contributing to the low quality of social science research conducted in Indonesia. The project aims to collect empirical evidence across the macro, meso and micro levels to procure a comprehensive set of data that can be utilised to answer the research question. The aim is to pinpoint the specific policies and practices that have impinged on the quality and research productivity of Indonesian state universities. This research is exploratory in nature and attempts to analyse patterns in local university governance.

The initial plan was to collect empirical evidence from nine state universities, selected purposively following a chronological transition of each university into the BHMN (state university legal status) scheme. The initial list of state universities included the University of Indonesia (West Java), Bandung Institute of Technology (West Java), Gadjah Mada University (Central Java), Bogor Agricultural Institute (West Java), Indonesian Educational University (West Java), Airlangga University (East Java), North Sumatera University (North Sumatera) and two state universities operating in regions governed under special regional autonomy schemes (Universitas Syiah Kuala in Aceh and Universitas Cenderawasih in West Papua).

Figure 4: Map of sample location



Source: Authors.

Two of these BHMN state universities, namely IPB and ITB, are agricultural and technical engineering-based universities respectively, that also undertake social science research.

BHMN state universities were selected to examine the current state of policies and practices in leading universities, whereas the state universities operating under special regional autonomy — Cenderawasih and Syiah Kuala University — were initially selected for the purpose of comparison in order to gain a more context-sensitive view on research performance of state universities across Indonesia. A deeper inquiry into these universities would reveal how the special administrative autonomy status influences the implementation of ministerial policies on state universities.

However, a further reading of how particular these contexts are, especially considering the implementation of different autonomy laws, concluded that samples from Syiah Kuala and Cendrawasih University might skew the data. The research question would be best answered by adjusting these two universities to universities in other islands, so as to avoid a Java bias. The research team readjusted the sample (see Figure 4) to include BHMN

state university Hasanuddin University (South Sulawesi), and Public Service Agency (BLU) state university Andalas University (West Sumatera) and Mulawarman University (East Kalimantan). The readjustment reflects a more dispersed sample across different islands.

Quantitative data collection

The quantitative data was obtained from questionnaires that were administered in eight state universities. By means of purposive sampling, they were directed at those who have conducted basic and/or applied research in the past five years. Statistics on academic performance and other evaluative results were also used. As such, the aim was to demonstrate the breadth of the research performance across universities.

Qualitative data collection

Qualitative data was collected through desk review and in-depth interviews. A policy analysis was employed to capture the impact of relevant policies on social science research practices. Supporting literature and documents were analysed to gain a deeper

understanding of the main themes. Key interviews were held with relevant actors from the government, university bureaucrats to verify these findings. The key informants were selected purposively, from active and/or former bureaucrats responsible for research policies (Macro Level) to active and/or former structural managers responsible for research management at the university (Meso Level). Therefore, the qualitative method aims to deepen the insights provided by this research.

Ultimately, the combination of quantitative and qualitative data is employed to confirm the state of social science research in Indonesia. This research is one of the first to provide primary quantitative data combined with qualitative data to reveal the effects of state policies in limiting research productivity and perpetuating an academic environment that is inhospitable for a consistent production of social science outcomes that meet international standards of excellence.

Mapping the Macro Level Social Science Research Environment

Starting 1999, Indonesia embarked on a nationwide decentralisation programme.⁵ As is the case with many other countries that undertook this endeavour, decentralisation here does not necessarily link directly with democratisation (Crook and Manor, 1998). In fact, it has been argued that Indonesian decentralisation has only diffused previously centralised power (Hadiz, 2004). This enthusiasm in transferring more power to local institutions also permeated the higher education sector. Greater autonomy in administration, income, and financial management was expected to increase productivity. However, previous findings revealed that the legacy of New Order-era bureaucratisation, which organised universities into hierarchical and centralised structures (Hadiz and Dhakidae, 2005), continued to frustrate the realisation of this goal.

Since then, the higher education landscape has changed. Rosser (2015) identified four key sets of actors who have been instrumental during these decades in effecting democratic transition and decentralisation.

The first of these has been technocratic officials in government and their allies in the donor community. These actors have been strong proponents of the neo-liberal higher education agenda outlined above. (...) The second set of actors has been the

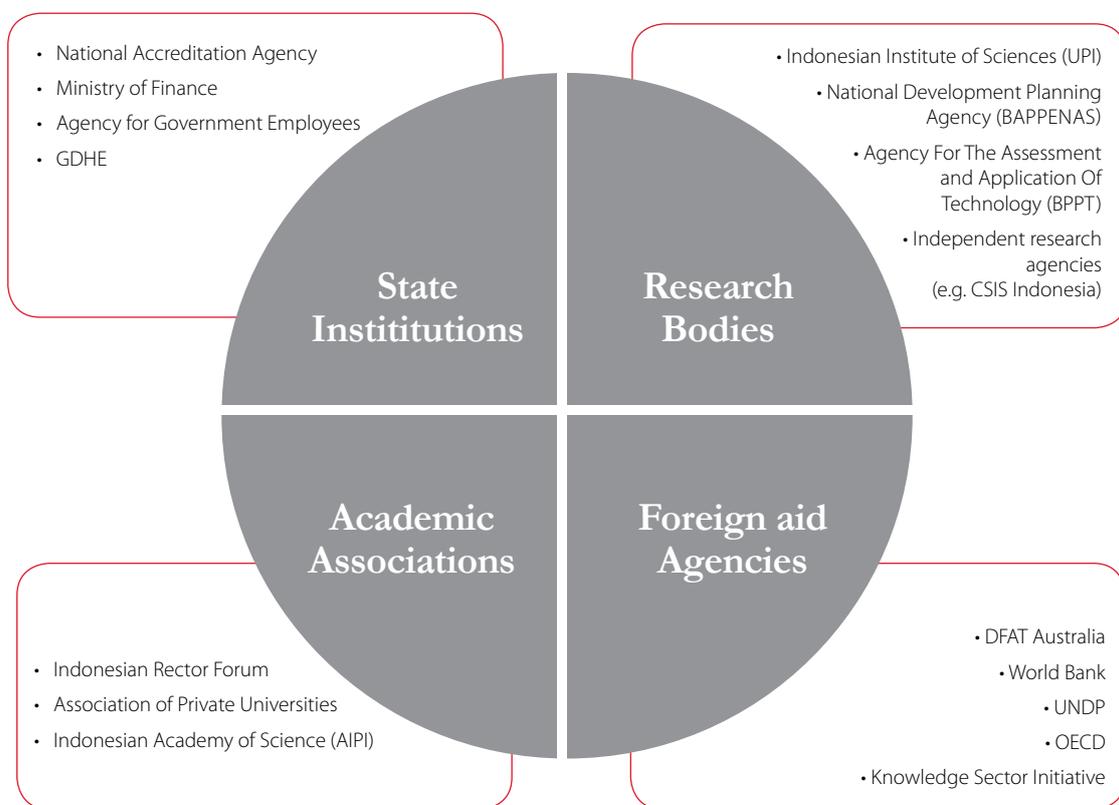
5. This programme has been supported by international aid since the late 1980s; it was responded to by the Soeharto regime by giving more administrative control to local government while retaining central control (Silver, 2005).

predatory political, military, and bureaucratic figures who occupy the state apparatus, the corporate entities to which they are linked (often through family, friendship, or political party ties), and the larger patronage networks of which both are part. These actors have had an interest in maximising political and bureaucratic control over both public and private HEIs so as to create opportunities for corruption and rent extraction. (...) The third set of actors has been the individuals and organisations behind Indonesia’s numerous private HEIs. The vast majority of private HEIs in Indonesia are managed by non-profit charitable foundations (yayasan). Yet many are run as private businesses or vehicles through which religious organisations generate revenue, build social bases, and mobilise support for favoured political parties and candidates. (...) The fourth set of actors is popular elements such as activists at

progressive NGOs, university student groups, and nationalist and left-wing academics. Members of this coalition have promoted a policy agenda that combines rights-based approaches to development, opposition to privatisation and deregulation, nationalism, and radical populism (p. 5-8).

This gloomy portrait of clientelism in Indonesia’s post-authoritarian higher education sector necessitates a cross-sectoral approach to better understand how social research is produced. It is useful to draw upon a broader scope of research production, and to place state universities and Higher Education Institutions within this setting. Guggenheim’s (2012) definition of the “knowledge sector” suggests “the overall institutional landscape of government, private sector and civil society organizations that support the development of public

Figure 5: Research environment in Indonesia



Source: Rosser, 2015, Nughoro, 2005; World Bank, 2013; KSI, 2012; and author.

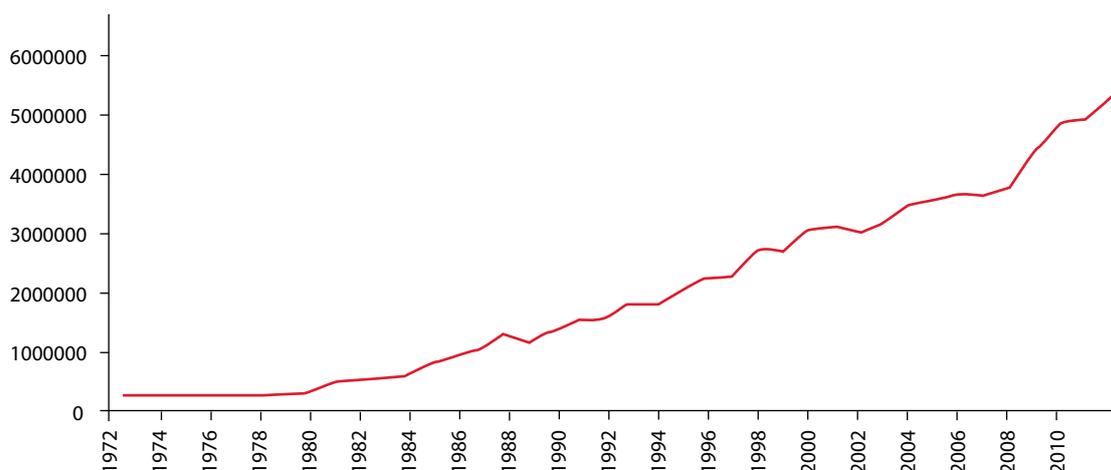
policy” (p. 142). The way in which the higher education sector is structured prevents the reaping the full benefits of an optimistic notion of a “knowledge sector”. This notion resonates with Tyfield’s work (2012; 2013), who argued that the knowledge economy will continue its web-based activities in spite of the existing predatory structures, leaving them intact. Full awareness of existing patron-client relations that have benefited from higher education bureaucracy is necessary to inform our map of Indonesia’s research environment (see Figure 5).

In the map we propose, higher education is placed in the state institutions’ section, as we focus on the hierarchical model of the organisations. Between state and private universities, the former comprise only 74 of the total of 529 Higher Education Institutions registered at DGHE (PPDIKI, 2015). However, the total number of students enrolled in these state universities works out to 40 percent of the approximately 3.5 million active university students (Rosser, 2015). Anecdotal findings from personal interviews estimate at least 60 percent of HEIs income as having originated from tuition fees since 1999. Higher education policy has

become more liberalised as universities were restructured into State Owned Higher Education Autonomous Legal Entities (BHMN), which allowed greater autonomy to seek external funding to support their activities. Universities could now engage in business research and training, and were allowed to increase tuition fees and student intake, which in turn led to an increase in tuition revenue.

Moves to allow greater independence and autonomy to Indonesian state universities were already made before the 1998 regime change (Reformation; ACDP, 2013, p.38). However, as an historical moment, the end of Suharto’s reign proved to be a critical turn and a fitting opportunity to finally implement prior reform agendas advocated by factions within state universities. Contestations within each university illustrated the competing impulses between the rejection of the “commodification of higher education” (Nugroho, 2005, p. 164) and the embrace of opportunities to reform old school management models by responding to market demands. This internal struggle has continued 15 years since university autonomy regulations were

Figure 6: Total tertiary enrolments (1972 to 2011)



Source: World Bank, World Development Indicators (in Rosser, 2015, p. 10)

put into effect, while academic promotions remain firmly under state control based on approval of bureaucratic superiors in places like the DGHE, BKN, Ministry of Home Affairs, rather than on academic merit.

Chronologically, in 1998, as a means to transition smoothly into greater autonomy within the higher education system, seven state universities gained a new status in 1999 through government regulation No. 61/1999.⁶ The idea was to accord the top four public universities greater independence, and three other universities were to follow as a model for other institutions that were set to join the group (ACDP, 2013, p.38). These are known as the BHMN entities, with Universitas Sumatera Utara, Universitas Indonesia, Institut Pertanian Bogor, Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia, Institut Teknologi Bandung, Universitas Gadjah Mada and Universitas Airlangga serving as models for implementing this newly gained academic and bureaucratic freedom. A detailed list of first universities to implement the autonomy model is outlined in the table below.

Table 1: List of initial BHMN universities

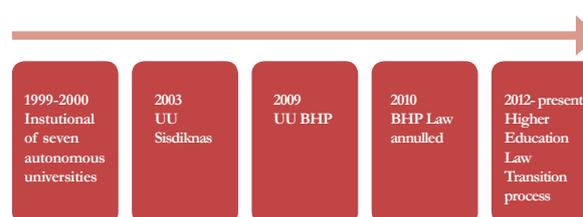
No	Higher Education institution	Government Regulation	Year of establishment
1.	Universitas Indonesia	PP No. 152/2000	2000
2.	Universitas Gadjah Mada	PP No. 153/2000	2000
3.	Institut Pertanian Bogor	PP No. 154/2000	2000
4.	Institut Teknologi Bandung	PP No. 155/2000	2000
5.	Universitas Sumatera Utara	PP No. 56/2003	2003
6.	Universitas Pendidikan Indonesia	PP No. 6/2004	2004
7.	Universitas Airlangga	PP No. 30/2006	2006

Source: Hidayat (2012).

6. See PP No. 61 Year 1999.

This marked the beginning of the shift towards greater freedom among state universities in delivering their service to the “public”, which also included extra-government revenue. Reflecting this principle, the government approved the law on National Education System in 2003.⁷ The law provided state universities with a greater degree of financial autonomy. This drew criticism from the general public, with many believing that the law purposely curtailed the state’s responsibility to deliver education services to its citizens.⁸

Figure 7: Key milestones in Indonesia’s HEI



Source: Authors.

Non-state actors have also had a significant influence on Indonesia’s higher education scheme. In particular, the role of foreign aid agencies has often been overlooked despite their evident presence in informing

7. UU Sistem Pendidikan Nasional No. 20/2003.

8. For a thorough critique on the commercialization of Indonesia’s higher education, see Heru Nugroho, “The political economy of higher education: The university as an arena for the struggle for power”, in Hadiz & Dhakidae (2005), p 164.

government policies on higher education. Cases in point include the World Bank's IMHERE⁹ project (Rosser, 2015: 15) or Australian Aid's role through its Supporting Indonesia's Tertiary Education concept.¹⁰ Some of the World Bank's goals were criticized by education experts who assumed that their programmes have had their imprint on the Education Legal Entity (Badan Hukum Pendidikan—BHP) Law of 2007, laying the foundation for a more autonomous yet more competitive higher education system based on neo-liberal principles.

This move was followed by the creation of a regulatory framework that would be necessary to ensure greater freedom for state universities. It was the core logic behind efforts to push for the Education Legal Entity regulation that was to be the legal foundation for universities and education units in general. From the government's viewpoint, the law would serve as a legal prerequisite so that universities and schools, public as well as private, would have the opportunity to convert their status to legal entities after meeting a certain set of requirements (ACDP, 2013, p.39).

Along the lines of such arguments, the draft on the BHP was heavily scrutinised by civil society actors as well as student bodies. At the heart of the debate were concerns about the liberalisation of higher education and the diminishing responsibility of the state to provide accessible education

to its citizens. Eventually, on 31 March, 2010, the constitutional court annulled the Educational Legal Entity Law (UU No 9/2009). The decision was seen as a victory for civil society and public education advocates, while government officials, including those in DGHE, saw the verdict as a setback in reforming higher education. With the BHP Law being annulled, HEIs — for a limited period — operated without certainty in terms of their legal status. Several state universities converted to the Public Service Unit status (Badan Layanan Umum—BLU), consequent to the annulment of the BHP Act. The BLU limits university autonomy to financial management matters while still operating as an implementing unit under the Ministry of Research Technology and Higher Education (ACDP, 2013, p.39).

While the government moved forward to propose a new draft law that would ensure the autonomous status of HEIs, student organisations called for the state to reaffirm its commitment to provide open and equal access to tertiary education, underlining the enduring debate on state control versus market mechanisms in providing higher education as a public service. Along with these legal changes and the institutional consequences thereof, the DGHE too introduced and amended a series of regulations concerning institutional and professional aspects of Indonesia's higher education management. Most of these changes were introduced during Satryo Brodjonegoro's tenure as director general of DGHE. He was somewhat critical of the global turn in higher education, yet felt that there was no other choice but to conform to the prevailing norms.

It was during Brodjonegoro's period that the DGHE gradually began to approach higher education in a more rational and

9. IMHERE (Indonesia Managing Higher Education Relevance and Efficiency) and ran from 2005 to 2012 and was funded by the World Bank and implemented by DGHE. More information on the closed project can be found on <http://www.worldbank.org/projects/P085374/higher-education-relevance-efficiency?lang=en>, accessed 7 January 2016

10. <https://dfat.gov.au/about-us/grants-tenders-funding/tenders/business-notifications/Documents/indonesia-tertiary-ed-conceptnote.pdf>, accessed 7 January 2016

Table 2: DGHE institutional and leadership Changes

Period		1999 - 2007	2007 - 2010	2010 - 2014
DGHE Leadership		Dr. Satryo Brodjonegoro	Dr. Fasli Jalal	Dr. Djoko Santoso
Key Policy Changes	Macro Level (Laws introduced)	Higher Education Long Term Strategy (2003-2010) Law on Teachers and Lecturers (2005) National Education System Law (2003)	Education Legal Entity Law (2009)	Higher Education Law (2012)
	Government Regulations Overseen	Government Regulation 19/2005 on National Education Standards	Government Regulation 37/2009 on Lecturers	Employee's performance target (SKP -2011)
	Ministerial Decrees	Establishment of Higher Education Institutions (2000)	Academic credit system (2009)	Scientific publication (2012) Academic credit system (2014)

Source: Authors.

efficient manner. It assumed its role as a facilitator rather than an enforcer, which marked the beginning of a long transition process. His administration would oversee the introduction of a new legal status for universities. This clearly affected the way the HEIs are operated, managed and evaluated. It has also had an effect on the way in which research funding was disbursed.

Research funding

A direct consequence of the changing legal status of public universities is the management of research funds. The promise of autonomy entailed the obligation to become more self-sufficient in terms of funding (Brodjonegoro, 2000; Karetji, 2010; World Bank, 2013). The introduction of a new funding mechanism has put more emphasis on output and performance, aiming to stimulate greater competition and market-orientation. This forced universities to seek external sources to fund research. It also meant

that revenues, in large part, could not be accumulated. This is evidenced in measures such as cost-sharing, where a university can set its own tuition while trying to ensure equal access through cross-subsidies, as well as by introducing additional costs beyond regular tuition fees (Nizam, 2006; Ngo, 2013).

In the last decade, schemes for funding research have changed several times, but they have consistently leaned towards the neo-liberal agenda, as indicated by their transition from centrally-distributed to competition-based funding (World Bank, 2013). Such schemes are oriented to encourage inter-disciplinary collaboration and to foster linkages among research and innovation actors (World Bank, 2013; ACDP, 2013). In hindsight, since the early 1990s, the DGHE has been taking measured steps to prepare public universities for autonomy by developing the internal capacity necessary for institutional autonomy. The introduction

of “block grants” and “budget envelopes” in fund disbursement is seen as a fundamental policy shift (ACDP, 2013: 61).

Likewise, most state universities have allocated funds as incentive for internationally publishing researchers. The amounts allocated differ, but this demonstrates a willingness to support productive researchers. However, some state universities categorised as self-reliant (Mandiri), or those who have managed to achieve the highest research capacity score, are less dependent on DGHE funding to carry out their research, thanks to their existing individual and institutional network. The self-reliant state universities, seven of whom have BHMN status and get external income, are already the largest universities closest to the nation’s capital. Direct access to DGHE funding as well as proximity to industries and international donors alike has enabled them to do more research, thus further widening the gap between Java and non-Java universities.

Over the recent years, DGHE has allocated more funds to support research. Between 2006 and 2009, research and development funding from central government and the DGHE for state universities increased from around IDR 200 million to IDR 1.4 billion (approximately USD 18,000 to USD 12,000; World Bank, 2013, p.32). While the sum of funds has relatively increased, the number of schemes through which the budget is funnelled has also swelled, often confusing researchers and other potential users when applying and going through the whole selection process. The table below illustrates the plethora of grant schemes that exist.

The table illustrates the two main DGHE funding schemes. The first is direct to universities, or the decentralised scheme. Each state university, depending on its status, manages the funds with varying degrees of autonomy. The second scheme is at the national level. In this, researchers apply directly to the DGHE. The national

Table 3: Outline of DGHE-funded research schemes

Decentralised research grants (Penelitian Desentralisasi)	Competitive national research grants (Penelitian Kompetitif Nasional)
Outstanding university research grant (Penelitian Unggulan Perguruan Tinggi)	Outstanding national research grant (Penelitian Unggulan Strategis Nasional)
Postgraduate joint research grant (Penelitian Tim Pascasarjana)	University - industry research grant (Riset Andalan Perguruan Tinggi dan Industri)
Basic research grant (Penelitian Fundamental)	International research and publication grant (Penelitian Kerjasama Luar Negeri dan Publikasi Internasional)
Competitive research grant (Penelitian Hibah Bersaing)	Competence research grant (Penelitian Kompetensi)
Joint university research grant (Penelitian Kerjasama antar Perguruan Tinggi)	National strategic research grant (Penelitian Strategis Nasional)
Postgraduate thesis research grant (Penelitian Disertasi Doktor)	MP3EI National priority research grant (Penelitian Prioritas Nasional MP3EI)
Junior lecturer research grant (Penelitian Dosen Pemula)	

Source: DGHE, 2015.

scheme is necessarily designed to be more competitive than the decentralised scheme. However, the application numbers have remained low as lecturers are often reluctant to risk their time to get through the bureaucratic maze of the many, and often confusing funding schemes.

“Several lecturers have applied for state-funded research grants, I myself am not one of them. So there are types of lecturers who do not care much to apply for DGHE-funded research grants. One of the reasons might be the general perception among such lecturers that application is too bureaucratic and irritating” (Vice-Dean of Universitas Gadjah Mada, personal interview, 18 May, 2015).

Another deterrent is the bureaucratic secretariat and financial management, which has inhibited the absorption of DGHE’s increased state university research budget. In addition, a classic recurring problem is the requirement to spend the research budget in the same fiscal year (World Bank, 2013). Thus, despite DGHE’s intentions to introduce a more competitive and merit-based funding, this effort has not been successful. The bureaucratic requirements of DGHE research funds usage are an impediment due to their short use period and late disbursement. Because such funds are sourced from the

annual state budget, it is disbursed and audited by the Ministry of Finance. This has been uniformly cited by all stakeholders in our cases, be it in departments, research centres or research directorates of state universities.

“I see the use of annual state budget as a serious obstacle. This is quite pivotal for research productivity. Obviously, many things are not in tune with the nature of doing research. Let’s look at the annual funding cycle. The timing of fund disbursements is always hard to predict. I’ve tried hard to speed up the process, eventually it was disbursed in July. Meanwhile, in November the whole process is expected to finish, to wrap up the budget year in December” (DGHE Research Director, personal interview, 21 December 2015).

The 2012 Higher Education Law, however, is supposed to ensure bigger research funds. The law stipulates that a minimum 30 percent of the **State University** Operational Assistance (BOPTN) must be allocated for research purposes. The then Minister of Education and Culture reiterated this for Higher Education Research and Technology, and has been quoted thus: “all universities are supposed to allocate 35 percent of their operational costs for research activities (Tempo, 2015, p.52). With regard to research funding, he stated that Indonesia must allocate

Box 1. Ineffective funding disbursements

Generally, the allocation for research funding has increased, but with low absorption due to bureaucratic inertia
Parallel to this increase, the disbursement of funds has become more complex and has inhibited researchers from applying
The goal of increasing collaboration across sectors has not materialized due to the failure to identify the main obstacle which is the very bureaucratic model of state universities itself

between 1 to 2 percent of its GDP in order to meet the needs of industrialisation. The minister also claims that the state is planning to provide other required facilities and infrastructure to improve higher education research (Tempo, 2015, p.52).

Employment

The academic employment system is another issue. State universities that enjoy autonomy are given the flexibility to contract lecturers and researchers under customised, individualised schemes. Meanwhile, tenured lecturers and faculty members who have been recruited by the Ministry of Education and Culture are assessed and evaluated based on indicators established by the DGHE that follows guidelines issued by the Agency for Government Employment (BKN). Special assessment forms have been introduced and the performance of academics is now measured tediously, affecting not only the work ethic but also financial incentives and reward mechanisms. While the DGHE has been attempting to create a more performance-based academic atmosphere, the state bureaucracy has been undermining this very effort. The top-down, centralised, and hierarchical structure has not been structurally reformed, and this has hindered the organisation of academically excellent research.

State universities are now bureaucratic management organisms where academic activity is stifled by administrative authority (Hidayat, 2012; Nugroho, 2005, p.163; Sherlock, 2010). Since Suharto's New Order, academic advancement was evaluated based on a person's success in winning administrative posts, instead of their academic work (Nugroho, 2005, p.163), this trend is reflected quite aptly in the promotion system. To be promoted from Level III/a (the entry level for a junior

lecturer), to III/d (equivalent of someone who holds a doctorate degree in Anglo-Saxonian universities), the candidate's qualifications must be examined and approved by a team in the university. In practice, a lecturer in an Indonesian state university does not require a doctorate degree in order to obtain a III/d rank. Furthermore, the authority to promote someone to Level IV/a (full-fledged lecturer), up to Level IV/e (Professor) rested in the hands of the Minister of Education and Culture (Nugroho, *ibid.*). This system lacked the transparency crucial for academics to create a productive atmosphere for the advancement of knowledge.

Although there have been glimpses of efforts to turn this practice around, for example, with the government's introduction of Evaluation List of Work Performed (Daftar Penilaian Pelaksanaan Pekerjaan--DP3), such legacies of the bureaucratic system are not easily disposed of, as concluded by Turner et.al. (2009):

"Good performance is also unrecognised and therefore not properly rewarded, causing frustration and weakened motivation among high-performing employees. The faults of the DP3 system have been known for many years, but its non-threatening nature has probably ensured its support within the civil service and hence its longevity" (p. 233).

As a matter of fact, any attempts to push for the professionalisation of the work environment under state universities are ultimately impeded by the very status of academics as civil servants or government employees. Indeed, most regulations that are considered a hindrance to enhancing Indonesia's research productivity are related to this status and obligations of academics, as illustrated in the table below.

Table 4: Legal bureaucracy of academic performance evaluation

Title of Regulation	Regulation requiring action	Overseeing State Institution	Description
Evaluation of functional staff: Need for performance assessment regulations that provide incentives for functional staff to produce relevant research	Joint Decree MenHukHAM & BKN M.390-KP.04.10/2002 & 1/2002 regarding Regulation Planning	BKN, MenHukHAM & Mendagri	Performance assessment and incentive mechanisms
	Joint Decree LIPI & BKN 3719/D/2004 & 60/2004 regarding Researcher	BKN, LIPI & Mendagri	Performance assessment and incentive mechanisms for researchers
Division of structural (administrative) and functional (specialist) staff: need to break down organisational and work divisions between the two categories.	UU 43/1999 Amendment on UU 8/1974 UU 8/1974 regarding Employment Basis	BKN	Categorization of civil servant functions
Procurement procedures are complex, ambiguous and implemented in different ways across government.	Perpes 54/2010 regarding guidelines for the procurement of goods and services.	LKPP	Technical guidelines on procurement system
Tendering processes eliminate universities and non-government organisations from the knowledge market	Amended by:Keppres 61/2004 Perpres 32/2005 Perpres 70/2005 Perpres 8/2006 Perpres 79/2006 Perpres 85/2006 Perpres 95/2006	LKPP	Technical guidelines on procurement system
Academic credit system	Permendikbud No 92 year 2014	DGHE	Further improvement on credit score
Civil servant evaluation system	PP 46 year 2011	KemenPAN-RB	Latest update on performance assessment

Source: Sherlock, 2010; edited by author.

Until 2014, the promise of administrative autonomy has not been translated into a fulfilling and rewarding academic culture. This can be partly explained by the inability of universities to interpret the requirements set by DGHE concerning the following issues:

- Rules Regarding Study Leave and Academic Assignment
- Credit score (Permendikbud No 92 of 2014)
- Civil Servant Performance Assessment (PP 46 of 2011)
- Performance Allowance System

To cite an example, Universitas Indonesia has set up a long-term target of becoming a “world class university” (Renstra UI, 2010). It entails changes in the parameters of academic performance but is not necessarily accompanied by infrastructural support, better working conditions and employment security. This is also reflected in the academic salary structures in state universities that do not correlate with research productivity, the extremely complex academic credit (KUM) system developed by the Directorate General of Higher Education, and the lack of academic mobility between institutions (Guggenheim, 2012, p.169–70). Also, as of today, the DGHE is yet to introduce a performance-based sabbatical system for lecturers and researchers under both public and private universities. This relates to civil service regulations that restrict staff from taking leave, as explained by former DGHE Directorate General:

“There used to be a Ministerial Decree (MenPAN-RB), at my time, for doing a sabbatical. But it couldn’t materialise due to civil servant status, they could not go on a paid leave, so we had to send them on official duty. They on the other hand wanted it to be a leave, while civil servants are not allowed to go on a leave. So civil servant and academic regulations are ill-matched. Under autonomy, sabbatical leaves are quite normal. So again, there are ideas but the hindrance is in the regulation. This because we follow ministerial regulation, except for those who are fully

autonomous (Former DGHE Director General, personal interview, 29 September 2015).

As a result, academics, who are in no way different from other workers under an increasingly laissez-faire system, have to deal with economic constraints and expectations, and are therefore strongly encouraged to take up as many teaching hours as possible on top of having to complete multiple research projects. Revenue generated under the BHMN policy is supposedly used to support salary increases, but evidently only for those with structural positions in the university administration (McCarthy and Ibrahim, 2010, p.8). What financial autonomy means to academics outside the administrative structure has to be seen in relation to the opacity of the existing system. Eventually, this is closely linked with the problem of internal financial management within each state university.

Financial management

A promised advantage of university autonomy is greater financial freedom (Hidayat, 2012; World Bank, 2013). This of course needs to be matched by principles of good governance and improvements in quality control (Brodjonegoro, 2000, Hidayat, 2012). Autonomy was supposed to be accompanied by the development of better leadership and management structures within universities (ACDP, 2013, p.76; Brodjonegoro and Moeliodihardjo,

Box 2: Issues with employment bureaucracy

The bureaucracy of state employment regulation and civil service policies, including performance evaluation, do not correlate with academic merit

State universities have tended to adopt laissez-faire mechanisms rather than addressing issues of employment security and the wellbeing of non-tenured lecturers

2013). The general recipe prescribed by either DGHE or international donor organisations is to adopt conventional measures of New Public Management (Shin and Jung, 2013) and to comply with new, international standards of quality assurance (Hidayat, 2012). Universitas Andalas, West Sumatra, for example, established a Quality Assurance Body (Badan Pengawasan Mutu) in 2007. The unit oversees the implementation of standards set by the faculty in a four-year cycle, in addition to completing annual evaluations.

Against this background, one major challenge faced by universities going in for transformation is a radical turn in managing funds. This is one obligation BHMN universities have faced but have not completely fulfilled, as most universities do not yet have adequate capacity in effective financial management (ACDP, 2013, p. 62). In generating new sources of funds, state universities have often resorted to a short-term approach, by insisting on increasing tuition fees or creating new admission paths that are more expensive than public ones, thereby opening up access to more paying students in the higher education market. Only in the last five years have the major universities found a more creative way to establish enterprise units dedicated to finance their operations. One way for universities to enter the commercial higher education market is through intermediaries or under the flag of consulting companies (Sherlock, 2010, p.28), as has been practised by ITB through its LAPI corporation and UI through its Daya Makara corporation.

However, entering the higher education market also has its stumbling blocks, with state universities facing significant hurdles in undertaking research contracts for government under recent procurement regulations (McCarthy and Ibrahim, 2010,

p.19; Suryadarma, Pomeroy and Tanuwidjaja, 2011). Again, the institutional bureaucratic practice has proven to be a stumbling block as there are still disputes over the ownership of university assets, similar to the problems of academic employment.

Coupled with embedded clientelism, research contracts in universities have tended to be “controlled by research ‘godfathers’ [and] within a research patronage system” (McCarthy and Ibrahim, 2005, p.8). While several actors and “cliques” may benefit from the existing structure, objectively, it has been a major hindrance for universities in that they cannot operate more efficiently and in line with the demands of a transparent and professional management system.

Currently, BLU universities, such as Universitas Andalas (UNAND), Padang, West Sumatera and Universitas Mulawarman (UNMUL), Samarinda, East Kalimantan, are going through the same phase as their BHMN predecessors. However, without prior experience in generating funds and with less leverage compared to their BHMN counterparts in collecting money from tuition fees, they are dominated by Java-based BHMN universities in the national higher education market.

“If you compare the period before and after BLU, well provided the universities possess assets, the BLU status should be an advantage. Operational costs and staff salaries are covered by the annual state budget. The problem here is, we do not have any other source of income apart from students tuition fee” (Vice Dean of FISIP Universitas Mulawarman, personal interview, 5 May 2015).

The case of UNMUL and UNAND as state universities located outside of Java shows that autonomy has been utilised more

Box 3: Key financial issues in university research

The commercialisation of university research has been developing since the first wave towards greater university autonomy, since state universities need to generate their own income
Professional management of funds is the sine qua non for institutional improvement
Most universities do not have adequate capacity in effective financial management, due to the bureaucratic model of higher education
Lack of transparency is an effect of bureaucratic university management attempting to cater to a market

effectively by Java-based state universities. Although the leaning towards a more neo-liberal agenda affects the arrangement of social research in Java and non-Java state universities differently, in both cases, this commercialisation was not accompanied by the professionalisation of their existing bureaucracy.

Scientific publication

The expected goal, namely that of increasing the number of international publications, has become unrealistic. The underwhelming quantity and quality of scientific publications has been a major issue among Indonesia's academic community. The DGHE has often been accused of not taking this matter seriously as well as prescribing the wrong antidote to the problem, due to its failure in identifying its root cause (Rakhmani, 2013; Suseno, 2015).

Interrogating this matter more directly, at the level of the actual stakeholders, one will quickly discover that scientific publications, whether national or international, are considered by state university stakeholders as a mere by-product of academic activities. Most universities do not have a dedicated roadmap or performance indicator related to publication targets. For many university bureaucrats, pushing their lecturers to publish internationally is not a main priority as the emphasis of academic

performance is still measured in terms of teaching hours and number of projects undertaken – if any at all.

The recurring argument here is that Indonesian lecturers barely have time to write, given the already heavy load and problematic teaching-research nexus (ACDP, 2013, p.46). Meanwhile, young academics, who are mostly hired on a contractual basis and are deemed as having potential are overwhelmed with the burden of having to take on academic and administrative responsibility as soon as they return to their host institution from their overseas study (Brodjonegoro and Moeliodihardjo, 2013; Rakhmani, 2013). As a short-cut to increasing the number of academic publications, the DGHE introduced a Ministerial Decree in 2012 that compels graduate students to publish in academic journals as a requisite to complete their degree.

This indicates that the policies issued by the DGHE aimed at promoting research productivity have not been complied with due to the ways in which funds are disbursed, the employment recruitment and promotion mechanisms, as well as the bureaucratic financial management. Furthermore, these policies were not made on the basis of evidence vis-a-vis the characteristics of the organisations at which they are aimed.

Box 4: The gap between research policies and practices

DGHE policies do not address the institutional barriers, namely bureaucratic administration and financial management, which hinders research production

Greater autonomy has been utilised to take in more students to cover university running costs

The commercialisation of higher education exacerbate the gap between policy and research practices, indicated by poor publication rates

We identified a gap between the policies issued by the DGHE and the practices within state universities. The bureaucratic administration and financial management that clogs the disbursement of DGHE funding have caused this gap, as state universities are tied to policies issued by the Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Home Affairs, and the National Civil Service Agency. Instead, greater autonomy that has been granted to state universities has been utilised to take in more students in order to cover university overhead costs, resulting in misplaced funding for research capacity building in institutions whose main income is generated from teaching. Thus, the commercialisation of higher education has actually worsened the gap between policy and research practices, as indicated by poor publication rates.

Institutional Performance of Social Science Research, Research Capacity and Research Outreach

As a means of monitoring university research performance, the DGHE has established an annual evaluation system that ranks both public and private universities into four categories, and also determines the amount of funds disbursed to each institution. In its latest evaluation of 2015, higher education institution research performance resulted in 14 Mandiri universities (see Table 5), 36 Utama universities, 79 Madya universities. These clusters are tiers of research excellence based on four indicators: the number of

lecturers based on their stratum, the activities of research centres, research conducted with DGHE funding, research conducted with non-DGHE funding, research product, and research centre management.

Twelve out of the 14 Mandiri universities, or those that have achieved the highest tier, are located in Java. Six universities in the Mandiri list are studied in this research, namely ITB (Bandung, West Java), UGM (Yogyakarta), UI (Depok, West Java), IPB (Bogor, West Java), UNHAS (Makassar, South Sulawesi), and UNAND (Padang, West Sumatra). The two universities outside of Java that made the Mandiri list were also studied in this research, besides the two state universities that did not manage to receive a Mandiri status, namely UNMUL and USU. Despite the geographical and legal status differences of each state university selected — with very few exceptions — the institutional performance resulting from the same bureaucratic structure is similar. Research

Table 5: Universities with research performance categorised as “Independent” (Mandiri) by DGHE

No	Higher Education Institution	Location
1.	Institut Teknologi Bandung (ITB)	Bandung, West Java
2.	Universitas Gadjah Mada (UGM)	Yogyakarta
3.	Universitas Indonesia (UI)	Jakarta
4.	Universitas Padjadjaran (UNPAD)	Bandung, West Java
5.	Institut Pertanian Bogor (IPB)	Bogor, West Java
6.	Universitas Sebelas Maret (UNES)	Solo, Central Java
7.	Universitas Hasanuddin (UNHAS)	Makassar, South Sulawesi
8.	Universitas Diponegoro (UNDIP)	Semarang, Central Java
9.	Universitas Brawijaya (UNBRAW)	Malang, East Java
10.	Universitas Airlangga (UNAIR)	Surabaya, East Java
11.	Institut Teknologi Sepuluh Nopember	Surabaya, East Java
12.	UPN Veteran Jawa Timur	Surabaya, East Java
13.	Universitas Muhammadiyah Malang (UMM)	Malang, East Java
14.	Universitas Andalas (UNAND)	Padang, West Sumatra

Source: Tempo, 31 May, 2015.

funding from the DGHE is a small portion of the overall research network built among the institutions; closed recruitment methods still exist; delays in liquidating DGHE funding is an issue across all state universities; and all universities have issues regarding international publication.

Brief Overview of Case Studies

Universitas Indonesia

The first university studied was University of Indonesia (Universitas Indonesia—UI), particularly the Faculty of Social and Political Science (FISIP). FISIP-UI was established in 1959. Its initial foundation was laid in the Department of Publications, now Department of Communications, which stood under the Faculty of Law and Societal Science. Currently, the faculty consists of eight departments with more than 180 faculty members. Universitas Indonesia has a number of research centres at both university and faculty level. FISIP itself has 18 research centres that operate either directly under the department, or are multidisciplinary and, therefore, operate autonomously under FISIP. UI too is one of the four initial BHMN universities that are considered to have the administrative and financial capacity to operate autonomously. It is also one of the earliest, and thus also heavily criticized universities to introduce international programmes that offer dual degrees. In terms of research performance, FISIP aims to increase its research output annually, namely in the form of increasing the number of international publications.

Bogor Institute of Agriculture

The second state university was Bogor Institute of Agriculture (Institut Pertanian

Bogor—IPB). IPB was established in 1963, with the focus on developing agricultural teaching and research. In 2007, the university took the initial step to become a research-based university. The faculty of human ecology (FEMA) is the closest unit that resembles a social science school at IPB. The faculty consists of three departments: the department of science communication and social development, department of public health nutrition, department of family and consumer science. The university, through its directorate for research and innovation as well as LPPM, has shown a strong and visible commitment to strengthening its research and publication capacity. The directorate is prepared to give incentives of up to IDR 20 Million Rupiah (approximately USD 1500) for researchers publishing internationally in SCOPUS listed journals.

Such a commitment has yielded considerable results, with a significant number of IPB academics listed on SCOPUS and other indices, and other researchers generally succeeding in being published internationally — although mostly in the natural sciences. As a result, IPB has climbed up on the publication ladder and is now the second most productive university in Indonesia, although most of its publications come from its natural science faculties. It should be emphasized, however, that this success is mainly attributed to the field of natural science, and less so to its counterparts in the social science disciplines.

North Sumatera University

The third state university, North Sumatera University (Universitas Sumatera Utara—USU), was established on 4 June, 1952 as Public University (PTN). The Faculty of Social and Political Science (FISIP) was established in 1982 and became

the ninth Faculty at the university. It initially offered six majors: Department of Sociology; Department of Social Welfare; Department of Anthropology; Department of General Basic Sciences; Department of Public Administration; Department of Communication. There are 10 research centres, but only one that was considered active, namely the Tax Study Centre. Officially, the executive management unit in research is LPPM (Research and Public Service Institution); which facilitates various research and public service activities conducted by its academicians. USU also has UPR (Research Units) in most of the faculties, but their main task is limited to recording the research conducted in each faculty. LPPM is mainly responsible for conducting research writing clinics and discussion.

Currently, USU is going through a decline in research output by its academicians. USU's LPPM has produced several policies in order to increase the University's research and publication productivity, such as by enhancing incentives. The most productive faculty or research centre is the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences, and also the Faculty of Agriculture. These two faculties contribute most research logs in the university. Thus, social science research still has a lot of ground to cover to be on par.

Hasanuddin University

Hasanuddin University (Universitas Hasanuddin—UNHAS) was the fourth state university. UNHAS is considered the most prestigious university outside of Java. It was originally a branch of the Faculty of Economics of Universitas Indonesia (UI) Jakarta that was established in the late 1950s, with the Faculty of Economics being its first official programme. The Faculty of Social and Political science followed

in 1961, employing just 16 lecturers. Currently, the faculty comprises seven departments and over 80 faculty members. All departments offer courses for both undergraduate and graduate students. As the most reputable university outside Java, UNHAS attracts more and more funding sources, particularly from donors as well as from large companies. It is also considered the main hub for Eastern Indonesia and has run a number of initiatives to increase the capacity of higher education in this region.

Andalas University

The fifth state university was Andalas University (Universitas Andalas—UNAND). UNAND was officially established in 1948. However, it took a while until the Faculty of Social and Political Sciences (FISIP) was officially unveiled on 13 May, 1993. The embryo of the faculty was present in the form of two departments included in the Faculty of Letters, namely the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, which later became the initial programmes of FISIP UNAND. Its inception was also addressed in the 1980–89 long-term plan, and its establishment further encouraged through a series of workshops in the early 1980s, backed by the Social Science Foundation (Yayasan Ilmu Sosial) and Volkswagen Foundation. The faculty currently employs around 80 academics across six departments, namely Sociology, Anthropology, International Relations, Public Administration, Politics and Communication. Five departments offer graduate programmes, namely Sociology, Anthropology, Communication and Politics. Recently the faculty introduced a graduate programme focusing on Local Elections, as a means of responding to the latest political and societal development in West Sumatra.

There are no dedicated research units under the faculty, although each department is

advised by LPPM to develop their research roadmaps as a midterm guide for strategic and scientific purposes. Research is mainly undertaken and supervised by LPPM, which is also responsible for the conduct of research centres at the university level. The university currently holds a BLU status and is in a transition process to become financially more autonomous and less dependent on state funds disbursed by the DGHE. This has often been a stumbling block as the university incurred more expenses than revenues and had to cut the annual performance bonuses for its administrative and clerical staff, resulting in mass protests held around March 2015.

Mulawarman University

The sixth was Mulawarman University (Universitas Mulawarman—UNMUL). Universitas Mulawarman was established in 1962, making it the oldest university in East Borneo. Prior to that the university was named Universitas Kalimantan Timur. Currently it has the highest number of students in Kalimantan. The university is renowned for its Forestry Department, particularly during the 1980s alongside the plantation and mining exploration during the New Order. The Faculty of Social and Political Science (FISIP) was established in 1966, spun off from the Faculty of Economics and Civics.

The school currently offers 10 undergraduate courses and one graduate course. A particular feature of the faculty is the co-existence between Sociology and Social Welfare (Sosiatri) that has its roots elsewhere, namely in Gadjah Mada University. The development of their programmes goes back to the 1970s when the university collaborated with UGM in shaping its curriculum, which, as a result, resembled that offered by UGM. The faculty consists of around 90 academics, with the

majority holding a Masters degree. It has no dedicated research unit, with most of the studies done under the department level. In the absence of specialized research units, individual networks and expertise are the main sources of collaboration and partnership, together with demand-driven projects coming from the local government and or local authorities that are usually alumni from the faculty or the university. Currently, UNMUL is considered as the best performing university in Kalimantan, together with Universitas Lambung Mangkurat at Balikpapan. The faculty has also been acknowledged by the DGHE for its increased research activities. The university is listed under the BLU status and is currently in a transition phase. Creating alternative sources of funds, including research funding, is one of the major challenges faced by the rectorate as well as faculty executives.

Bandung Institute of Technology

The Bandung Institute of Technology (Institut Teknologi Bandung—ITB) was the seventh state university visited. ITB was established on 2 March, 1959 as an institution of higher learning of science, technology, and fine arts, with a mission of education, research, and public service. In this research, we look at the research management in three faculties, namely the School of Architecture, Planning and Policy Development (SAPPK), School of Business and Development, and Faculty of Art and Design. These schools have the closest resemblance to social studies among the science faculties that dominate Bandung Institute of Technology. The School of Architecture, Planning and Policy Development was established on 29 August, 2005. The newly established school began to operate as an academic

implementation unit responsible for education, research and public service activities starting 1 January, 2006, administering 12 academic programmes ranging from undergraduate to doctoral programme and eight research divisions.

Faculty of Art and Design (FSRD-ITB) opened in 1984. It has three Departments: Fine Arts, Design, and Socio-technology. In its development, the faculty started to conduct social research as part of its Socio-technology Department. The School of Business and Management ITB (SBM-ITB) was established on 31 December, 2003 and has five programmes: Undergraduate Programme in Management, Master of Business Administration Programme, Master of Science in Management Programme, Doctor of Science in Management, and Undergraduate Programme in Entrepreneurship. ITB has one LP (Research Institution) that coordinates the research management of all faculties. LP works closely with lecturers in disseminating research information, helping lecturers and faculty with research management, as well as disbursing grants to lecturers and faculties. Each faculty also has its own research unit but all of the research management still must go through LP. Based on the number of publications issued by the university, the most productive research unit is the Faculty of Mathematics and Natural Sciences. However, SAPPK, FSRD and SBM are also considered as productive, focusing mainly on policy research.

Gajah Mada University

The eighth university was the University of Gajah Mada (Universitas Gajah Mada—UGM). The Faculty of Social and Political Science UGM (FISIPOL) was established in 1955, making it the oldest social and political science faculty in Indonesia. It was developed from the previously

existing Faculty of Economics and Faculty of Law. Currently, the faculty offers six undergraduate programmes, namely International Relations, Communications, Public Management and Policy, Politics and Government, Social Development and Welfare, and Sociology. The faculty aims to build its excellence on research and has shown tangible reforms in the management of both research and teaching, and knowledge management in general. Thus, the faculty has introduced a dedicated research and cooperation unit that integrates all government-demand projects and distributes projects to each department or research centre. The Center for Capacity Building and Cooperation (Pusat Pengembangan Kapasitas dan Kerja Sama) acts as a pool of projects with the purpose of avoiding overlaps and potential conflicts of interest between existing research units or individual projects among UGM academics.

Research funding

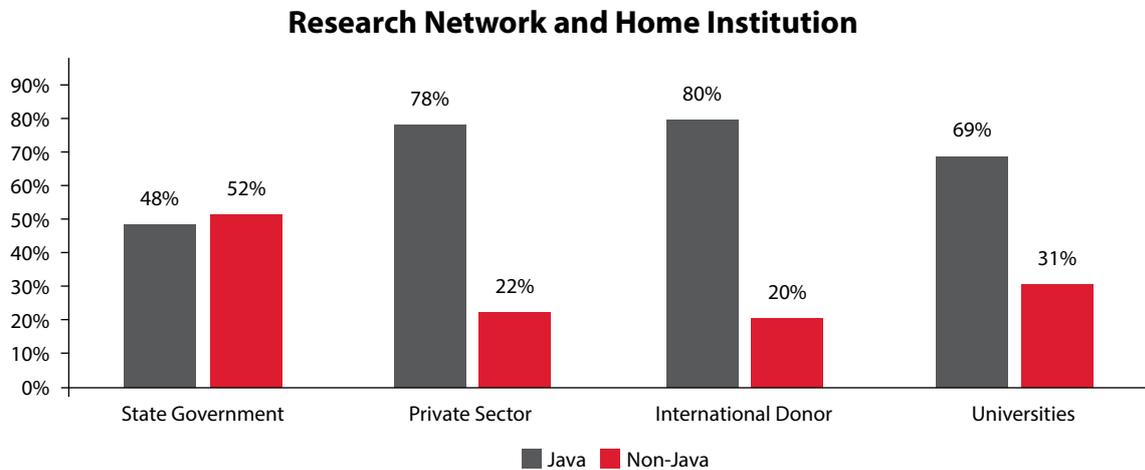
The source of research funds varies between Java and non-Java universities. For major Java-based universities (UI, ITB, UGM, IPB), the source of research funds is dominated by international donor organisations and the private sector. For the more peripheral universities, public funding, state government funding, and inter-university cooperation is necessary to keep research activities going. One of the most important findings is how the dominance of major universities stretches beyond their own geographical and administrative domains, as exemplified by the case of UGM. The university has established strong cooperation with dozens of local administrations who have procured its services to perform policy consultation and analysis.¹¹

11. Interview with head of the cooperation unit, FISIP UGM, 20 May, 2015.

Meanwhile, non-Java based universities are more dependent on public funds, either through DGHE funding schemes or consultancy services by their respective

local governments. This not only shows the limited opportunities available outside Java but also the problem of access to the existing knowledge market.

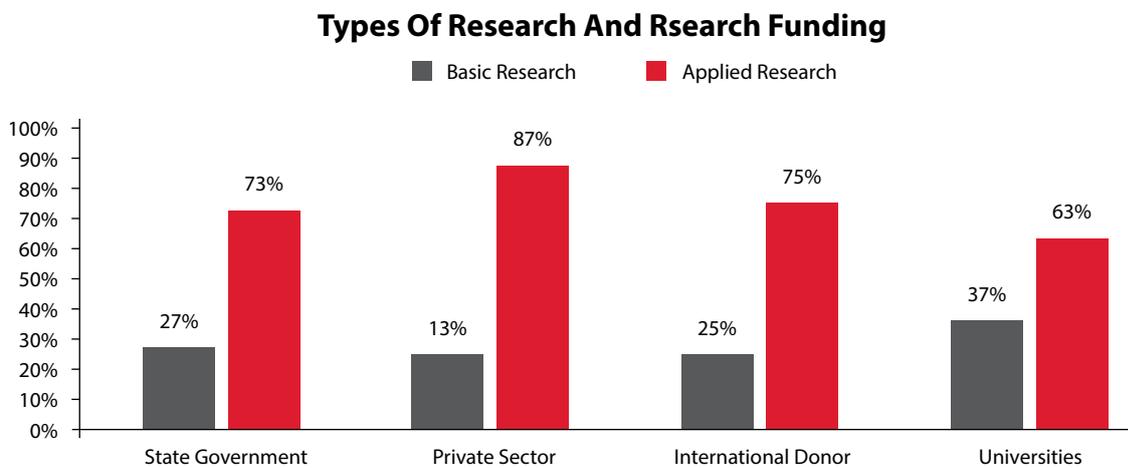
Figure 8: Research network and home institution



N for State Government=261, N for Private Sector=97, N for Universities=134

Source: Authors.

Figure 9: Types of research and research funding



N for State Government=252, N for Private Sector=85, N for Foreign Aid=76, N for Universities=90

Source: Authors.

Box 5. The effects of ineffective funding disbursements

The increase in research funds has increased research intake among Java universities, with peripheral state universities lagging behind.

Java state universities do not only have greater direct access to international donor organisations and the private sector, comprising most of their research funding source, but also to the overall higher education market.

Research funding for non-Java state universities predominantly comes from state government, public funding, and inter-university cooperation.

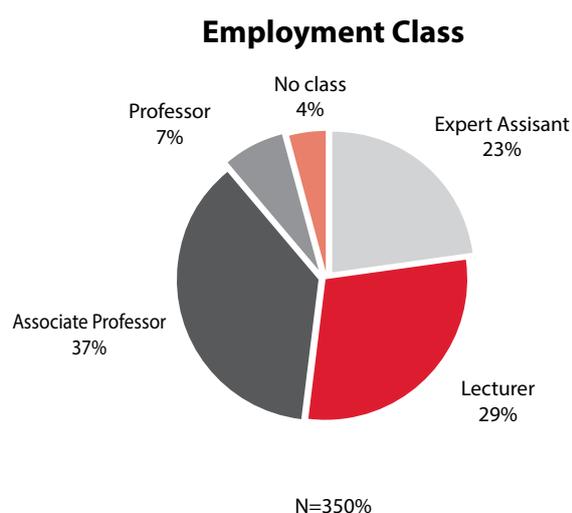
Employment

The majority of our respondents are permanent lecturers, employed as civil servants under their respective universities. This reflects the reality of Indonesia's academia, where the lecturers are officially employed as civil servants. Indonesia's academia is also an ageing entity, as the workforce is dominated by senior academics holding associate professor status and having been recruited either through closed or semi-closed recruitment systems.

This also highlights the limited opportunity for new lecturers to apply for vacant positions as well as constraints within the university to open up new positions.

Furthermore, 37 percent of the respondents already hold an Associate Professor status (according to civil servant classification). Interestingly, the role and contribution of professors in Indonesia's academia has been openly questioned within the national media.¹² The fact that only 2.3 percent out of 220,426 full-time employed lecturers are professors across all higher education institutions is not so much the problem as is their low contribution compared to their status. This shows that adding the number of professors will not be the antidote to the issue of quality. Rather, improving the working environment — including evaluating the performance of professors — should have a positive impact on the epistemic community of each university.

Figure 10: Employment classification



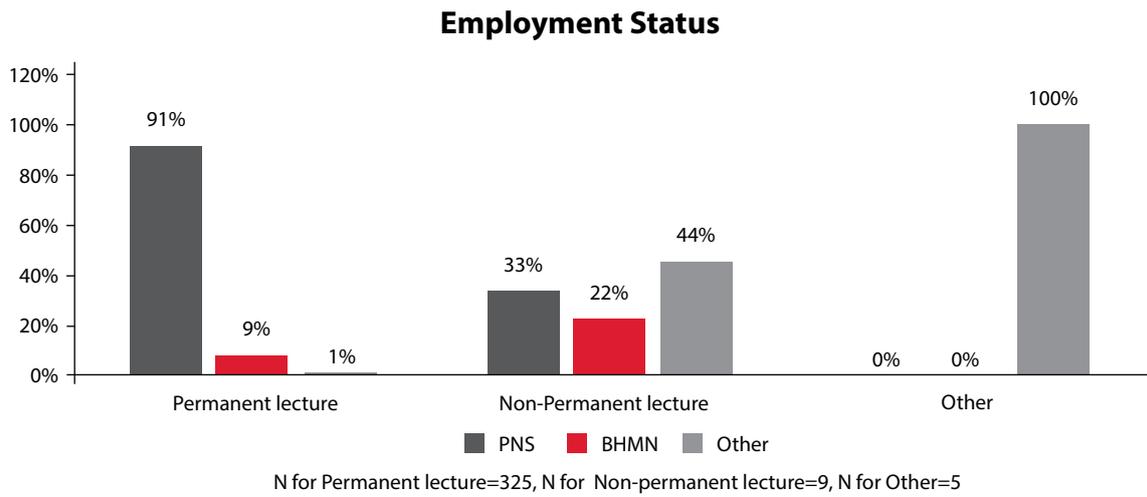
Source: Authors.

Based on the data collected, lecturers (58 percent) earn a take-home pay of IDR < 4 Million¹³ per month without additional income. Those who have an extra income from personal activities related to their main profession as lecturer mostly receive additional income over and above their fixed salary in the same range. There is also a large segment of lecturers (25 percent) who possess no additional income, which indicates lack of activities outside their main tasks as lecturers.

12. Several articles on this can be found in the national newspaper Kompas, between October and November 2015

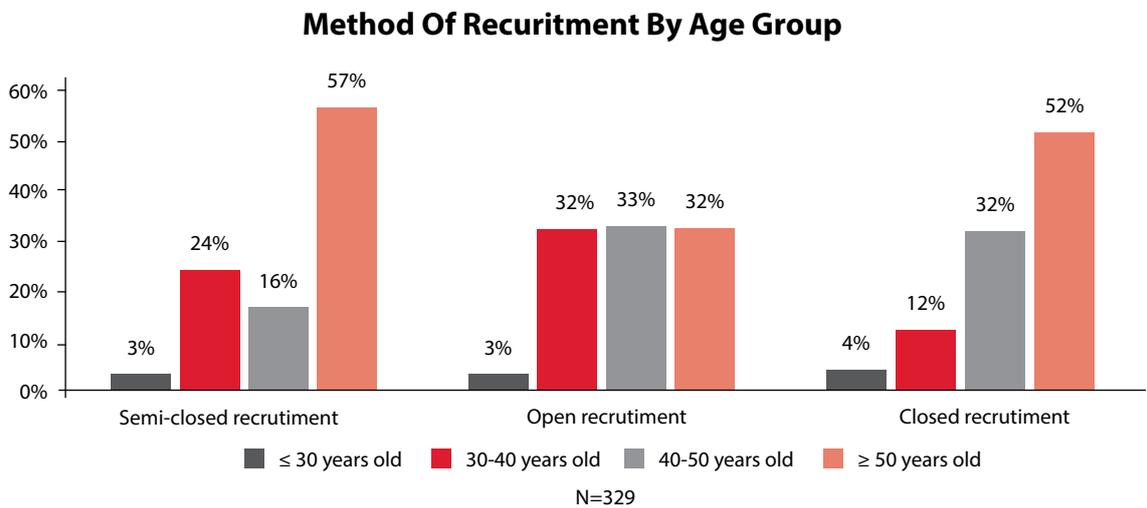
13. Equivalent to ± 285 USD, as of January 2016.

Figure 11: Employment status



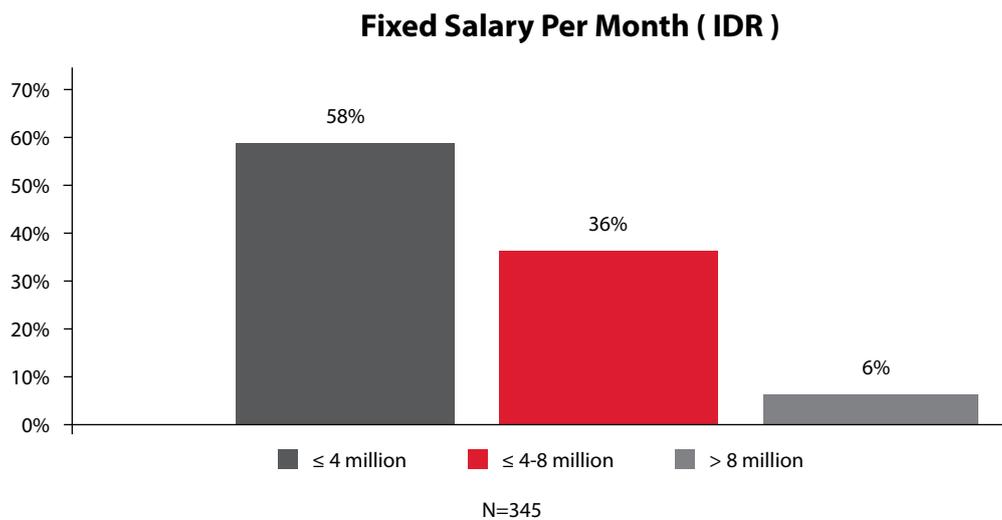
Source: Authors.

Figure 12: Method of recruitment



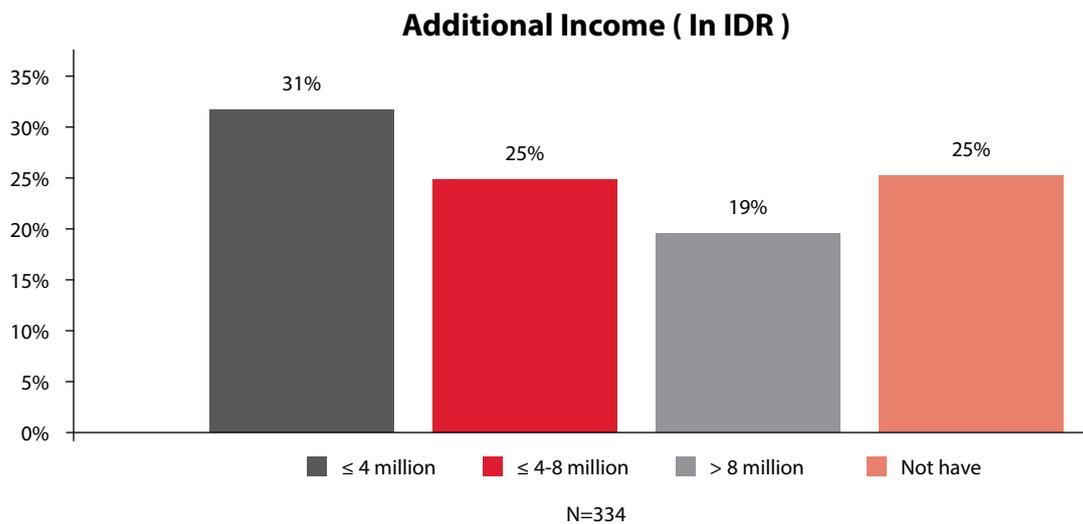
Source: Authors.

Figure13: Monthly salary



Source: Authors.

Figure 14: Additional income



Source: Authors.

Box 6: The effects of employment issues on research

Most active researchers come from the above 50 years old group, who were notably recruited within a closed system (see Chapter 5)

Younger researchers are less involved in research, which could mean that they take on more teaching rather than research load

These numbers show us that the younger age cohorts are less involved in research. When linked to the increase in student intake from 1998 to 2006, and the majority of permanent lecturers holding only a masters degree, it could be said that the younger lecturers, who were recruited through a more open system after the university autonomy law was put in place, take on more of teaching than research load.

Financial management

As discussed in the previous chapter, the DGHE disburses research funds through two main channels: 1) directly to the university through the Desentralised Research Grant scheme or 2) through competitive national grants where universities have to apply for funds. For major universities with vast resources and strong ties with the industry, finding research funds is not a major challenge, as acknowledged by the Vice Dean of FEMA IPB:

"IPB annually receives more than IDR 30 billion... for research. So the chance for a lecturer to find funds is actually quite big.." (Vice Dean FEMA IPB, personal interview, 1 April, 2015)

A contrasting picture can be seen at UNAND, or UNMUL, where there are no — or very limited — dedicated funds at the faculty level to undertake serious research projects. FISIP UNAND for example, is only able to distribute IDR 15 million annually to each department, hoping that lecturers manage to produce at least one

research product at the end of the year, as they are expected to report on employee's performance.

Applying for DGHE funds is always an option for public universities. However, usage of state funds has also become a persisting problem for university lecturers and bureaucrats alike. As acknowledged by numerous informants, the nature of state funds often becomes an obstacle instead of a solution:

"The money is not paid out as expected. Let's say in the proposal is said to start May or April, it's written a 6 or 10 months duration... but then the cash only comes in September. I have experienced it myself, and that is money coming from the central government. Meanwhile, in October I'm already told to report." (Vice Dean FEMA IPB, personal interview, 1 April, 2015)

As explained in the previous chapter, the nature of annually audited state funds is hindering the quality of research as it imposes time constraints, especially in the context of social research. Also, the difference in legal status (BLU or PTN BH) affects the way resources and revenues are managed. Universities with PTN BH status and Mandiri categorisation are less dependent on DGHE disbursed funds and are therefore more self-sufficient, compared to aspiring BLU universities without the necessary resources.

Scientific publication

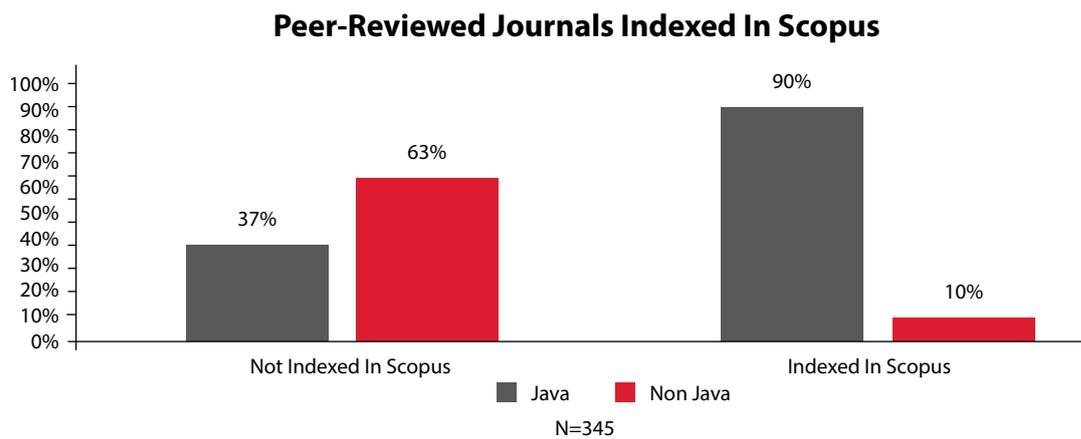
The majority of respondents (86 percent) have not managed to publish in journals

Box 7. Key financial issues in university research

Audited state funds hinder the quality of research, as it limits the time to carry out the actual research by the necessity to fill in tedious forms

The difference in the legal status of BLU and PTN BH universities affects the way in which research resource and revenues are managed. PTN BH universities, who are predominantly located in Java, are more self-sufficient compared to BLU universities

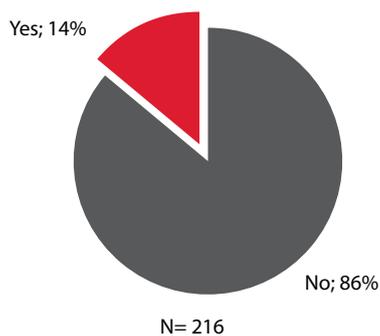
Figure 15: Peer-reviewed journals indexed in Scopus



Source: Authors.

Figure 16: Number of scholars published in Scopus-indexed journals

Number Of Scholars Published In Scopus-Indexed Journals



Source: Authors.

indexed by reputable bibliometric databases, namely Scopus.¹⁴ The 14 percent who have done so are primarily from Java-based universities (90 percent). This not only shows the limited capacity to publish, but also the disparity in capacity among state universities,

14. The research team would like to acknowledge that bibliometric databases are not always a reliable measurement for a journal's reputation, particularly in social science and humanities. Some of the most prestigious journals on Indonesia, namely Indonesia, did not register on Scopus as a political stance towards the political economy of publication. Scopus here is used as an illustration for the condition of publication in Indonesia's social science and humanities.

where publishing academics are more easily found among the major universities located in Java.

As discussed in the previous chapter, the size and scope of incentives varies according to the institutional capacity of each university. IPB, for example, takes the business of publishing seriously, providing financial incentives between IDR 3 and 5 million as well as forming a scientific publication team:

"... IPB publication team is responsible for that (enhancing publications), especially for postgraduate students, given their obligation to publish. So we enhance their writing capacity. We do writing clinics, with national and international resource persons. We also assist in providing proofreading, reviewing the manuscripts. So students who are almost finished with their articles but are having doubts to submit will be reviewed by the team first" (Head of IPB Innovation and Research Directorate, personal interview, 2 April 2015).

State universities that are able to carry out customised approaches, such as hiring proofreaders and reviewers to enhance the quality of the research products, are not dependent on DGHE funding. The General Cost Standard (Standar Biaya Umum) issued

Box 8: Effects of research policies and practices

Ineffective research funding disbursements, employee capacity building, and financial management has resulted in very low international publication rates, where only 14 percent of active researchers have published in reputable, peer-reviewed journals

Among this 14 percent, 90 percent are located in Java

by the Ministry of Finance does not specifically regulate the unit cost for such components, which are very particular for the higher education sector. Thus, state universities with more direct access to capital will have more opportunities to generate non-DGHE income to facilitate such expenses.

The effect of research policies and practices at the institutional level shows that Java-based state universities have more opportunities to seek external revenue than those outside Java. As a result, the majority of publication in reputable journals is achieved by academics in Java state universities.

Researcher Behavior and Characteristics

This section presents the background, behaviour, and characteristics of researchers in eight select state universities in Indonesia. Previous sections have established how structural barriers at macro and meso level, namely the disbursement of research funding, bureaucratic employment mechanisms, and ineffective financial management have contributed to the poverty of social science research. The purpose of this section is to provide empirical evidence as to how these structural barriers have shaped the research behaviour and characteristics of eight state universities in Indonesia. We would like to emphasise several main points in this regard.

Firstly, active researchers in state universities based in Java have greater opportunity to network with state government, the private sector, international donors, and fellow universities to conduct research. This suggests that quantitative key performance indicators set by the DGHE may have exacerbated the already unequal gap between state universities located in Java and those outside of Java.

Secondly, most researchers obtained higher degrees in their home institution, and this trend is prevalent among all state universities researched. Coupled with findings on the continuing habit of closed recruitment, this suggests that there is an insularity in capacity development. Significantly, active researchers who obtained their higher degrees abroad have more articles published in Scopus-indexed journals. These empirical findings indicate that bureaucratisation of higher education has fostered a culture of inbreeding, with a very small number (8 percent) of

active researchers who can be considered productive.

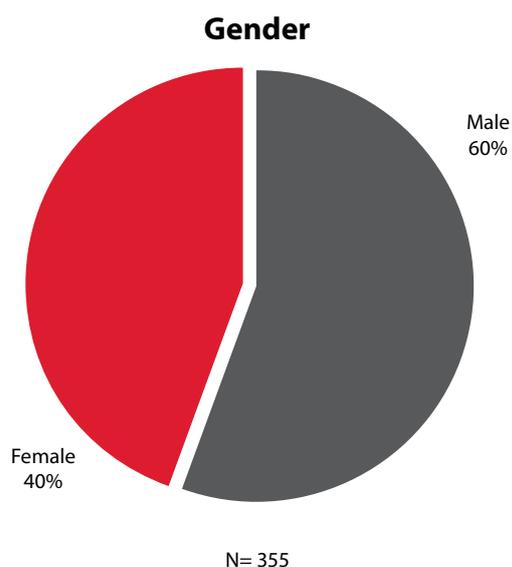
Brief overview of researchers

The gender proportion of active researchers in this study is: 40 percent female and 60 percent male. There is currently no affirmative regulation in Indonesia to increase the number of female researchers in state universities (see Figure 17). Of the 261 active researchers, 73 percent have built networks with the government, the private sector, international donor organisations, and other universities. The remaining 27 percent of these active researchers carry out independent research without contacting or networking with external organisations.

Among active researchers, 88 percent or 308 conduct their research under their respective departments (see Figure 18). This suggests that they do not organise their research under a dedicated unit, which, based on in-depth interviews, can be caused by the absence of a unit dedicated to research management, or a deliberate attempt by the researcher to not be affiliated with the research unit. Our cases show that not all universities have established dedicated research units, as in the case at Universitas Mulawarman, Universitas Andalas, and Universitas Sumatera Utara. Notably, all three of these universities are located outside of Java.

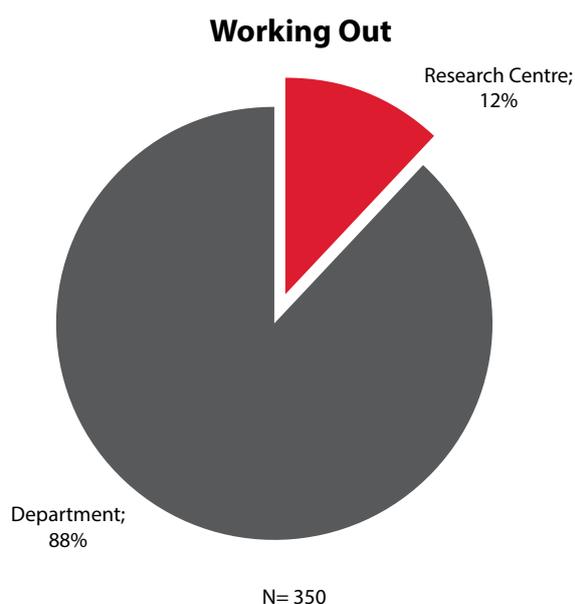
The highest proportion of active researchers, which works out to 43 percent or 143 researchers, are above the age of 50 years (see Figure 19). This is followed by the 40 to 50 year old cohort (29 percent) and 30 to 40 year old cohort (25 percent). Findings suggest that, as the majority of active researchers (55 percent) hold a masters degree, while 44 percent hold a doctorate

Figure 17: Gender proportion



Source: Authors.

Figure 18: Working unit

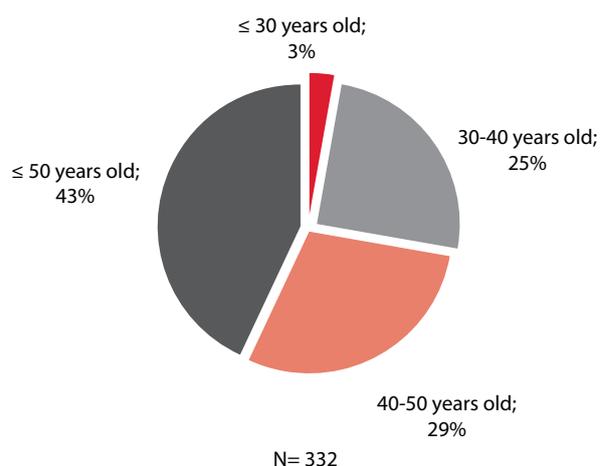


Source: Authors.

degree, there is weak capacity building among active researchers, which requires more serious response in hiring and training younger doctorate degree holders so as to increase research productivity.

In total, 22 percent active researchers had obtained their most recent degree abroad, while 78 percent obtained it in Indonesia,

Figure 19: Age distribution

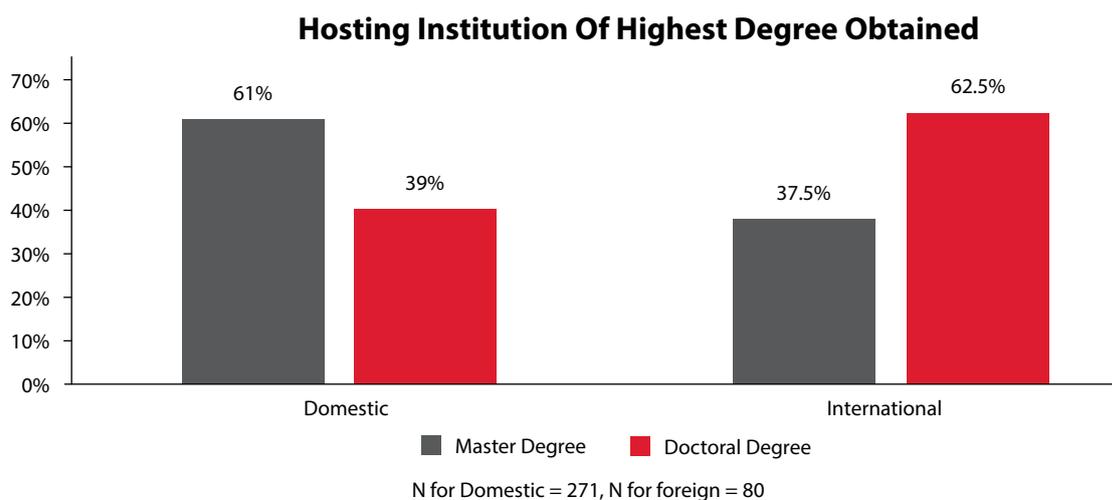


Source: Authors.

either within their home institution or state universities, mainly in Java. Among those who obtained their degrees abroad, 62.5 percent had a doctoral degree and 37.5 percent hold a masters degree. Opposite proportions are apparent among those who hold domestic higher degrees: 61 percent hold a masters degree while 39 percent hold doctoral degrees. In other words, active researchers who have obtained their education abroad get higher degrees than their domestic counterparts.

Among active researchers who obtained their higher degree in domestic state universities, half (49 percent) obtained them within their own home institution, while 51 percent, or 138 researchers, obtained theirs in other state universities – again, mainly in Java (see Figure 20). These numbers show that there is a high prevalence among Indonesian researchers to stay within their comfort zone when pursuing higher degrees, which may have led to inbreeding within state universities. DGHE has previously alluded to the issue of inbreeding as having resulted in insularity. DGHE officials, who were interviewed pointed out how universities, and subsequently their faculties, are more concerned with pursuing their own research interests, despite DGHE's efforts in pushing

Figure 20: Hosting institution of highest degree obtained

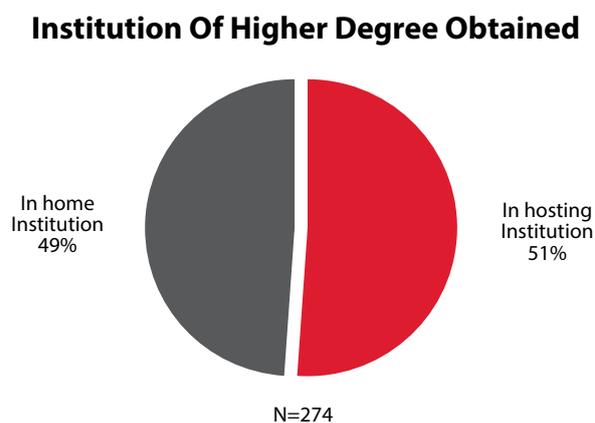


Source: Authors.

for more collaborative research.¹⁵ According to the head of DGHE Research Sub-directorate, present funding schemes, such as the Joint University Research Grant (Penelitian Kerja sama Antar Perguruan Tinggi), are established to increase collaboration, yet these have not been effectively utilised by the targeted beneficiaries.

Most of the active researchers, 325 people, hold tenures or are permanent lecturers. Among these permanent lecturers, most are civil servants (91 percent) or government employees (Pegawai Negeri Sipil—PNS); only 9 percent are legal entity employees. This means that most of the active researchers in state universities are subject to bureaucratic employment schemes.

Figure 21: Institution of higher degree obtained



Source: Authors.

Box 9. Effects of higher education bureaucracy on the profile of researchers

There is a tendency among Indonesian researchers to stay within their own home institutions when pursuing higher degrees, which may have led to ‘inbreeding’ within state universities. The DGHE has alluded to the issue of inbreeding as having resulted in insularity. Its officials who were interviewed pointed to how universities and their subsequent faculties are more concerned about pursuing their own research interests, despite DGHE’s efforts to push for more collaborative research.

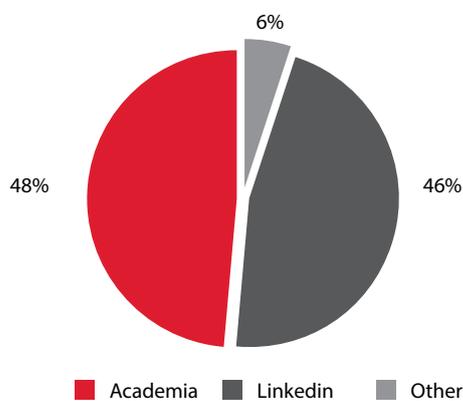
15. Interview with Desmelita, Head of DGHE Research sub directorate, 23 November 2015.

Behaviour and characteristics

Of the total recruitments 27 percent have social media accounts designated to professional networking. Their selected professional social media accounts include LinkedIn (48 percent), and Academia (46 percent), suggesting that a considerable number of the respondents actively network online.

Figure 22 : Social media use for professional networking

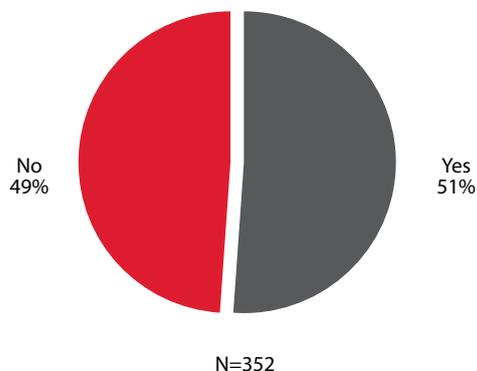
Social Median Ownership for Professional Networking



Source: Authors.

Figure 23 : Multiple structural positions on campus

Multiple Structural Positions on Camps

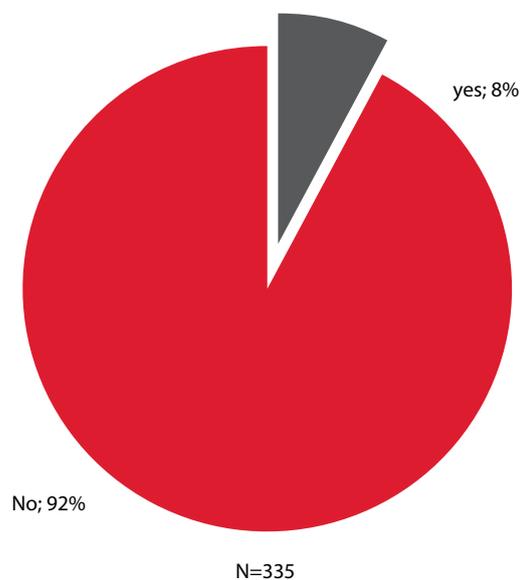


Source: Authors.

Out of 354 respondents, 51 percent or 180 researchers hold multiple structural positions (Figure 23). This means that researchers are also heads of study programmes, research centres, secretaries of programmes and suchlike. Not surprisingly, 92 percent of them do not utilise sabbaticals for capacity building and networking with academics in other countries (Figure 24). This, however, also indicates that securing and maintaining structural positions can be understood as an individual means to preserve the required capital within the academia, as suggested by Bourdieu (1984).

Figure 24: Sabbatical opportunity

Sabbatical Opportunity

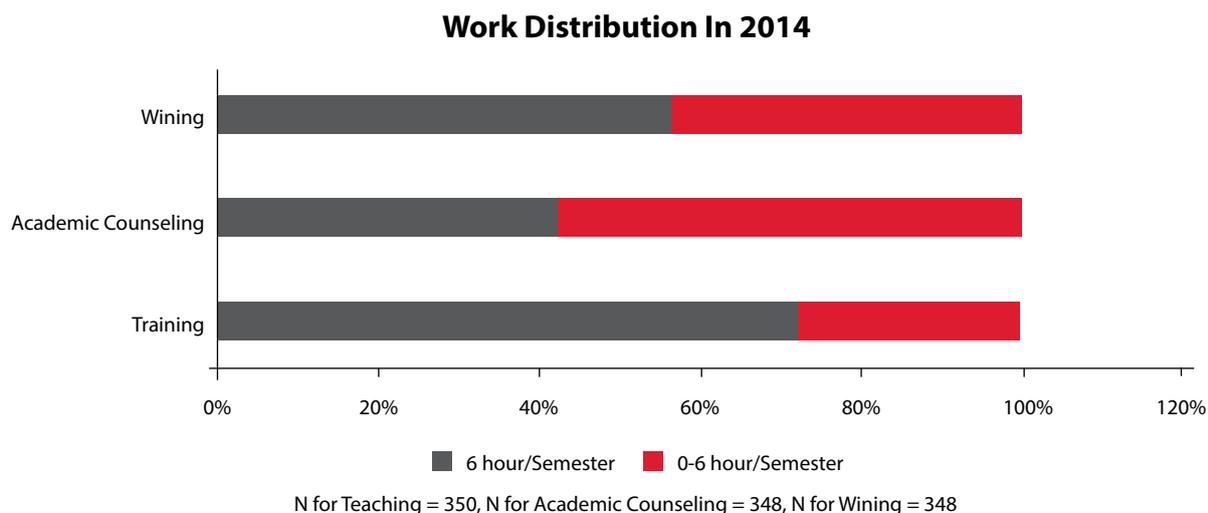


Source: Authors.

These numbers show that almost all of the respondents lecture, carry out academic counseling in 2014, in addition to the half that hold managerial positions (Figure 25). There is more incentive to carry out independent consulting, teaching, and academic consulting rather than conducting research, as expressed by the head of UNHAS Research Centre:

"...so the way I see it as that most lecturers are more eager to become resource persons

Figure 25: Work distribution in 2014



Source: Authors.

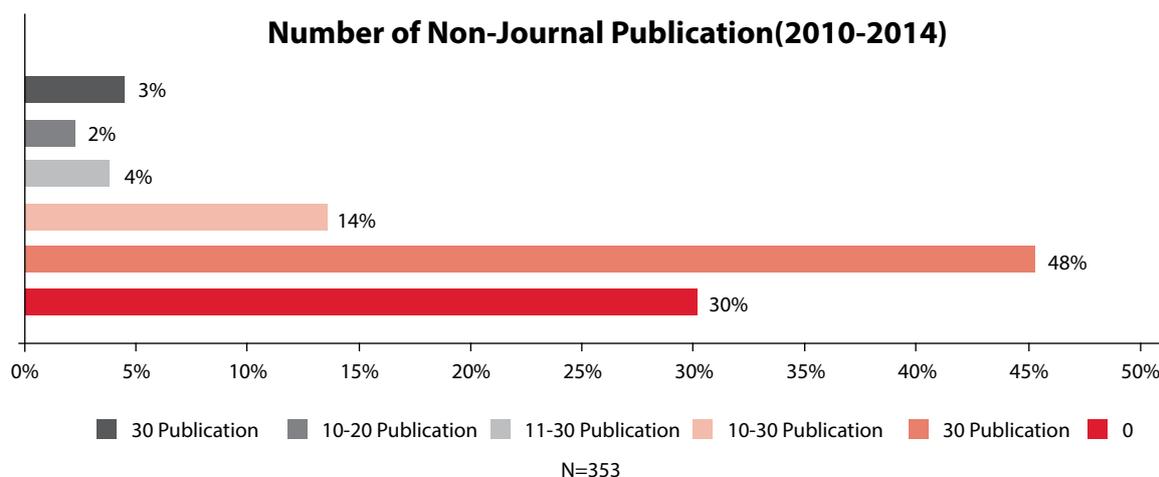
(professional consultants) instead of doing research. Becoming a resource person, being appreciated, highly valued. Receiving a good pay. It's more difficult with research, so it's less attractive for them. Only receiving 100 Million Rupiah and doing all the complicated work, well it's less of a work when being a consultant than" (Head of UNHAS Research Centre, personal interview, 14 April, 2015).

managers, that there is a lack of interest in doing research among social scientists in many Indonesian public universities. This was evident in UNAND, UNHAS, USU, UNMUL. Furthermore, 30 percent of the respondents do not communicate their research findings through non-journal publication; that includes newspapers, magazines, television, radio, and other types of popular media.

There seems to be a common perception and recognition, even among university

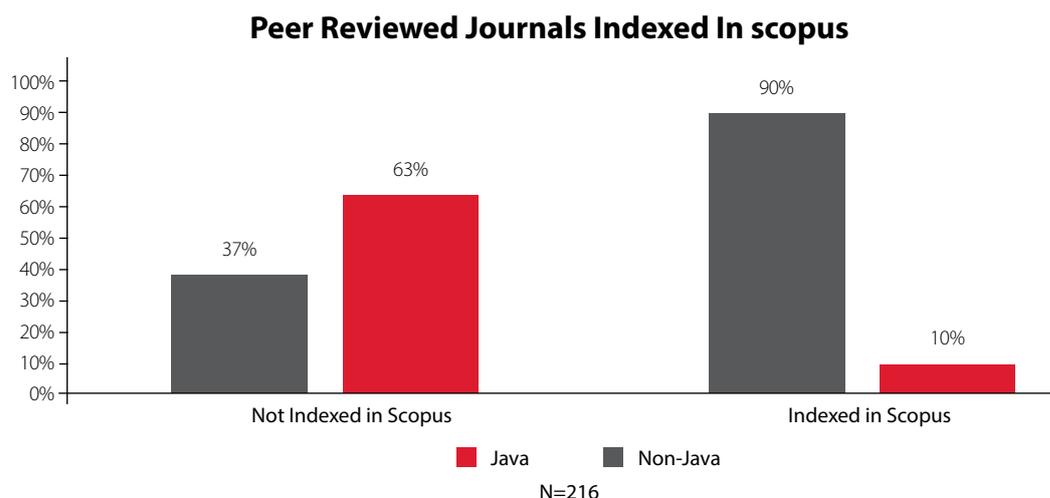
45 percent of the respondents, or 159 researchers, published approximately one to

Figure 26: Number of non-journal publications (2010 to 2014)



Source: Authors.

Figure 27: Peer-reviewed journals indexed in Scopus



Source: Authors.

five non-journal publications between 2010 to 2014. In the same period 14 percent published 6 to 10 non-journal publications, four percent published 11 to 15, two percent published 16 to 20, and five percent published above 20 non-journal publications. However, among these publication figures, only 28 respondents or 8 percent have published articles in peer-reviewed journals indexed in a reputable bibliometric database (Scopus).

Of this 8 percent who have published articles in reputable international journals, 90 percent are active researchers based in Java state universities (UI, UGM, IPB, ITB), and 10 percent are based in non-Java state universities (UNMUL, UNHAS, USU; Figure 27). A larger number of researchers (216) have published their research in non-reputable journals. There is a higher number of active researchers in non-Java state universities (67 percent) than in Java state universities (37 percent) who publish in such journals. The DGHE has attempted to address these low rates of publication with incentives.

“We have set up rewards for the productive ones. For example, those who manage to get published in an indexed journal, we give them 35 Million Rupiah. I think many

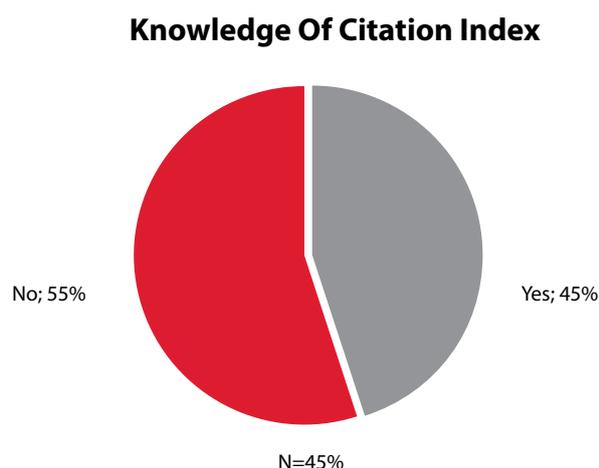
universities are doing the same, I’ve heard that LPDP¹⁶ is even willing to pay up to 100 Million. So it encourages lecturers, researcher not only to pursue their KUM, but also to continuously develop their field of knowledge” (Former DGHE Research Director, personal interview, 21 December, 2015).

Based on these findings, monetary incentives, will not be effective if one wants to increase the number of published articles. Researchers hold multiple structural positions, teach, carry out academic consulting, as well as independent consulting. Among those who actively research, only 8 percent have international publications, while most of the respondents publish in non-indexed journals instead. Furthermore, most of the researchers who publish internationally are based in Java, which means that these monetary incentives will practically be more accessible to those in Java, making the already existing inequality between regions more acute.

In addition, only 45 percent of the respondents follow their citation index on Scopus and

16. LPDP is the Indonesian Endowment Fund for Education, established in 2012 and manages state funds under the Ministry of Finance, mainly for scholarship and research purposes.

Figure 28: Knowledge of citation index



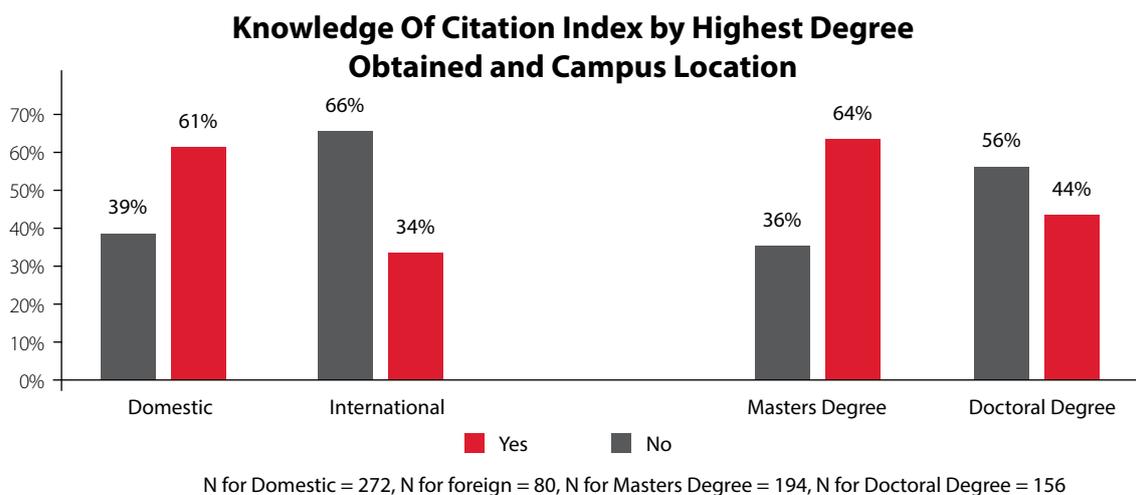
Source: Authors.

other bibliometric databases, while more than half are not aware about it (Figure 28). Going by the highest degree the researchers have

obtained, it is apparent that those who know their citation index are mostly researchers who obtained their degrees abroad, and those who hold doctoral degree (see Figure 29).

Sixty-six percent of those who obtained their degrees abroad know their citation index, while 34 percent do not. On the other hand 61 percent who had obtained domestic degrees do not know their citation index, while 39 percent do know. Among those who hold masters degree, 64 percent do not follow their citation index while 36 percent do. Among doctoral degree holders 56 percent know their citation index and 44 percent do not know. It is apparent that those who hold higher degrees and those who sought higher education beyond their home institutions have greater awareness

Figure 29: Knowledge of citation index by highest degree obtained and hosting institution

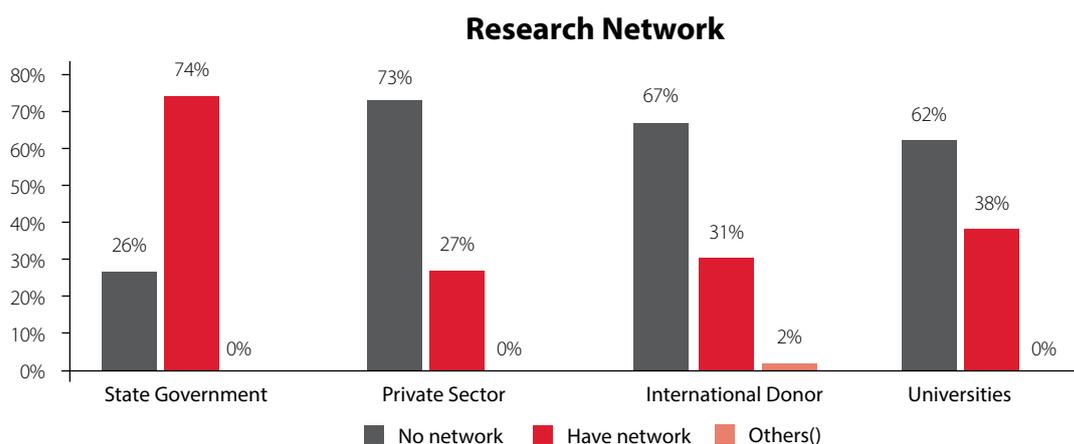


Source: Authors.

Box 10: The effects of DGHE key performance indicators

Increase in monetary incentives among internationally published scholars is seen as a bonus, but not main driver to publish
Establishing a supportive peer-review system among and within each university is more imminent
Capacity building with regard to the importance of increasing international reputation by means of higher mobility to other countries while returning to home institutions

Figure 30: Research network



N for Government = 355, N for private Sector = 354, N for Foreign Aid = 194, N for Universities = 354

Source: Authors.

regarding the importance of international publication. This suggests that what needs to be addressed is not the monetary incentives for internationally published scholars, but an increase in awareness regarding the importance of networking with international peers.

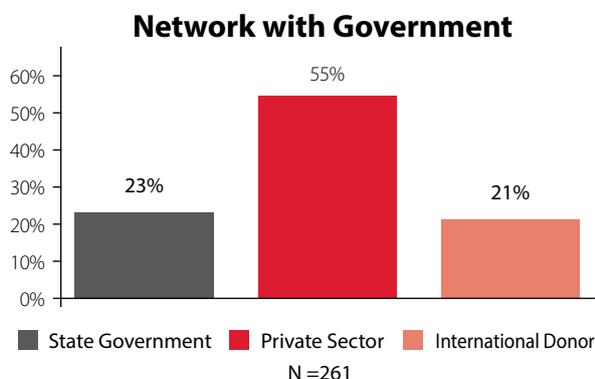
It is important to explore the research network of the existing active researchers (Figure 30). The lowest count was apparent in networks with the private sector (27 percent), followed by international donor organisations (31 percent) and other universities (38 percent), with the highest count being among the government (74 percent). This suggests that the main

user for state university research is the government.

Among the 261 researchers who have a research network with state government, 55 percent are with the central government, 27 percent with local government, and 22 percent are with both the central and local government. This indicates that in research conducted for the government, the central government is the maximum user. Even more pronounced outside Java, where demand for research is considerably lower, the local government is the main source of research funds, as acknowledged at UNMUL and UNHAS:

“... So that is why fortunately, there are still some projects to work on. Do not expect too much if you rely on what is here. There is the BOPTN (State University Operational Assistance), but the amount is insignificant. I am really grateful that the local government still needs our expertise, to keep the research projects coming.” (Vice Dean FISIP UNMU, personal interview, 5 May, 2015)

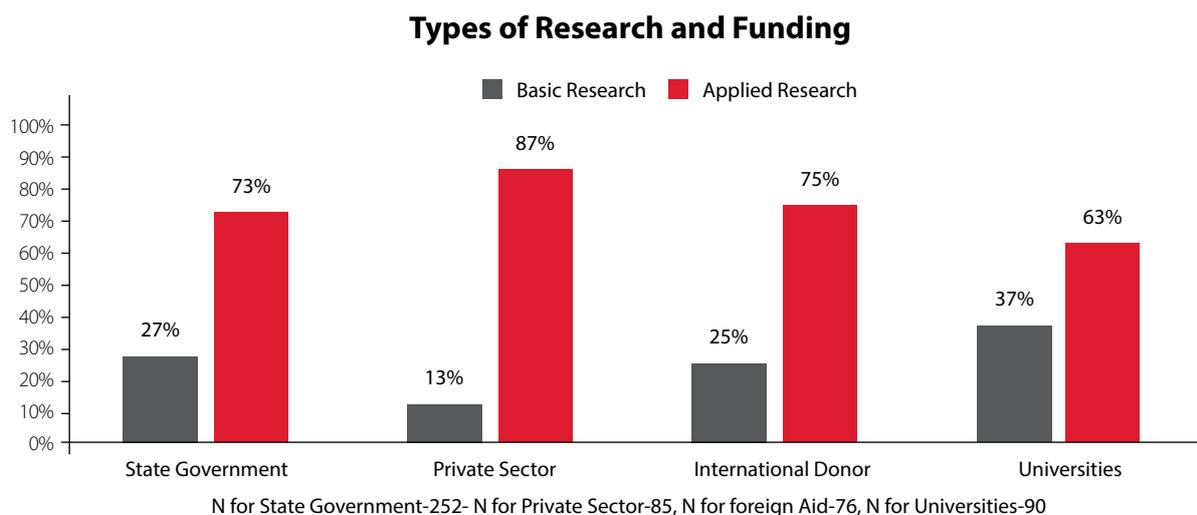
Figure 31: Government research network



Source: Authors.

The same situation is found in UNAND and UNHAS, where research is carried out incidentally following the special demands of local authorities, be it with the Broadcasting

Figure 32: Types of research among different research funding sources



Source: Authors.

Commission (e.g. at UNAND) or the local Development Planning Agency (e.g. UNHAS).

Moreover, when divided into basic and applied research among different funding sources, numbers consistently show that all types of funding sources call for applied research (Figure 32). The highest count for applied research answers the demand from the private sector, or 87 percent from a total of 85 researchers who conduct studies for the private sector. A 75 percent of 76 researchers undertake applied research for international donor organisations. A total of 194 researchers, or 73 percent are researchers who conduct applied studies for the government. It is also apparent that basic research is generally conducted for universities, although the proportion is still a modest 37 percent or 30 people.

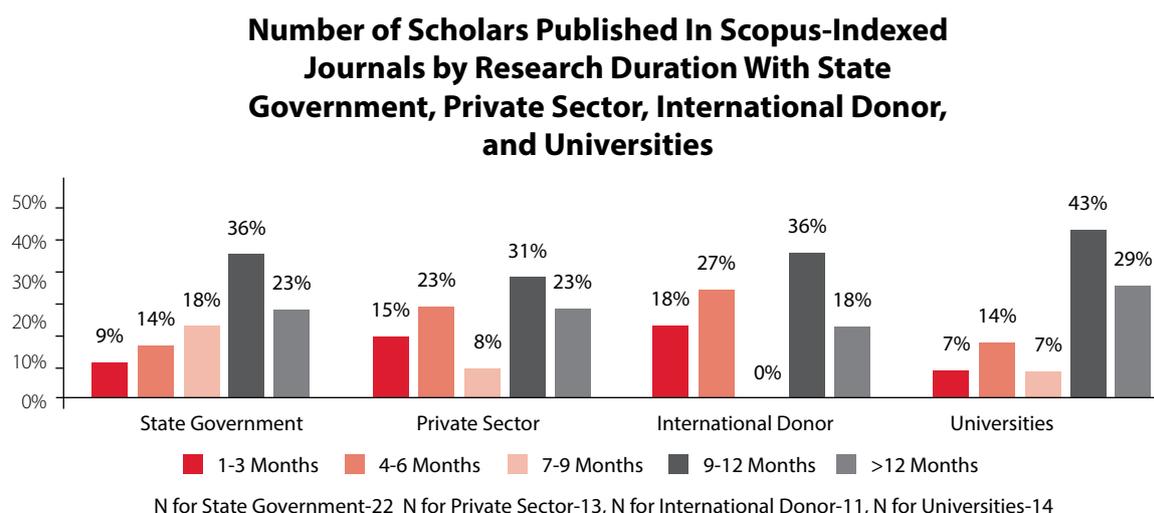
This means that most of the research carried out has a practical objective to achieve, and is not necessarily aimed at fundamental social inquiry. According to a higher-ranking official at DGHE, this is because research is indeed designed to provide solutions for the market or for the state, and not necessarily for international publication.

“Those funds are not mainly targeted to result in publication, but products ready to be used by the industry. Only a few schemes are targeted to result in international publication” (Former DGHE Research Director, personal interview, 21 December, 2015).

Consistently, among scholars who published internationally, the ideal research duration is between 9 to 12 months, and this is also true among those carrying out research for the government, the private sector, international donor organisations, and universities (see Figure 33). A higher number is also prevalent among those who had more than 12 months to carry out research. Thus, there is a need to design funding schemes that target international publication instead of practical solutions, and this requires a duration of at least nine months to carry out the research.

State universities outside of Java rely more on DGHE research funding. Notwithstanding the fact that academics based in Java have more opportunities to network with the central government, international donor organisations, and the private sector, they also have less academic mobility as indicated by the institutions in which they obtain their higher degrees.

Figure 33: Number of scholars published in indexed journals by research duration



Source: Authors.

Box 11: The effects of existing funding schemes

DGHE research fund schemes are ineffective due to time constraints, given their state budget characteristic
Time constraints limit researchers when it comes to producing quality research that results in international publication
Average time needed to conduct research that results in international publication is between or above 9-12 months

The quantitative key performance indicator set by the DGHE exacerbates this opportunities divide between state universities in Java and outside of Java. Should this approach be continued, an increase in international publication will be concentrated among state universities with more direct access to resources.

Policy Connect of Social Science Research

In the previous section, we have provided empirical analysis on the behaviour and characteristics of researchers as has been shaped by the structure of the bureaucracy. Research productivity is more prevalent among Indonesian researchers with regional and international mobility, and consequently the research network that they access is richer than that of their domestic counterparts. These researchers comprise only a small portion of the overall active researchers in Indonesian state universities. In this section, we elaborate on the main users of social science research in Indonesia, and to what extent do researchers engage with these users.

Most of the research being carried out in universities is applied research by nature, with a much smaller proportion that accounts for basic research. This section reveals that the dominant theme of social research in the select universities studied is applied research for governance. The main users for this type of research are the central government and international donor organisations, which significantly influence the theme of research conducted in state universities. As a result, basic research that tries to answer fundamental questions in Indonesian society today is rarely conducted.

Other studies have shown that the link between social research and policymaking is very weak in Indonesia, despite the increasing demand for evidence-based policies (McCarthy and Ibrahim, 2010; Sherlock, 2010, ODI, 2011). Compared to other developing countries, such as India and the Philippines, Indonesia lacks scientific and policy journals as well as intermediary

media used to communicate research findings to policy-makers (McCarthy and Ibrahim, 2010). We argue that this is because research regarding governance is not driven by theoretical engagement with notions of developmentalism. It is undertaken as a source of university income.

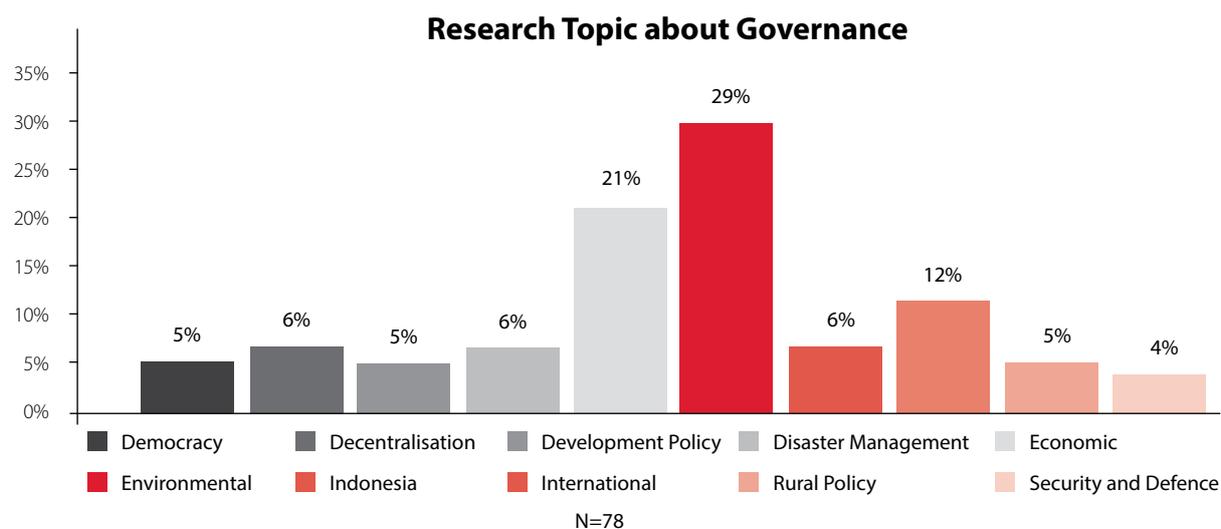
A recent study attempting to diagnose the current effectiveness of journals in communicating evidence for policymaking shows that in Indonesia, there is currently no policy journal designed to disseminate research findings to policymakers (Rakhmani, Siregar, Halim, 2015). Indonesian state universities are still very far from achieving research that connects with policymaking. First, there is a need to encourage more basic research to bring to prominence the types of research whose aim is to improve one's understanding of social phenomena. We argue that basic social research is essential to inform and prevent myopic decision and policymaking.

Current condition: Dominant themes and users of social research

A large part of research being conducted by state university researchers is for government (74 percent). Likewise, the most popular theme currently being researched is "governance", which comprises democratic governance, environmental governance, decentralisation, development and governance, Indonesian governance, international governance, disaster management, rural policy, economic governance, and security and defence governance (see Figure 34).

Much of the research (79 percent) in the overarching theme of governance and its sub-themes is applied research (see Figure 35). Research about governance stems

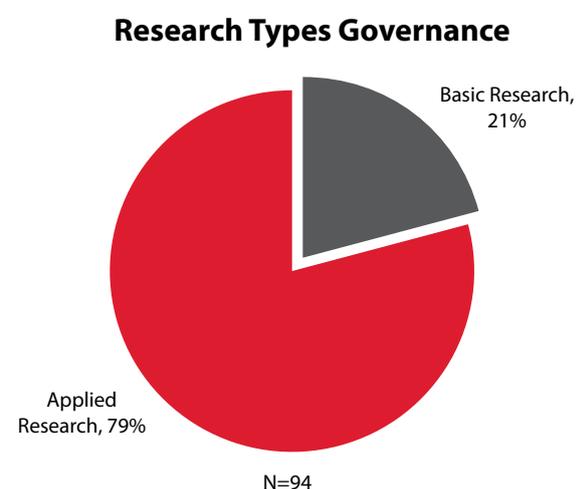
Figure 34: Sub-themes in research about Governance



Source: Authors.

from the main research networks where active researchers are engaged, namely government and international donor organisations. Consequently, the types of research on governance being carried out is dominated by applied research to achieve practical objectives.

Figure 35: Research types about governance



Source: Authors.

A former DGHE Research Director sees¹⁷ that basic research (upstream) also needs to be strengthened, and that researchers

should address not only the needs of the industry. Given Indonesia's current need to boost its domestic economy using local material and immaterial resources, the role of research has also been directed towards more commercial needs¹⁸ (*hilirasi riset*, upstreaming of research). The current concern among policymakers is to better connect research with stakeholders from the economic and industrial sectors, (ACDP, 2013, Brodjonegoro and Moeliodihardjo, 2014). Within the context of social research, the push towards more evidence-based policies also encourages more practical research and directs knowledge producers to build stronger ties with research users (ODI, 2011).

The popularity, if not dominance, of applied approaches in social research is partly due to the fact that a culture of critical thinking is practically non-existent. An ecosystem that enables critical thinking, vis-a-vis a vibrant peer culture, has yet to take hold post-Reformasi after a three-decade long period of being deprived of a role in influencing policies (Robison and Hadiz,

17. Personal interview, 21 December, 2015

18. Kompas, 1 November, 2014.

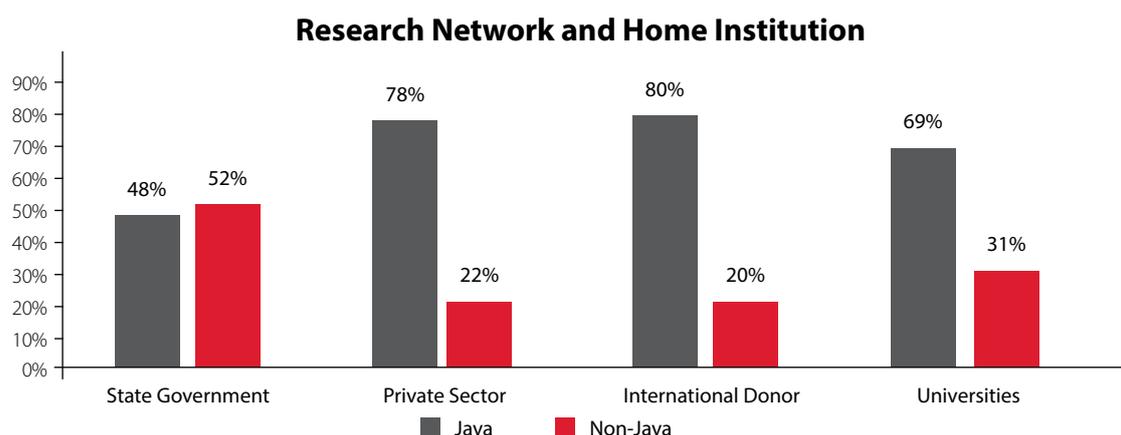
2004). Thus, despite having a more dynamic civil society after democratisation, direct or indirect feedback to government policies remains unorganised in Indonesia. Seeing the majority of current social research users in Indonesia, we have argued that greater financial autonomy among state universities would mean that those located in Java will benefit more from the remaining centralised economy (Figure 36), as most private corporations and international donor organisations are located in Java. Meanwhile, the DGHE does not see any disparity in terms of resources and capacity as an imminent issue to address.¹⁹

The increase in state university autonomy by means of their BHMN status was intended to reform management models and to better respond to the demands of the market for higher education. The autonomy increase, on the one hand, represents a fulfilment of state university aspirations to determine their own research and higher education agenda, away from state control. The law on university autonomy has indeed ushered in significant changes in state

universities in Indonesia. Along with more autonomy, this law also changed the income scheme by giving state universities the power to autonomously organise their student intake and provide research as well as training services directly to the private sector and international donor organisations.

Building on arguments proposed throughout this report, this autonomy was initially expected by its proponents to shape state universities to work as if they were private-sector institutions. State universities were required to carry out self-evaluation, create their own institutional development plans, and allocate budgets according to their own projection as a prerequisite to receiving funding from the central government. In addition to the national budget, the central government was also supported by loans from the World Bank and Asian Development Bank to facilitate competitive funding schemes for universities (Wicaksono and Friawan, 2008).

Figure 36: Research network among Java and non-Java state universities

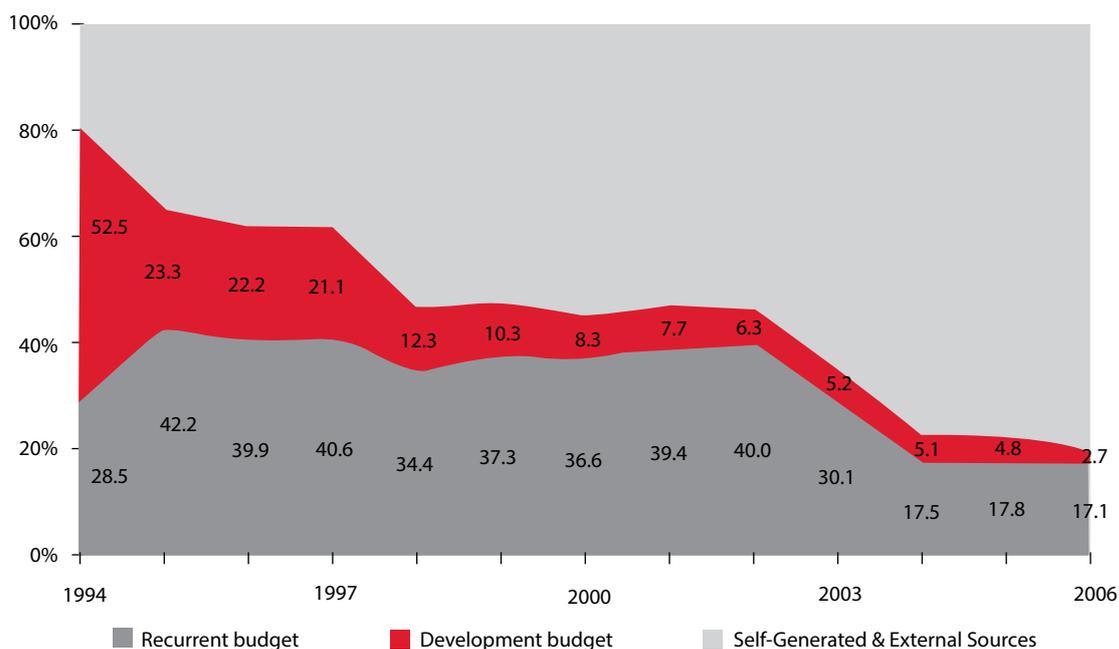


N for State Government-261- N for Private Sector-97, N for International Donor-108, N for Universities-134

Source: Authors.

19. Based on interviews with former DGHE Director General and former DGHE Research Director.

Figure 37: Income sources of University of Indonesia (1994-2006)



Source: Wicaksono and Friawan, 2008, p.34.

The revenue stream of one of the case studies in this research, Universitas Indonesia, shows that in 1994 central government funds comprised 81 percent of the university's total revenue. After the state university autonomy law, self-generated and external income sources supplanted government budget, which by 2000 accounted for 46.7 percent of the total income, rising further to 80.2 percent by 2006.

These numbers show that although autonomy has indeed increased the ability of Java-based state universities to generate income and become less dependent on the national budget, it has exacerbated issues of regional inequalities that were present before Reformasi due to the centralistic economy and state administration. The

reduced role of the central government in financing state universities has not changed — if not worsened — inter-regional disparities between Java and non-Java state universities.

The main hindrance to carrying out research for policymaking can be overcome by first acknowledging the prevailing condition of the dominance of applied research aimed at achieving practical objectives. This stems from the dearth of basic research that is important to prevent myopic policymaking, an issue of concern for policy research users in Indonesia (McCarthy and Ibrahim, 2010). There is also a perception among higher ranking officials in the DGHE — who predominantly come from natural sciences — that social research must produce practical solutions, which explains

Box 12: Current condition for research policy connect

Despite governance being a dominant theme among social research carried out in state universities, its link with policy-making is weak. The choice of topics is directed at seeking university income rather than attempting to institutionally engage with state government policy-making. Furthermore, basic research, essential in preventing near-sighted policy-making, is being neglected.

the unpopularity of basic social research proposed for DGHE research grants.

“...there is an understanding among our colleagues within the government that research output has to have a concrete parameter.. that is why social research are less favoured, it seems intangible. It is based on concepts only, difficult to implement, they say. Since we’re using state funds for research, it is expected to have tangible results” (Former DGHE Director General, personal interview, 29 September, 2015).

While applied research dominates research carried out within state universities, the fact that it does not directly connect with policymaking suggests that the choice of topics is based more on pragmatic reasons, or is intended to seek income for the university rather than an attempt to institutionally engage with state government policymaking. Furthermore, basic research, essential in preventing nearsighted policymaking, is being neglected.

Summary of Findings

Based on the empirical findings of this research, we argue that Indonesian state university reform is directed towards regional market demands. The macro policies put in place by the Indonesian state government has resulted in greater institutional autonomy in state universities. However, the bureaucratic institutional model of state university has prevented this reform from truly taking place. This has clogged the disbursement of research funding that has been increased by the Directorate General of Higher Education, while employment performance measurement of Indonesia lecturers continues to be informed by state civil servant promotion criteria rather than on the basis of academic merit. This has had the effect of poor scholarship activities and productivities in Indonesian state universities, with long-term consequences on critical thinking, and weak policy connect, and, paradoxically, weakening its position among the regional market in comparison to Singapore and Malaysia. Our arguments are laid on three levels, namely macro policies, meso institutional conditions, and individual research behaviour shaped by these levels of bureaucracy.

State government policies regarding the attempt to enable cross-sector collaboration have been made, which is apparent in an increase in research allocation funds. These funds, however, have had low absorption due to their complex, multiple disbursement methods abiding to the Ministry of Finance budget system. This has discouraged researchers from applying, with credit-seeking academics being the main beneficiary of these funding schemes.

Credit-seeking (KUM) academics are a breed of Indonesian academics who are able to take advantage of state university

bureaucracy. State employment regulation and policies on civil servants conform to the State Employment Agency promotion system, which acknowledges promotion not by academic merit but by the accumulation of credit points. These points can be accumulated through teaching, seminars, etc., with less emphasis on research and international publication. Furthermore, greater autonomy among state universities has been utilised at the institutional level to take in more students to cover for university running cost, resulting in less research work among state university academics.

Consistent with this condition, Indonesian academics are more inclined to stay within their own home institutions when pursuing higher degrees, which may have led to inbreeding within state universities. The issue of inbreeding has been alluded to by DGHE state officials as having resulted in insularity. These officials pointed out how universities and their subsequent faculties are more concerned with pursuing their own research interests, despite their efforts in pushing for more collaborative research.

Significantly, the increase in research funding by the state has also increased the research intake among Java universities, with non-Java state universities lagging behind. Moreover, Java state universities already have greater direct access to international donor and private sector funding, which comprise most of the research funding source and network, in addition to more direct access to the overall national higher education market. The current condition of opening up state universities to respond to the demands of a regional higher education market exacerbates the already existing Java and non-Java divide.

Among these more self-sufficient Java-based state universities, governance is a dominant research theme of the social

research carried out. However, its link with policymaking is weak. Mindful of the condition of social research we have identified, this dominant governance theme is directed towards seeking out university income rather than a genuine institutional engagement between state universities and government policymaking. Basic research, which is essential in preventing myopic policymaking, has been consistently undermined by a non-existent peer culture. Thus, institutional reform must be directed towards shaping a culture of critical peer review, which must be in line with increasing regional competitiveness through the institutional support of academic mobility (e.g. international conferences, joint university grants, etc.) among Indonesian state university academics.

Beyond Bureaucratic Boundaries

So as not to be trapped in grim pictures regarding the current condition of research in Indonesia's HEI, or even worse, repeating the same mistake in a different kind of social transformation, we would like to touch upon a recent global trend that has emphasised the intensification of cross-sectoral collaboration and coordination through technological innovation (see Christensen et al., 2007, Christensen, 2010; Tyfield, 2012; 2013). Emerging in the late 1990s, cross-sectoral collaboration was argued to be enabled by a "knowledge economy" introduced through new technologies and innovation, particularly influenced by the wave of techno-optimistic venture capitalism from Silicon Valley. Scholars have argued that the "democratisation of science" resonated through open science, open access, open online courses, and revolution via open web 2.0/wiki real-time conversations between specialists and amateurs (Nielsen, 2012; Daniel, 2012; Edgecliffe-Johnson and Cook,

2013; Cadwalladr, 2012). This wave has arrived in Indonesia in the form of open governance initiatives via international donor agencies with democratic agendas, particularly during the 2014 Presidential Elections (Rakhmani, 2014). We concur with Tyfield (2013) who, taking a cultural political economy standpoint, argues that the effect is less of a transition than it is a web-based disruption.

There is, of course, no guarantee that such a restabilized settlement will emerge or is even possible. Indeed, such a re-established settlement for the “economics of science” remains a way off, and will not be achieved without significant social, political, cultural and possibly military upheaval via a turbulent, power-laden and morally contestable process. We are, indeed, merely at the start of a protracted process of “transition” in the economics of science—and this will not be amenable to shortcuts by way of abstract blueprints and academic definition. The perspective outlined above, however, does at least alert us to the bare bones of what a new settlement may look like and how it may emerge—and, thus, in turn, of strategic points of intervention (Tyfield, 2013, p.45).

Although more techno-optimistic takes might emerge in the near future in Indonesia, without systemic changes in the existing institutions of higher education, the country will not see a democratisation of science but a cooptation of technologies serving the interest of a few. The policies and practices that inhibit the quality of research in Indonesian state universities are deeply rooted in the past (Guggenheim, 2013) as well as in the ideological imperatives of the previous era of authoritarian rule (Heryanto, 2005; Hadiz and Dhakidae, 2005).

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Appendix

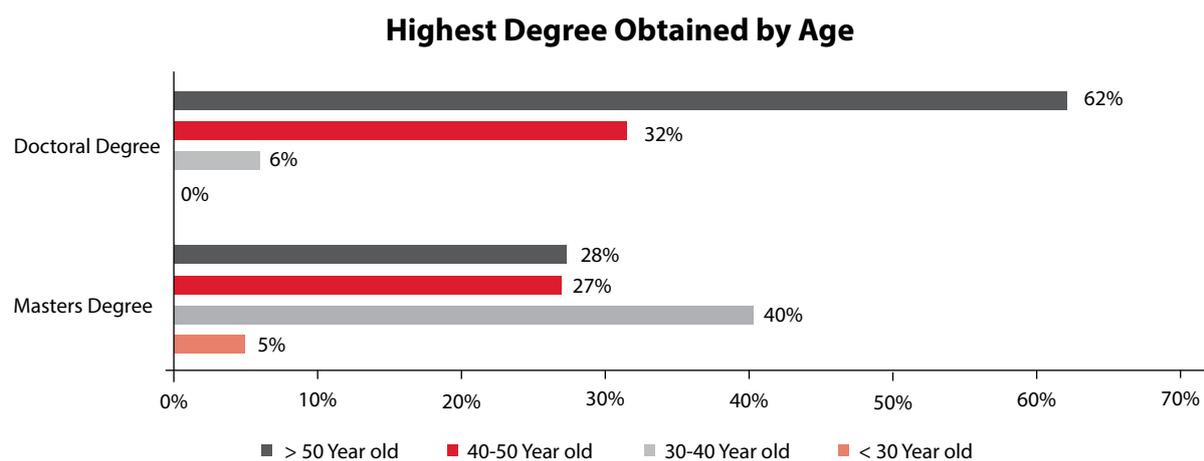
Appendix 1

List of interviewees:

No.	Name	Organisation/Affiliation	Date of Interview	Duration
1	Achmad Dading Gunadi	Ministry of Research and Technology (former)	09/03/2015	40 min
2	Bagio Moeliodihardjo	DGHE Consultant	17/03/2015	60 min
3	Satryo Brojonegoro	Former DGHE Directorate General	29/09/2015	60 min
4	Desmelita	DGHE	23/11/2015	15 min
5	Agus Subekti	DGHE	21/12/2015	50 min

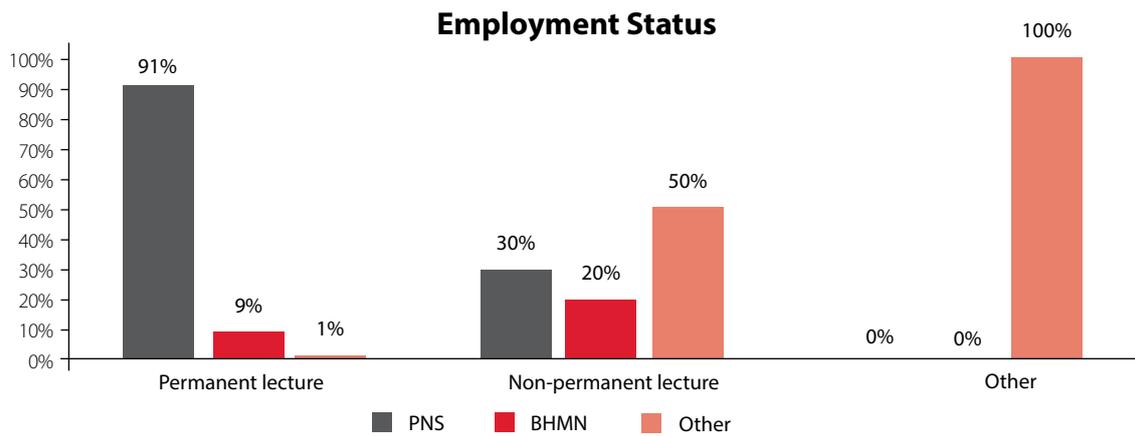
Appendix 2

Figure 38: Highest Degree obtained



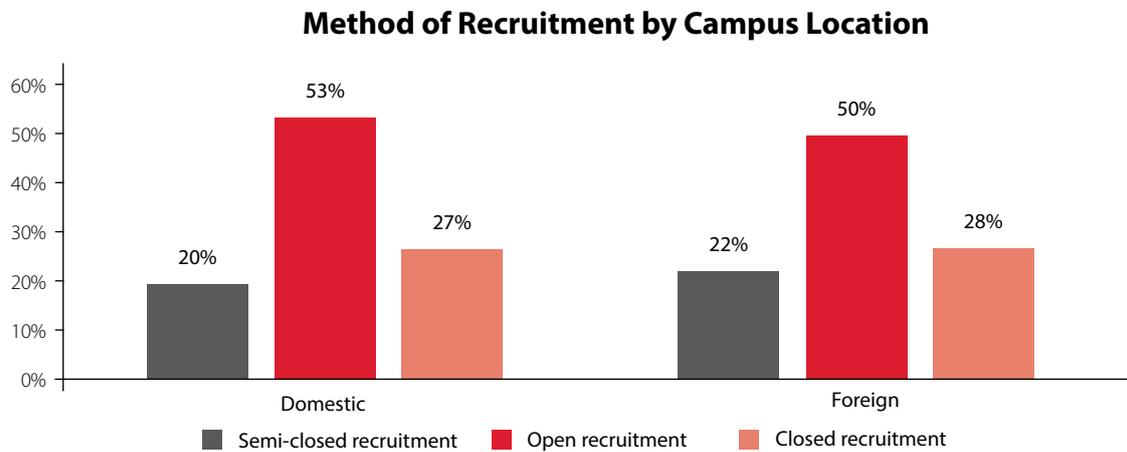
Source: Authors.

Figure 39: Respondents employment status



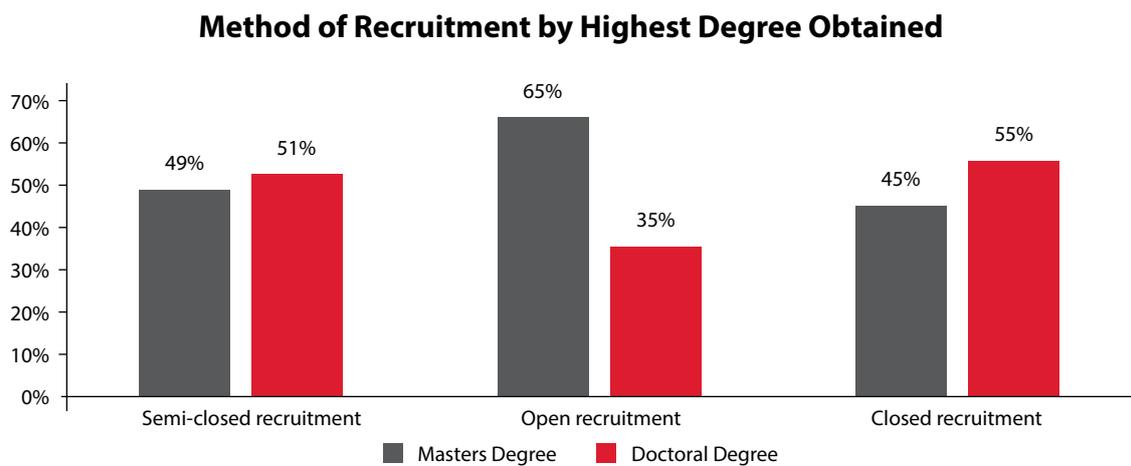
Source: Authors.

Figure 40: Recruitment method by campus location



Source: Authors.

Figure 41: Recruitment method by degree obtained



Source: Authors.

Notes

The Global Development Network

The Global Development Network (GDN) is a public international organization that supports high quality, policy-oriented, social science research in developing and transition countries to promote better lives. It supports researchers with financial resources, global networking, and access to information, training, peer review and mentoring. GDN acts on the premise that better research leads to more informed policies and better, more inclusive development. Through its global platform, GDN connects social science researchers with policymakers and development stakeholders across the world. Founded in 1999, GDN is currently headquartered in New Delhi.

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